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THE
EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

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AND BY

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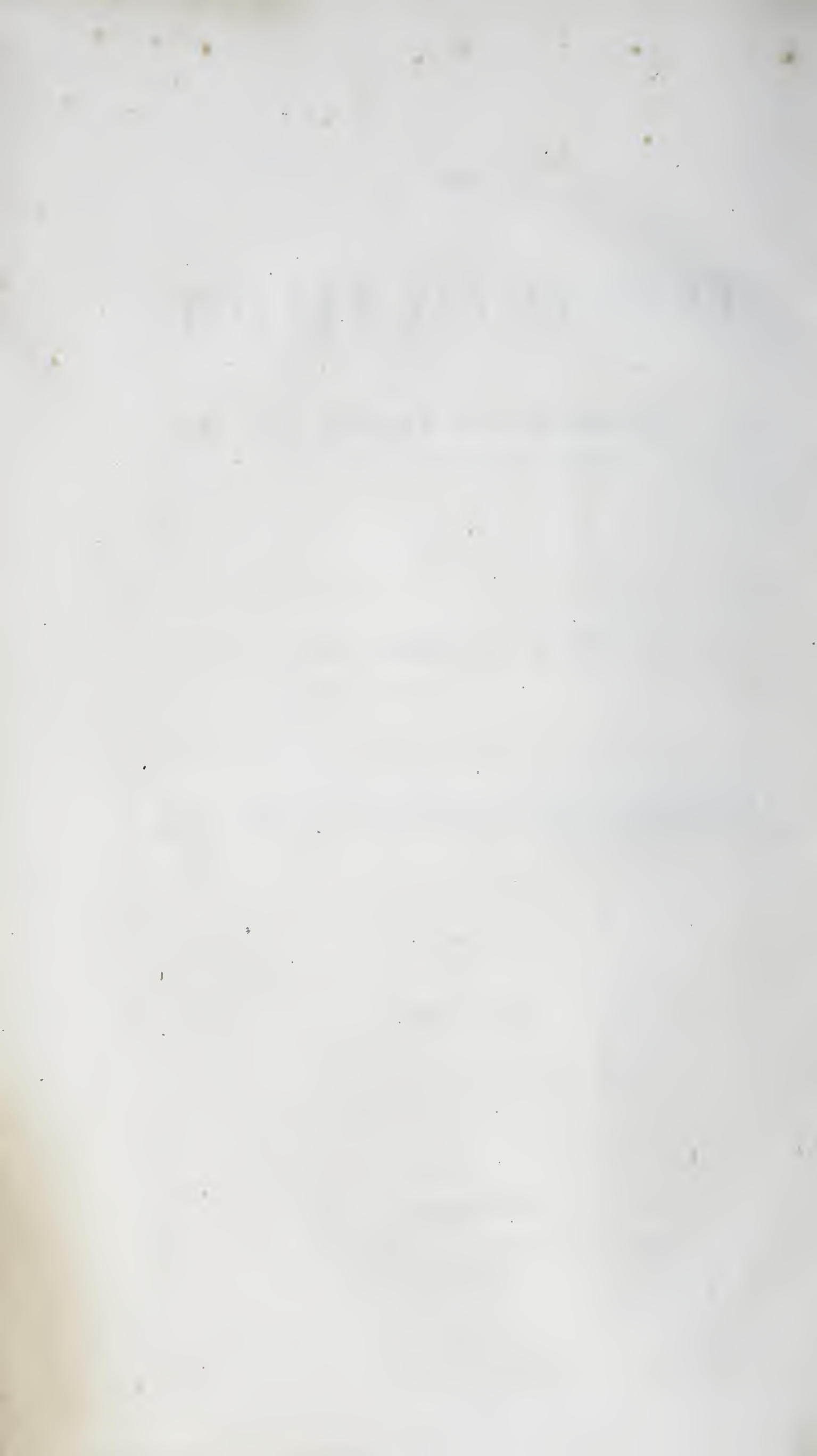
“Es sei denn, dass ich mit Zeugnissen der heiligen Schrift, oder mit öffentlichen, klaren, und hellen Gründen und Ursachen überwunden und überweiset werde, so kann und will ich nichts widerrufen.”—LUTHER.

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THE EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

NO. XXIX.

JULY, 1856.

ARTICLE I.

THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

By Rev. M. Loy, Delaware, Ohio.

THE Holy Catholic Church is an object of faith, not of sight. That which makes her what she is, comes not under the cognizance of our senses: it is spiritually discerned. She is the body of Jesus Christ; yet not his natural body, as it was once seen in its mission of mercy upon the earth, but his body mystical, whose members are not distinguishable as such by human eyes. She is the Holy Temple of God; yet not a tangible temple, as was once the glory of Jerusalem, but a spiritual house built up of lively stones. She is formed and continually pervaded by the life of her Head; and wherever this life, which is conveyed to man by the means of grace, is permitted to abide, there she exists. The entrance of our Savior's life into a human soul, renders the latter a part of the body, by making it a partaker of the life. To be a member of Christ is to be a member of the church, which is Christ, so far as he and his disciples may be, and really are one. 1 Cor. 12: 12; John 17: 21-23. This life is invisible: we see it neither as it exists in itself, nor as it exists in man; we see it neither in individual Christians, nor in the Christian church, as the sum of all individual Christians. In the individual's external life its effects are visible, not its substance; and even these effects, from which we infer its existence, are only unreliable signs; for the natural tree may bear fruit so much like that of the spiritual, that we cannot be absolutely certain which has borne it. No man

can say of his brother, with absolute certainty, that he is a true believer. And although the whole body of those in whom Christ has been formed, does make its existence manifest by the use of its privileges and the discharge of its duties; and although we are made certain of its existence in a particular place by infallible marks; yet the evidence of its existence, and the source of our knowledge of its nature, are not sense. The marks by which we know the body to exist, are not the body itself. The church is, and in order to be the body of Christ, must be essentially invisible. She possesses not a single essential attribute by which she is visible. If it were not for the instructions of the Holy Spirit, we would be ignorant, not only of her nature, but even of her very existence. We would see men and their deeds, and would know them to be a peculiar organization; but that which is the very life of the organization, without which it is a mere human society, not the church of Jesus Christ, we could never see and never know. We learn that there is a church of Christ, and what are her characteristics, from Holy Scripture: we know it by faith. We learn that this church exists in any given place, not because we see her there, but because the means of grace, which will accomplish that whereunto they are sent, are used there. But the means of grace are not the church: in them we have evidences only by faith; to our mere senses they prove nothing, because there is no *natural* connection between these means and the church. The Holy Catholic Church is an object of faith, not of sight.

We are not forgetting that the church is composed of men, and that these are visible. We know that their visible part, the body, is sanctified as well as the soul, and that it consequently belongs also to the church. We know that holy men may be seen, even if their inward holiness may not. But a congregation of professed holy men is not necessarily a holy congregation; the probability would be, in any given instance, that it is not, on account of there being some unholy individuals among them. We would call it holy only by a figure of speech, predicating of the whole, what is strictly true only of a part. Then, literally, the holy congregation is not visible; the holy congregation is in that which is styled holy, and which is visible. The men are seen, not the *holy* men, The church is not men, as such; it is men in whom Christ lives, and as such we see them not. But it is only as such that they are of the church at all. If we see them not as

such, we see a congregation of men, but not the church. She is invisible.

But there is a very good reason, notwithstanding, why the church has always been, and must always be, called visible as well as invisible. The congregation of *professed*; contains the congregation of *true* believers within itself: it is the church for human eyes, as the invisible is the church for God's who knoweth them that are his. The word church, it must be admitted, does not mean precisely the same thing in the two instances: the same object will not admit of two epithets, one of which excludes the other. It is taken in a narrow and in a broad sense. The church is the congregation of believers; the human beings in whom Christ lives. These believers confess their faith, and thus endeavor to manifest themselves as such; they band together under a certain form of government, and engage in certain acts, and are thus made known as the church. Those, and only those, who sincerely believe, are what they seem; and they form the church in reality. The congregation of professed believers has probably some whose faith is a mere pretence. It is the church notwithstanding; but the word is now used figuratively; it belongs to the believers, but for their sake it is applied to the whole body among whom they are, and among whom they are not distinguished by any visible mark. The organization is the church's; it is her confession and her government; and therefore the name church is correctly given it. All belonging to it are in the church, though constituent parts of her, i. e., real members, are only those who truly believe. This visible organization not only contains the members of the church, but also has all the rights and duties which belong to her. It is the church appearing, not in her essence, nor in any of her essential attributes—for she is invisible—but in her action, which is visible. All gifts of God are conferred through the visible church, and all those who receive these gifts unto salvation, act with the visible, but become members of the body of Jesus Christ, the invisible church. For our temporal dealings with the church, we need be concerned no further than with the visible congregation; in this are the means of grace, and all authority to use them for our salvation. But for our own safety, we must not rest content with belonging to the visible congregation; for although it is the church, because it embraces the true members within it, it embraces also those who are not true members: no man is sure of salvation because he belongs to it, although

whoever is saved will belong to it. Only to them who are in Christ Jesus is there no condemnation.

The distinction between the church invisible and visible, is of the greatest importance, both for doctrine and practice; it is no idle speculation. Without it there is no comfort in viewing the church, either in its present state, or in its past history; with it we shall be able to pursue our way through the mazes, into which the question of her unity introduces us, without becoming disheartened.

The church is one. Her unity is essential to her very existence. The Holy Catholic Church has ceased to be so soon as she ceases to be one, just as her great Head is one, and never can be otherwise. It is our Lord's purpose, as made known by the Gospel, to save men by gathering them into one body, through the impartation of his life, so that they might become his body. "When he saw the multitude he was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted and were scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd."—Matt. 9: 36. "He that gathereth not with me, scattereth." Ib. 12: 30. "There shall be one fold and one shepherd."—John 10: 16. "How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, but ye would not."—Matt. 23: 37. As this was our Savior's plan, so it was his prayer. "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word: that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us." John 17: 20–21.

Now, we would mistake the meaning of such passages sadly, if we applied them solely, or even primarily, to a mere outward convention of professing christians. They mean far more than this. The illustration in the passage last quoted, according to which the union of christians in one body, is like the union of the Father and Son, ought to be an effectual safeguard against any such misinterpretation. The oneness of the Father and his only begotten, is surely something more than mere harmony of thought or of action. The Savior is the vine, of which believers are the branches, and these bring forth fruit, because the life of the vine is in them: they who, as withered branches, merely adhere to the vine outwardly, without being pervaded by its life, are not of it, and can yield no fruit.—John 15: 1–8. The unity is in the life of the body, which underlies all appearance of unity, not in the external harmony of the members, which is only the

result of an internal life-union. Nor is this view at all inconsistent with the final clause in John 17: 21, where the object of the Savior's prayer for unity among his members is stated to be: "That the world may believe that thou hast sent me." The argument for our Lord's divine mission is furnished always by the holy church: is furnished now, when divisions have become almost innumerable, and will be furnished, even if thousands more should arise. There is still one body to show that God hath sent him. Men know the fact, whether they perfectly understand it or not. However much the argument might be strengthened by external union among all christians, or however much is detracted from its force by their external divisions, it still stands independently of all untoward circumstances: there is one body striving to glorify God through faith in Christ Jesus. And the outward unity never could exist without the inward; the latter is a condition of the former; so that all the scriptures which speak of unity generally, must be referred to the internal, of which the external is a product. The purpose and prayer of our Lord are not frustrated by the errors of man, who, to suit many tastes, might prefer many churches.

As the Savior promised and prayed; so it came to pass. In the apostolic epistles the unity is described as really existing, notwithstanding the external divisions which had already arisen. "Ye are all one in Christ."—Gal. 3: 28. "He is our peace, who hath made both one."—Eph. 2: 14. It is not the goal yet to be attained at some future period, but attained already. And in Eph. 4: 4–6, this unity is not only asserted to be then existing, but it is also elucidated by pointing out the several unities which enter into the unity of the whole body. "There is one body and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling: one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." That the word "body" in the passage, means the church, according to the context and Col. 1: 18, it is barely necessary to mention. Into this one body members are introduced, by being buried with the one Lord, by the one baptism into his death, Rom. 6: 3–6, becoming thus partakers of his life; members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones.—Eph. 5: 30. The "one spirit" is thus given, Acts 2: 38, and works in us the "one faith," Eph. 2: 8, in the "one Lord," accompanying which is always "the one hope of our calling." The body is one by the one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one hope, one Fa-

ther and one spirit; and as all these unities meet in faith, as its cause, means, object and effect, the body is one in virtue of the one faith abiding in all whose life is Christ. It is the one congregation of believers. Whoever believes is in the unity of the church, is a child of the Jerusalem which is above, the mother of us all. And he remains in this unity, notwithstanding his doctrinal or practical errors, so long as he continues to believe; for so long the Holy Spirit is not taken away.

This, of course, presupposes that there are errors consistent with the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in our hearts. As regards our practice, few, we trust, will be disposed to question this; "for if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us."—1 John 1: 8. The more, indeed, we understand the marvellous heights of God's grace, the more will be able and willing to acknowledge the stupendous depths of our sin. But not every offence is an expulsion of the spirit from our hearts, or a fall from grace. It is the continuance of the Holy Spirit's work, that enables us to see and repent of our iniquities; it is the grace of God remaining upon us, that gives us contrite hearts when we have done a wrong; and it is the continued presence of faith in the soul, that secures its forgiveness. Our faults are manifold, but we remain God's dear children still, if only our desire be to serve him, and our repentance be sincere when we see wherein we have failed. "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous."—1 John, 2: 1. It is almost needless to say that to live in gross violation of God's holy law, and still to be sincerely penitent for our sins, is a contradiction. The earnest desire to walk worthy of God unto all pleasing, and the indifference to right or wrong, when lust or interest is involved, cannot grow together: recklessness and vigilance cannot kiss each other. When sin is once wilful, it is no longer a believer's sin, and will no longer be followed by immediate repentance and forgiveness. But every believer, with all his vigilance and prayer, has his infirmities which, if he were not a child of grace, would insure his condemnation, but which, because he is a sincere believer, and therefore penitent, are richly and daily forgiven. And so long as he remains a believer, he remains a member of the Lord's body, notwithstanding his sin.

But the same is also true with regard to doctrine: not every error excludes from the congregation of saints. The believ-

er is not necessarily infallible. "The entrance of God's word giveth light;" but this light still leaves it possible for us to be mistaken on some points: for our enlightenment, like our sanctification, is progressive and gradual. We are to "*grow* in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ," 2 Pet. 3: 18; and in that degree in which growth in knowledge is yet possible for us, we evidently come short of perfection. Not as though we must necessarily hold and teach unscriptural opinions because we know but in part. Deficiency in knowledge is not in itself doctrinal error. Many points of doctrine are never presented to our minds, and are therefore never rejected, although they are not consciously accepted. We say consciously, because the whole truth is really embodied in a very small compass, and is thus received by many, who never learn to know all the particulars which it involves. The Apostles' Creed contains a summary of all the christian doctrine, and whoever believes it, has the whole christian faith. Yet in developing it, and making specifications of its contents, men may err. They depart from the analogy of faith, and thus fall into inconsistencies. Errors may even be introduced, which overthrow the very foundation, i. e., which are no longer erroneous developments of the true faith, but human speculations substituted for the rejected truth. The objective faith is dropped because the subjective has departed: the faith which is believed has vanished because there was no faith to believe it. But it is evident that, while we are not yet perfect in knowledge, we may mistake the contents of that which we firmly believe. We may have the faith which believes, and yet be in error as to what is all implied in the faith which is believed. The foundation is firmly held, but incongruous materials are laid upon it. Now, the faith which believes does not depart, because we have unwittingly mistaken stubble for gold. A man may still be a believer, though he have made the mistake. We have the examples of holy men in all ages, men whose faith is unquestioned, who were not only rebuked by others for erroneous doctrine, but who, by recanting, rebuked themselves. Were they not believers while they held the non-fundamental errors? Their recantation show that they were. But were not those just as well who, because they never saw their mistake, did not recant. It would be the very summit of uncharitableness to consider a man lost, and treat him as such, because he was in error, without any regard to the character of the error itself, or of the person holding it. The former

may be non-fundamental, i. e., may be but an inconsistency which does not by any means subvert the foundation. The latter may be a true believer, who receives the error not wittingly, but because the truth is not known, or, if known, seems to him, from defect of light to illustrate it as truth, to be an error. Faith may remain in both cases. If only the error be not held in spite of the better light, and be not subversive of the foundation, its retention is not a fall from grace nor a despite to the Holy Spirit. But whilst we insist upon it that not every error is fatal, we wish to guard against the misconception, or false conclusion, according to which it is forthwith pronounced indifferent. Fatal or indifferent are not the only alternatives. No sin in practice is indifferent, yet our hopes were indeed vain, if all were absolutely fatal. Every sin in doctrine is dangerous, whether fundamental or not. It is so, not only because we are accountable for the light which we might have enjoyed, and the acceptance of which might have preserved us from the mistakes made, but also because one error opens the way for another and a more dangerous. Each false doctrine is a step, however small, towards the establishment of a system growing out of our own minds, and subversive of that which is revealed. It is therefore of most grave importance, even though by the restraining grace of God it does not always eventuate in such ruin. The consequences may be averted, and cannot, therefore, fairly be considered as necessarily involved in the error, and the sin may be forgiven among those secret faults, for the pardon of which believers daily pray.—Ps. 19: 12. Thus both those who sin in practice, and those who sin in doctrine, may remain believers, and consequently living members of the congregation of saints. All the baptized who, notwithstanding their faults, cling sincerely to their one Lord in the one faith, being thus daily cleansed from all their sins, are of the church, the “one body.” Here there is unity, and no schism. The church is invisible, composed of believers wherever found, and whatever called, and therefore she is one: there cannot be two or more bodies of believers; for those very characteristics which would render them totally distinct from each other, and heterogeneous, would stamp one or the other as unbelievers.

The church, therefore, has a unity belonging to her very essence. She always was, and always will be, one. Her essential unity is not disturbed by the divisions in her outward appearance. The members of the various christian denomi-

nations are either of the one church, or not of Christ's church at all: there is no intermediate position in which they could be not of the *one* church, and yet of the church. The promise, "there shall be one fold and one shepherd," is already realized. Though all christians cannot, in this world; be gathered together in one place, yet are they all one in Christ Jesus. Though they have not all the same forms of government, and the same ceremonies, yet have they one Lord. Though they have not even the same doctrine in all particulars, yet have they the one faith and the one baptism, if they be christians at all. No diversities among them can break the oneness of the Lord's body. For so long as these diversities are consistent with the in-dwelling of the one spirit, and the existence of the one faith in the soul, so long there is no rent in the body: so soon as they grieve away the spirit, and make shipwreck of the faith, there is a simple falling away from, not a division in the church.

We are offering no apology for sects; we have no desire to remove out of sight the sin of heresy and schism. These are usually too much overlooked already. It behooves us to warn against them, not to extenuate. But there is discomfort enough in the present aspect of the church, without adding uncomfortable error. It is meet to call the attention of sincere minds, who see only discouragements on every side, because of the many sects around them, to the consoling fact that there is a oneness underlying all. We need not despair: God is present with his church every day. But we must not treat the outward divisions with indifference. Although they do not put asunder what God hath joined together in his beloved, yet they are evils whose pernicious consequences we, in the present times, incur little danger of overrating.

The church must render her presence upon earth discernible. This necessity lies in her nature and design. Not only must the individuals of whom she is composed, come forth to the light, not as the manner of some is, secluding themselves in dark retreats, but they must come forward as a body, with christian confession in all its branches, and using those gracious means by which the body edifies itself, and increases the number of its members. Whatever is intended for this world must, in some way, come under the cognizance of men's senses; there must be some sign indicating its presence. The church in becoming visible, does but obey a

common law. Even that which is strictly spiritual in its nature, attains its end among men by some corporeal means. By these the church must do her work. The word, which is the power of God unto salvation, must have an audible or visible sign as its vehicle, thus, as a sensible thing, conveying the spirit of God through the senses to the spirit of man. Baptism requires material contact between water and man's body, though the invisible gift of regeneration, which it brings, influences his spiritual nature. As with the sacrament of communion with the Lord's body and blood: there is a visible earthly, and an invisible heavenly element—a spiritual and a corporeal, mysteriously united for that mystery of sense and spirit, man. The means of grace are signs, not of an absent gift merely typified, but of a gift always present with them, and conveyed by them, and of whose invisible presence they visibly assure us. And if we could see more deeply into the mystery of man and his redemption, we would no doubt perceive that these means of grace, corporeal-spiritual, visible-invisible as they are, exert an influence upon our bodies, as well as upon our souls. This is more than intimated in the case of the Holy Supper, the crowning mystery of all, not only in the indication given of an intimate relation between its operation and the resurrection of the body, John 6, but also in the plain scriptural statement respecting its influence upon our bodily health, 1 Cor. 11. We read of no spiritual influence exerted upon man without the intervention of corporeal means. The former comes upon us through the latter, whether it affects the body in its transit or not: so much is certain. The Zwinglian, and all similar spiritualistic notions of an immediate exercise of the Holy Spirit's power for man's salvation, are wholly without foundation in holy scripture. Even on the day of Pentecost, when, as is usual in the beginnings of all great epochs, there was much that we must consider extraordinary and miraculous, the spirit was not imparted without all visible, material means, as his bearers and signs of his presence. Now, from this law, requiring all spiritual things, which are intended to exercise an influence in this world, to assume a corporeal form, the church, as we have already observed, is not exempted. Though in her very essence she is a spiritual house which we cannot see, yet must she show her existence. She must have an external form, underlying which will be the invisible reality: she must become visible. The administration of the means of grace—those corporeal bearers of spiritual

power—is given to her; and in dispensing them, and properly receiving them, she becomes visible; they are the external signs which unmistakably indicate her presence. We see her, where these are, precisely in the same sense in which we see the impartation of a spiritual gift when we see the means used with which it is inseparably connected. She cannot do her work invisibly: she cannot impart or receive grace invisibly, she can do it only in the sight and hearing of men. And to do it all decently and in order, she organizes herself externally, visibly, and discharges her duty, and uses her privileges, just as though there were not a deeper organization back of all, which is each member's great comfort, but with which, in our external relations, we have nothing to do. For this world this visible body is the church, and with it must we have all our visible dealings. There is no appeal to an invisible, except in the one question of final salvation; for in this God's eye, who sees what is invisible to us, is alone concerned. The visible church is thus necessary, to give and to receive grace, which cannot be done invisibly, although not all who profess to receive grace are the saved, but those who receive it really by faith, i. e., the invisible church. The destruction of the visible church would involve the ruin of the invisible, because it would imply the destruction of those means by which alone the invisible can receive additions to her membership. If the church is to be at all, she must be visible.

Moreover, the necessity of the church visible, is apparent also from those sacrificial acts, by which she is required to manifest her gratitude to God, and to give him the glory. These can just as little be performed invisibly as the sacramental. The duty of confession is only second to that of believing. The first requisite after becoming a child of light is, to let the light shine. What is in the heart must show itself. And it is to be particularly observed, that the continuance in a state of grace, and therefore the final salvation, is ordinarily made dependent upon such showing. "For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation."—Rom. 10: 10. This is in accordance with our Savior's words: "whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven; but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven."—Matt. 10: 32-3; Luke 12: 8. The reasons for this are obvious. The glory of God cannot be promoted

by a concealment of that which he has done for our souls: it must come forth, that he may have the praise, and that others may also learn to adore him. To this end are we made a royal priesthood, that we might show forth the praises of him who hath called us out of darkness into his marvellous light.—1 Pet. 2: 9. Every christian becomes thus a preacher of righteousness, striving to make God's praise glorious all around him, and laboring to make known to others that name, by which alone men can be saved. So the natural tendency of things inward to externalize themselves, pushes the faith outward in the form of confession, that it may redound to the Redeemer's praise. If faith exist at all in a saving form, it must come forward to the light: for this, as we have seen, there are internal and external motives, the resistance of which will jeopardize the very existence of faith. Believers, therefore, necessarily become visible, as well by the administration and reception of the means of grace, as by the consequences of right reception, namely, christian confession in words and works.

All these external acts require the union of believers in a congregation. Not each individual christian, isolated from his brethren, is intended thus to become visible; but the whole body, of which each individual is a member. The design never could be accomplished by many persons, each of whom stood separate from all the rest. It would be the utmost selfishness, and therefore inconsistent with all christian character, for each one to presume to be his own church, dispensing to himself the means of grace, according to his own selfish pleasure, and confessing his faith, according to his own bad taste, apart from all others. The means of grace never were given to individuals to be thus abused: they belong to the church. And the deepest yearnings of the heart for communion with kindred souls—yearnings which God mercifully satisfies in the communion of saints—would be thus trampled upon. It is not in God to permit such indecency and disorder, and not in christian men to wish such misery. The common faith unites the members of the one body to labor, to suffer and to rejoice together; and he who would stand wholly isolated, could do so only because he has no sympathy in faith and hope with other believers, i. e., only because he is no believer at all. Hence we read that the first christians were together, and had all things in common, Acts 2: 44, and that such as should be saved were added unto the church, 47. Hence too the exhortation: "let us consider one another—"

er, to provoke unto love and to good works, not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together as the manner of some is." Heb. 10: 24-5. All the people are to praise God and confess his name together. "Now the God of patience and consolation grant you to be like-minded one toward another, according to Christ Jesus, that ye may with one mind and one mouth glorify God."—Rom. 15: 5-6. Thus a united front was presented to the enemy, and thus the early christians sustained each other, by bearing their burdens and tasting their joys together. And thus it must ever be. For the Lord is ever present where christians, though but two or three are gathered together in his name, not where each man stands separately in his own name. The great work which Christ has enjoined upon his people, not only requires many men and many means, but many men and means united; and only when the work is done by a body acting in his name, can it redound to his glory. This truth was not overlooked in the first ages of the church, as it but too frequently is now. Then works of charity were not only done to alleviate human suffering, but also, and primarily, to show forth God's praise: the noble means had a still nobler end. Hence not every individual did what he could, independently of the church; he did not act in his own name, and reap the praise of his loving deeds; he was not the dispenser of his own alms, knowing that individual gifts, however faithfully and humbly bestowed, are more likely to bring to the donor, than to him who renders us merciful, the recipient's thanks and praise. For how does the recipient know that it was for Christ's sake that mercy was shown, rather than from some personal considerations or self-interest? The humble christian, therefore, laid his possessions at the apostles' feet, and brought his alms as sacrifices to God, to be bestowed upon the necessitous, or applied to noble ends through God's own institution, that God only, not any man, might have the glory. The donor's humble heart could not conceive that it was of any importance that he should be known as the giver: his end was fully accomplished when he was conscious of having increased those means by which Christ's Bride glorifies her Lord. The present trumpeting abroad of individual names, with praises for individual works of love, belongs to the selfishness of the age which envies God his glory. The church was intended to be, and anciently was, the recipient of individual offerings to every christian charity, and the dispenser of these treasures in her Lord's name; and surely our pri-

vate judgment ought to be sufficiently humble to suppose, that she knows at least, as well how to distribute and how to economize, as the individual. Thus is it apparent that the church must be visible, as a church—a corporate body—both to administer those means of grace by which she is sustained and enlarged, and to discharge those duties by which, while she is a minister of mercy among men, she gives glory to God in the highest. She is a visible church, otherwise men's souls would not be saved, the saving grace which is visibly dispensed being wanting, and the command, "whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him," could not be obeyed.

Much of that which has been already said, tends to render probable the unity of the church visible. That she is designed to be visibly one, wherein this oneness consists, and how she is affected by divisions, are topics of great importance for the understanding of her unity, and merit our more particular attention.

That the visible church is designed to be one, is clear from the fact, that unity is an essential attribute of her invisible nature. So far as possible, the attributes of the one must be transferable to the other. Not, as though they could always be predicated with the same necessity of each. The visible is striving after much that the invisible has already attained. But she strives after it in accordance with God's holy will. It is the goal that God has placed before her. The church, e. g., is holy—the congregation of saints. This applies to her invisible nature, as composed of those who are in Christ Jesus. But the outward congregation must strive to realize this attribute in itself. Not as though the church ceased to be holy on account of those in the congregation who are mere hypocrites. Far from it: she is holy in spite of all the unholy members. But her aim must be to sanctify all, and therefore, she must put away from herself the person who is incorrigibly unholy. It is God's design in reference to all: they are not called unto uncleanness, but unto holiness. The visible church is designed to be pure, and so far as she comes short of this, she sins, and needs daily cleansing by the blood of Jesus: those who will not be cleansed, if discovered, are cast out. So, as the church is one invisibly, it is God's design that she should be visibly one, and this oneness must, accordingly, be her aim. God gave pastors and teachers for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we

all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man.—Eph. 4: 11–13. Not as though the defect of outward unity could divide the invisible church: she remains, and remains one, as God instituted her, in spite of all man's sin. But as a departure from her holiness is a sin, so must a departure from her unity be a sin also: a sin that in both cases is ruinous, if obstinately and impenitently persisted in, but which, in neither case, absolutely excludes the sinners from Christ's body and the hope of salvation. Whether it does cut off from the living vine or not, will depend upon the peculiar character of the offence and the offender, i. e., whether the former is of such a character as to overthrow the foundation of faith, and whether the latter sins in spite of the grace which would restrain him, or merely from a mistaken view of his duty. But in any case, the departure from unity is a departure from God's design respecting the visible church, as this design is revealed to us in the unity of the invisible: the one should be, because the other is, one; and this oneness cannot be neglected without great danger, just as the will of God in any other respect cannot be neglected without sin.

But we are not left to conclude the unity of the visible church from mere inference. The scriptures directly assert and urge it. It will not be contended that reference is had only to the invisible church, in such passages as these: "I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment."—1 Cor. 1: 10. "God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honor to that part which lacked: that there should be no schism in the body."—Ib. 12: 24–5. The unity enjoined here is manifestly external, as well as internal. Stress is always to be laid upon the latter, as by far the most important, indeed as the only basis upon which the former is possible. But never can the truth lie in the maintenance of one, to the exclusion of the other. The relation between the two is similar to that between faith and its confession. The one underlies the other, and renders it necessary. Not only must we be "one in Christ," by the possession of his life, but we must also, as a consequence, be of "the same mind," and "speak the same thing." Thus only will the argument for the Savior's divine mission, from the oneness of his disciples in him, as presented in John 17: 21, receive all the force

of which it is capable. The argument holds good, as we have already observed, even in spite of schisms in the visible body: the church's oneness, as a body of Christ's disciples, does not depend upon anything external: but if outward unity will in any case make the argument apparent to one who sees it not, or make it strong to one who thinks it weak, the duty of external oneness to render the internal manifest, must be evident. And one body, visibly one, is a stronger argument, at least to some of "the world," for the divine efficacy of that grace and truth, the object of which is asserted to be the gathering together into one, that which was scattered abroad, than the one body visibly rent and divided.

The divisions forbidden in the passages which we have cited, necessarily refer to the visible, not the invisible church. For there can be no schism in the Lord's body, in any other than the external sense. There may be different organizations, all claiming the name of church. But each one will either be of the Lord's mystical body or not. If it is, then there is no division; if it is not, it no more deserves the name of Christ's church than any other human organization whatever, i. e., it is not a division of the church, but a party wholly different from it. The schism can only be in the visible church, leaving the one body mystical unaffected. Those who are externally separated from others, are not, therefore, lost: they may still be living branches of the living vine, although they sin by their schism. If they are separated from the Lord's body and life, they are no longer any part of the church. They are a mere "Benevolent Society," or something similar, outside of the church; and if they commenced in the spirit, and ended in the flesh, so as to form thus an independent society, disowned by the church, they are not a schism, but an apostacy. Look at it as we will, the church, in the proper sense, is, and must be, one: the invisible church is undivided and indivisible. There is one Lord and one body. A schism cannot possibly have place in any other domain than that of visibility. Now, as the scriptures forbid divisions in the church, and these can occur only in the visible organization, unity in the visible church is God's holy will.

Wherein this unity consists, is a question concerning which there is not only a variety, but also an utter contrariety of opinions among christians. It will not be expected that we should enter into a particular examination of these conflicting theories: the task might prove endless. If the truth

can be ascertained, it will itself be a refutation of all opposing error. But the truth surely cannot lie in those systems which make something indifferent in itself essential to unity. That, without which the church may remain herself, cannot be a mark of her existence as one. The mark of visible, must have some necessary connection with her invisible unity. She is not one visibly, because all her members are in one locality, for they are not, and cannot be; nor because all agree in holding the same forms and ceremonies of human appointment; for man's inventions, however decent and profitable in themselves, cannot be a test of membership in a divine institution, as the church is admitted to be. The rejection of man's devices is not necessarily schism: not necessarily, we say, because in some instances it may be, not in itself, but as a manifestation of a schism existing internally before. Visible unity must consist in preserving, so far as this may be visibly done, the essentials to invisible unity: it will accordingly find its principle in the life of Christ, and those means by which that life is imparted to us. Hence the truth of the Augsburg Confession, Art. VII, cannot be gainsaid: "It is sufficient for the true unity of the church, that the Gospel is therein preached in harmony with, and according to its true intent and meaning, and that the sacraments are administered in consonance with the word of God. Nor is it necessary to the true unity of the christian church, that uniform traditions, rites and ceremonies of human appointment should be everywhere observed."

This must necessarily be referred to the church visible. For the church is not invisibly one, by virtue of her unity of doctrine and administration of sacraments, nor do the confessions ever so teach. They do not deny the christianity of all who, in any degree, hold false doctrine. They insist that false doctrine is, in its nature, unchristian: and who would deny this? They accordingly condemn it, and warn against it. They also condemn those persons who harbor it, so far as they are found fighting against God, by fighting against any article of revealed truth. How could they do otherwise if their professions are to be considered at all sincere? But this condemnation of errorists no more implies the belief of their final damnation, than the condemnation of vice and of the vicious person implies the belief in his inevitable ruin. We sin daily: do we not condemn the sin which we know ourselves to have committed? But every true believer knows

how unreal such condemnation of our sin always is, when it falls only upon the abstract sin, leaving us, the sinners, quite unscathed. We condemn not only one sin, but ourselves who commit the sin: there can be no sincere repentance without this. And yet when we condemn ourselves, or rather apply the condemnation of the law to *ourselves*, not merely to *our offences*, we are far from supposing that we are everlastingly damned—that we cannot at all be saved. The word of God condemns us all, so far as we sin in doctrine or in practice: condemns us, too, for those sins of which we, perhaps, never become conscious: and yet we poor sinners by no means infer from this that, according to the scriptures, none but those who are pure as angels, can be saved. Our confessions do “reject” and “condemn,” not only errors, but also those who hold them; but they do so only as the scriptures do so, declaring the error, and the errorist, so far as he holds the error, unchristian. The confessions do not teach that every departure from the form of sound words, necessarily results in damnation. There may be, and we sincerely believe there are, those who in some respects hold and teach unsound doctrine, not “in harmony with, and according to the true intent and meaning” of the Gospel, who are still in Christ Jesus, not having made shipwreck of the “one faith,” and therefore true members of the “one body,” the invisible church. To the true unity of the congregation of believers, harmony in every point of doctrine is not necessary, so long as the life in Christ by faith is preserved; that is, there may be differences in such points as do not affect the foundation immediately; for so long errors, though dangerous both objectively and subjectively, are consistent with the state of grace. The article quoted, therefore, defines the essentials of visible, not invisible church unity. In this view we are confirmed by the denial that rites and ceremonies of human appointment are necessary to true unity: a denial of which the church would never have thought, had the intention been to define the unity of the church invisible.

The true unity of the visible church consists not, then, in any ceremony or rite of human appointment, or in any human tradition whatever. It would, indeed, be very desirable to have the same form of government, the same order of divine worship, the same observance of festivals and fasts, the same rites and ceremonies, &c., in all places. The advantages resulting from such uniformity would be manifold. But they are not essential, precisely because they are not divine, and

may therefore vary largely without schism. As regards these things, "let every one be persuaded in his own mind." Decency and order must be preserved; but whether they be observed by Episcopal, or Presbyterian, or Congregational rules, is utterly immaterial, because only the general rule is divine, the special a matter of mere expediency. We cannot, in things of this kind, find any tests of unity: these must lie in the domain of the necessary and divine, not in that of the expedient and human.

The only test can be that given in our noble Augustana, namely, the purity of the word and the sacraments, as the means essential to the invisible, and therefore also to the visible church. As long as the means of grace are validly administered, there must be a christian church; for these means will accomplish that whereunto they are sent, at least in some cases. It were sheer unbelief to deny this. The invisible church is thus secure of her existence, so long as the means of grace exist: for they continue adding unto the one body them that shall be saved. The mark of outward unity is the outward manifestation of that which has been inwardly embraced, and which renders the possessor a branch of the vine. We are members of the invisible church by faith, which is the internal product of the word and the sacraments; we are members of the visible church by our confession, which is the external product of these same means of grace. As faith without works is dead, so must it be dead without confession, of which, indeed, works form a part. The most intelligible, and therefore ordinarily the only adequate confession, is by means of words. Our faith cannot become manifest by mere deeds, except in its most general form: works cannot distinguish the Arian or Pelagian from the orthodox christian. The mere assertion, moreover, that we believe what the Bible teaches, is not the confession required; for neither will this mark the difference between the believer of the truth and the holder of falsehoods: errorists and heretics are not usually remarkable for their denial of the formal principle of Protestantism. Besides, it must be a narrow faith that believes only this one article of christian doctrine: "the Bible is true," caring nothing about the truth which it contains. That religious system, which deems no other doctrine necessary, must be superlatively lean. The church must have her confession to become visible. A human organization will remain such, no matter how much its members meet to sing and pray and preach, mimicking the church, and striving to

undermine by mimicking her. And her confession must be specific, that is, it must state, not only where the truth is believed to be found, but also what the truth is which faith apprehends. The confession will mark a congregation as christian, contradistinguished from all mere human societies, and as orthodox, in no way participating in the errors of those who, while professing to believe the scriptures, reject the truth which it teaches. It is accordingly in the domain of christian confession, that we must look for the grounds and tests of divisions in the visible church. As the verbal confession is the most important, disunion usually lies in false doctrine and false administration of the sacraments, i. e., doctrine and administration not in accordance with Holy Scripture. And because they are a consequence of doctrinal errors, of which they are generally an actual confession, practical errors, as contradistinguished from doctrinal, afford another root of divisions. The manifestation of internal evil by a false confession, is usually styled heresy; the manifestation of the same by false conduct, leading to separations, is termed schism. Both, considered as confessions, manifest an unscriptural state of mind and heart. The nature of each, and their relation to each other, we shall endeavor to point out.

First of all, it is necessary to guard against the error, as though the preaching of false doctrine, or the unscriptural administration of the sacraments, in any congregation, would render it necessarily schismatical. The congregation may be wholly innocent. The breach of unity lies in the false confession, which demands the unscriptural use of the means of grace, or which, at least, tolerates any unsound words. Occasional errors may occur, in spite of the pure confession; but where the latter is found, the error remains an individual affair of the minister, with which the congregation is not chargeable, provided it discharge its duty in guarding against the continuance of the evil. When it tolerates the false doctrine, it is, of course, already on the way to schism, the confession being a mere dead letter while the hearts of the people are indifferent to it. The position of the congregation, not that of its minister, decides whether the members are in schism.

The words heresy and schism have originally the same meaning, and are used synonymously in holy scripture. But in ecclesiastical writers they have come to be the representatives of two different, though closely connected ideas. A

heresy is a departure from the truth, as held by the church, in a fundamental point. It is, therefore, a separation from the church, at least in mind, if not in the outward action. But the latter eventually must result from the former, if there be any earnestness in maintaining the truth. The heretic will, if the difference between him and the congregation seem important, proclaim his conviction, and his withdrawal or expulsion must soon follow. The result is schism, i. e., the external separation from the congregation, and the organization of another. But this separation sometimes takes place where there are no conscious doctrinal differences. Hence, although heresy always results in schism, if persisted in, schism does not always presuppose heresy. Ethical, as well as doctrinal differences, may cause schisms. But when there is an internal separation from the church, whether originating in opposite convictions, or in discordant tastes and feelings, the doctrine of those separating externally, will not be left unaffected by it. Hence the confession says nothing of those causes of divisions which apparently lie outside of the domain of doctrine, leaving them all to be traced back to some disagreement in the word and sacraments, without which disagreement, though other causes may have operated in that direction, there could be no external breach.

That practical and personal differences are frequently the antecedents of ecclesiastical ruptures, experience has shown. The division here does not seem to be caused by any doctrinal discordance. Indeed, sometimes altar is set up against altar, for no better reason than that some disaffected persons do not like the minister, or some of the members of the congregation, or some peculiar forms or ceremonies in the public worship. At first sight such unreasonableness seems to have nothing whatever to do with doctrine. And yet if we look again, we will not fail to perceive a connection. For the refusal to sacrifice personal preferences in matters indifferent to the preservation of unity, implies one of these two things: either that schism is thought to be no sin, and can, therefore, for the gratification of any whim or taste, be produced with impunity; or, that those indifferent matters are considered of such moment, as to justify schism, in other words, that *adiaphora* are fundamentals. That both these alternatives are grave errors, is obvious; and that those who adopt either cannot be considered as still preaching the Gospel in harmony with the word of God, and fully agreeing in doctrine with the church that so preaches, is quite evident. Besides, it

will generally be found that schismatics have some pet notion which they would be glad to introduce, but which the church, to the great wounding of their pride, refuses to adopt, or in any way to countenance. History therefore furnishes but few examples of sects which did not, sooner or later, manifest their doctrinal opposition to the church, whatever their professions of agreement may have been. A sect which has ceased to give itself a reason for its separation from the body—a reason, too, more specious than that of personal or adiaphoristic differences—will not long maintain its separate organization. Some important difference must exist, to justify it in its own eyes. The permanent breach of love implies the breach of faith; and it is therefore unfair to represent our confession as teaching, that the unity of the church is not broken, so long as there is no manifest heresy proclaimed by either party, even if altar be erected against altar. The confession takes for granted that when party contends against party, both cannot have the word pure. The internal and external separation, heresy and schism; are both opposed to the means of grace in their purity, and are therefore both represented as breaking the unity of the visible church.

Heresy is sometimes defined as the denial of truth in general, without special reference to the importance of the truth denied, or to the intention or character of him who denies. Both these points must, however, enter into any definition that would aim at correctness as well as precision.

Every truth which it has pleased God to reveal, is of unspeakable worth, no matter whether in our systems of doctrine it occupies a prominent or subordinate position. The truth is one, and each part must, therefore, challenge the respect which all truth deserves. But all parts of truth are not equally essential. The old systematic theologians were right in making distinctions where the differences are so palpable. They divided the several truths which are the objects of faith, into fundamental and non-fundamental articles. Not as though they believed that any revealed truth could be unimportant, and therefore treated with indifference. They knew right well that what was important enough to be revealed, could not be too unimportant to be received. The non-fundamentals are those which could be ignored, and even in some circumstances, denied without damnation. They are not absolutely necessary to salvation. When the believer rejects them, under the impression that they are unscriptural error, he does not thereby become an unbeliever: the foun-

dation still remains. When they are known and acknowledged to be revealed truths, they of course become subjectively fundamental: their denial is as much an indication of unbelief as the rejection of any confessedly fundamental doctrines. The fundamentals are such as are necessary to salvation; though they are not all necessary in precisely the same sense. They may be divided into two classes: first, those of which it is dangerous even to be ignorant, inasmuch as they are the necessary foundation of faith, without which, in the case of those whose years require the activity of faith, faith itself cannot exist; and secondly, those of which we may be ignorant, but which, when known, we cannot, under any circumstances, deny without grieving the Holy Spirit. The term heresy should be confined to those who reject fundamentals, not applied indiscriminately to all errorists. Non-fundamentals may be rejected without heresy. In making this assertion, we are quite sure of using the word as our fathers used it. "Heresy," says Quenstedt, "is not every error contrary to the word of God, but such error as subverts the foundation of faith." "Properly to call any one a heretic," says Gerhard, "it is necessary that his error infringes upon the very foundation of faith." As far as the object of our faith is concerned, we are therefore justified in saying, that only fundamental error is heresy, and that it is uncharitable to apply the odious name to any other.

But another question remains. The character of the errorist, as we have already stated, must not be left out of view, in defining heresy. In the words of Gerhard, we must assert it to be a characteristic of the heretic, "that malice and pertinacity are conjoined with his error, so that he obstinately defends it, notwithstanding that he has been frequently warned." The believer is not forthwith a heretic, because he has inadvertently and temporarily made a fundamental mistake. He must be warned again and again, and only by being selfishly obstinate, and refusing to be enlightened and to yield, he becomes a heretic. But the fact of his temporarily holding a fundamental error, does not, in itself, constitute him a heretic, this term implying moral obliquity as well as doctrinal fundamental error. This is plain from both scriptural and ecclesiastical usage of the term.

In holy scripture the word occurs in various connections, sometimes synonymously with the now usual meaning of the term "schism." It is applied to parties among the Jews, as "the sect of the Sadducees," Acts 5: 17, and "the sect of

the Pharisees," Acts 15: 5, in both which cases it is "heresy" in the original. In the same sense of party it is applied by enemies to the whole christian body, when this is called the "sect of the Nazarenes." Christians are here intended to be classed as a Jewish faction, with Pharisees and Sadducees. But the word is also applied, by the apostles themselves, to parties in the christian church, e. g., 1 Cor. 11: 19: "for there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you." Here the evil disposition, the sin, is evidently implied. It is not merely an innocent mistake of the intellect, but an error of the heart also, concerning the subject of which the passage implicitly denies that he shall be approved. If any doubt should remain, as to this sense of the word in scripture, i. e., that it implies a wrong state of the heart, as well as of the head, it must be at once dispersed, when we remember that in Gal. 5: 20, "heresies" are classed among the "works of the flesh" and censured as such. Here they cannot be innocent mistakes, else it could not be said, as it is in the last passage, "that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." They are stubborn errors, maintained from carnal motives, in spite of all warning and instruction: errors permitted not as a probation to them who hold them, but to the saints, who, by the endurance of the trial should become manifest as the approved. Coincident with this, are the other passages of scripture in which the word occurs as applied to professing christians. "There shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them."—2 Pet. 2: 1. Hence St. Paul commands: "a man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition reject."—Titus 3: 10. We are therefore making no rash assertion, when we say that the biblical sense of the word "heretic," so far as it applies to professed christians, implies moral obliquity, as well as mental error, and that biblical usage does not justify its application to one who is innocently in error, i. e., whose conscience has never been properly enlightened by receiving "the first and second admonition." As far as the word is used of parties among those not professing christianity, we can, of course, have nothing to do with it here: probably no one will dissent from the remarks of Gerhardt, that no one can properly be called a heretic, who has not, by baptism, been received into the visible church. And with this sense the ecclesiastical usage corresponds throughout.

A heretic is one, then, who holds fundamental error in spite of the scriptures. Heresy can therefore only be imputed to parties who, having the will to appear as christians, have fallen away from the foundation of christian faith. As long as individuals cling to the foundation, and are unwilling to swerve from it, humbly imploring pardon for any fault which they see, but unable to see the error which others perceive in their doctrine, they are errorists, but not heretics. As such, they must not be at once rejected, but patiently instructed; and under faithful instruction, one of two things will soon take place: they will either receive the grace of God for their enlightenment, and accordingly put away that which God's word shows them to be erroneous, or they will reject the light, and obstinately retain the error, and thus, if it be fundamental, become heretics. Then, if they do not separate from the visible church before, they must be cut off by excommunication, and thus become a heretical sect. Not every sect is such. All heresy is schism, but not vice versa. Every sect is in error, but not heretically so, and not all must, in consequence, be treated alike. Those which are heretical, in the sense here defined, we can of course have nothing whatever to do with: they must be denied to be brethren at all, and can be styled christians, only because they have received baptism, and thus were once in the church, from which they have now fallen. Had they never been baptized, they would be simple Jews or Pagans, Turks or infidels, according as their opinions coincided with the one or the other. But errorists, who are not heretics, obviously require christian consideration and regard, as brethren in Christ; and the nature of our relation to them this is the proper place to consider. Two questions require to be answered here: 1. Is schism, when not founded upon heresy, to be treated as innocent? 2. Is it the church's duty to unite and coöperate with sects not heretical? These questions now claim our earnest attention.

In answering the first, justice requires a distinction to be made between the persons and the errors which they may hold, and this distinction will be found conducive to clearness. As regards the errors themselves, then, we can only pronounce them worthy of all condemnation, whether they be of prime or secondary importance. For that which conflicts with revelation, even though the point assailed have no perceptible bearing upon our soul's eternal interests, and may, under

some circumstances, be safely dispensed with, can only be of evil, and must be treated as God's and our soul's enemy. The difference between fundamental and non-fundamental, is of no practical value in this respect. Considered in itself, all error is damnable, and all is, moreover, really dangerous; so that many who hold non-fundamental errors, although they are saved notwithstanding their errors, are saved "as by fire." Whatever may be our view of persons among the sects, it is evident that their errors may neither be ignored nor smoothed over, so as to appear right; and all attempts thus to palliate them, must be looked upon, by all whose spiritual sight is clear, as culpable indifference to God's truth, which is precious in all its parts. That the charge of uncharitableness, made against those who rebuke errors wherever found, can only originate in a want of true religious earnestness and reverence for Jehovah's word, and in ignorance as well as inexperience of true christian charity in its highest form, on the part of those who, we fear too often without all charity, prefer the charge, needs but to be mentioned: it can need no proof to those who know and believe that God and his word challenges our whole heart, and that to this all else is secondary, and upon this all true love to our neighbor is dependent.

When we turn, however, to the person who holds the errors, our condemnation, if pronounced at all, evidently requires qualification. That errorists are not wholly innocent, under any circumstances, we sincerely believe: no man is innocent who sins in theory or in practice. Sin remains such, notwithstanding the virtuous intention of him who commits it. That our conscience is dark, so that it reproves not the wrong, in consequence of which we presume it right, is itself a sin. Ignorance and bluntness of conscience will not excuse error and vice. Our secret faults are faults which require remission, as well as those of which we are fully conscious. But ignorance may render error and vice not inconsistent with the continuance in Christ and his grace. That is, when we sin ignorantly, we may have that faith at the same time, which secures our remission daily, and richly. Whilst the law pronounces its condemnation upon all who sin, the Gospel still promises salvation to all that believe; so that although all sinners, whether such in doctrine or in practice, are condemned, there is still no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. And as sects not heretical may be in Christ Jesus, notwithstanding their error, truth does not

require that we should consider them lost, nor that we should treat them as aliens. They are our brethren still, though they be erring brethren.

But schism, even when it has not its origin in a heresy, is still a sin, and therefore, whether we may unite or coöperate with now heretical schismatics, does not turn merely upon the question whether they are brethren or not. We shall endeavor to ascertain the nature of the sin of schism, as distinguished from that of heresy. The practical question will then be of easy solution.

Heresy is theoretic schism, and must result in this practically. If those who hold it do not withdraw from the visible church, they must, after sufficient warning and instruction, be expelled. They are then, if they maintain an organization as a party, a sect—a heretical sect. Whether this excommunicated party be large or small, does not affect the case. The truth is not necessarily with the majority. The church is that party which retains the faith once delivered to the saints, even though it be but a small minority. Nor is that necessarily the church which expels an opposing party. Cases may happen, in which error becomes dominant, and refuses to tolerate truth. The errorists then excommunicate the faithful. This was the case in the Reformation. Those in error were in the majority, and, by refusing communion with those who preached the truth, became schismatics. Not every excommunication must be considered valid: only that which is bound by men in God's name, is bound in heaven. It is folly to suppose that men can forgive or retain sins according to their own arbitrary will. The remission and retention are truly as valid when pronounced by man, as if pronounced by God in person; but only when men use God's word, and pronounce them in God's stead. Absolution may be given, therefore, in any case; for Christ has really died for all, even the vilest, and the gift of remission, for Christ's sake, is ready for all, and is intended to be sincerely offered to all. It is ready, and can be validly offered, even to the impenitent, although we are forbidden to cast pearls before those whom we know to be swine. If men, by unbelief, reject the proffered gift, it is not rendered a nonentity by man's folly. The truth is, there must be a reality to offer, before man can exercise his liberty of choosing or rejecting it. It is absurd to blame men for the rejection of that which was never really offered for their acceptance. It is offered just as truly where it is rejected, as where it is accepted, so that

man's hypocritical repentance and faith renders not God's saving word, "son, thy sins are forgiven thee," a falsehood. It is true that moment and, if the word is received in faith, will be so forever. But the case is different with the retention of sins. In the use of the binding keys, the minister's mistake affects the validity of the act. God is not willing to retain all men's sins as he is to forgive, and man may therefore declare those retained which God has forgiven, and which, on account of the person's faith, remain forgiven. Man has, therefore, no right to use the keys for binding, unless there is unmistakable evidence of impenitent persistence in sin; and we are not bound to consider any person validly excommunicated, whose doctrine and life show forth God's praise, and against whom stubborn impenitence cannot be proven. Therefore, excommunication from any body, does not in itself render a man either a heretic or a schismatic. The party excommunicated in accordance with God's word, or withdrawing in opposition to God's word, is in schism.

But, as we have already observed, persons and parties may withdraw without pretending that the church from which they separate, is incorrigibly heretical. That they sin by so doing is evident from the passages of scripture which forbid divisions. It is manifest, moreover, that the only ground upon which separation is justifiable at all, is, that the body from which another separates, will not tolerate scriptural doctrine and practice, i. e., that the body separated from becomes heretical or schismatical. The sin of schism still exists, but it falls not upon those who come out from the erring party, but upon the latter itself. Mere personal tastes and opinions, without a reason in conscience, never can justify a transgression of the apostolic precept: "let there be no divisions among you." Every party is schismatical, therefore, that breaks off from the church, or from the existing body that is confessedly orthodox, without having any other than a merely selfish reason, as different tastes, opinions upon adiaphora, &c. Indeed, divisions or schisms are absolutely forbidden; we are permitted to separate from the congregation of true confessors on no account whatever; for those cases in which separation is said to be justifiable, involve no division at all on the part of those who are driven away by the impenitent continuance in wrong, and intolerance of right of the existing body, upon which the sin of schism necessarily falls. And as schism is forbidden, so continuance in it, under any circumstances whatsoever, is continuance in sin. And although

the schismatic may be saved, on the ground of his sinning from want of proper light, yet no man, knowing the sin, and impenitently remaining in it, can have well-founded hopes of salvation, inasmuch as he neglects to fulfil those conditions upon which alone the promise of pardon can be appropriated. Only when persons repent and cease to do evil, whatever self-denial it may cost, can they be assured that their iniquities are covered.

It follows as a necessary consequence from this, that sects or schismatics, whether heretical or not, must be shunned, lest we become partakers of their sin. And this conclusion the scriptures also explicitly inculcate. We are commanded to shun error, whether it is schismatic or not, and schism whether we perceive errors in the schismatic party or not. "Beware of false prophets," of whom many shall arise.—Matt. 7: 15; 24: 23-4. "Of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them. Therefore watch."—Acts 20: 30-1. "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers:" "come out from among them and be ye separate."—2 Cor. 6: 14-18. And these warnings refer not to their doctrine merely, to the exclusion of their fellowship. "Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them."—Rom. 16: 17. "A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject."—Titus 3: 10. "If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed: for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds."—2 John 10: 11. And for this, the word of God affords ample reason, when it assures us that it is the nature of evil to eat around it, and contaminate all that comes in contact with it, Gal. 5: 9, and that by giving encouragement, in any way, to sin, we become ourselves participators in its guilt, Rev. 18: 4.

Not only are we warned against the doctrine and fellowship of sects, but we are also commanded to unite with those who remain in the doctrine and fellowship of the apostles. This is implied in the example shown us of the first disciples, Acts 2: 42, as well as in the duty of confession, Matt. 10: 32; Rom. 10: 9; for if we confess at all, we must confess the same thing as all other believers: refusal to join with them in word and work, is evidence that we are not of them. "I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divi-

sions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment."—1 Cor. 1: 10. "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us; but they went out, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us."—1 John 2: 19. The scriptures are so full upon this point, that it is a matter of astonishment how much they are disregarded, even by those who profess the highest reverence for the word and will of God.

However strong may be our conviction that external divisions are sinful, and that unity is our Master's will, it is plain from these prohibitions and commands, that it may not be sought as an end, to which all must consider everything else subordinate. Union with heretics and schismatics, is itself a sin, and must be vigilantly and prayerfully avoided. The only way of union is for the church to remain firm, refusing to countenance heresy and schism in any form, and for heretics and schismatics to repent and return to the church. If they will not, the sin is not upon the church, but upon the sects. Those who seek union among all, without requiring repentance and amendment of any sect, are guilty of these grievous errors: 1. They make unity consist in mere outward coöperation, without any internal agreement, or any proper manifestation of such agreement in unity of confession. This would be oneness in forms, without unity of spirit, and savors strongly of Romanism. 2. They make outward of more importance than inward unity, thus indifferently exalting man's self-invented marks of unity above those made essential by God's word, and sacrificing everlasting truth, merely to cry peace, peace, when there is no peace. 3. They deny the existence, or ignore the sinfulness of heresy and schism, in spite of the plain teachings of holy scripture; for that cannot be seriously believed to be a sin, which is left unrebuked, and for which no repentance is required. 4. They make the impression that nothing is certain objectively, and thus help to overturn the faith, by inculcating the error, that every thing is as we opine it to be. Private judgment is thus permitted to take the liberty of renouncing whatever is unpleasant, whether revealed or not, instead of being kept within proper limits, by insisting that its right is conditioned by the enlightenment of God's spirit, and the unconditional belief of God's revealed word, according to the letter of the canonical scriptures.

But whilst it is plain that christian duty requires us to mark heretics and schismatics, and avoid them, it is not so easy to decide, among the multitude of christian denominations existing at present, which are, and which are not, schismatical. The general principles upon which such a decision must be based, have already been pointed out. But the application of these principles to existing parties, evidently implies an investigation into the doctrines and history of each. One party separating from another now, is guilty of schism, if no reason, binding the conscience, can be alleged for such separation, that is, if the party separated from cannot be shown, or at least is not believed to be heretical or schismatical. The principle is schismatical, even if it be in fact merely a secession from a schism. But the denominations now existing, must be traced back to their origin, before it can be positively asserted that they are schismatical. They cannot be distinguished by their names, for when sects once abound, it becomes necessary, even for the church, to assume some specific name, besides that of christian, in order to prevent its being confounded with sects; nor from their geographical position: for sects are found almost everywhere beside the church. Whence came this or that denomination? If it originally came into being by an unjustifiable secession from the main body of christians, it is a sect; and unjustifiable is every secession upon grounds which are not sufficient to justify the excommunication of the other party from the church. For secession is a virtual expulsion of one or the other party from the visible body, implying, moreover, the charge of heresy against it, since if the error is not defended as a truth, it cannot be pronounced incorrigible, and if there is still hope of amendment, no division can be justified. Evidently sects cannot be distinguished merely by their doctrine, since cases have occurred in which there were divisions whilst the confession of the body separated from, was nominally retained: nominally, we say, for it has been observed that this is rarely the case in reality: and yet the separatists are a sect, because of the unnecessary division. And it may happen, on the other hand, that a body, not separatistic or schismatic, may hold false doctrine on some non-fundamental points. We repeat it, therefore, that the question is partly historical. After the corruption of the Roman church, which was incorrigible in its error, and refused even to tolerate the truth on various points of doctrine, the visible church was properly that body from which the Romanists declared them-

selves separate: the schismatic party was that which would not endure sound doctrine. But after one secession of this kind, the church offered no resistance to the truth, and to separate from the evangelical church, or from the Romanist, without entering the evangelical, would be nothing else than schism. But this general assertion must be qualified by the statement, that, as the church in one country need not necessarily stand in communication with the church in another, at the time of the Reformation the church visible might assume different forms in different lands, the German could be Lutheran, the English Episcopalian, the Swiss Reformed, without schism. But separations from any of these churches, in the land in which they assumed their original form, would undoubtedly be schism, unless those separating could assert them to be heretical or hopelessly corrupt. In our own land, again, the case appears under a different aspect. Emigrations from several true branches of the church, as they exist in the several countries in which the church threw off the Romish errors, and also from the various schisms that are found in those countries, combined to form our population; and that which was a true branch of the church in Europe, is such also here, whilst that which was a sect there, has not become anything better by the voyage hither. A sect here is therefore one that was such before emigration hither, or a schism from a true branch of the church in this country. But here, too, there are several bodies which deserve the name and consideration of true branches, not sects. These may be more or less pure, but none is schismatical; and in choosing to which of the various denominations we will attach ourselves, we are bound absolutely to avoid the sects, as those who unite with them become partakers of their sin; and among the true branches, we are bound to connect ourselves with that which is the purest in doctrine, not because the others are schismatical, but because we are bound to avoid false doctrine, as well as carefully to shun schismatics.

It may be necessary to repeat that we do not, when we term any denomination a sect, deny that they may still have the means of grace validly, and therefore bring men to Christ, whilst the members themselves are in Christ Jesus, and may be saved, notwithstanding their sin. Only they who see the sin and repent not, are lost, whilst they who are true believers, and yet continue in this sin of ignorance, have their "secret faults" forgiven. But they are saved "as if by fire." They are not outside of the visible church, else they would

no longer be divisions of, but apostates from the church. Their evil lies not in being beyond the stream of divine grace, so that its refreshing waters cannot reach them, but in the sin of causing and maintaining divisions, thus opposing the express command of God, and crippling the energies of his church, by dividing the means of glorifying him among various bodies—means which were intended to exert their united influence to attain one great end. Those who know their sin, are bound to shun them—to bid them God speed, as a separate organization, in nothing—in no way to countenance them—to be charitable towards them, and treat the individuals kindly, but to have no fellowship with them as a schismatic body, choosing rather to bear the blame of uncharitableness and bigotry, “falsely, for Christ’s sake,” than to abet or encourage what God has forbidden.

And yet, as the church is really one in Christ, and never can be divided in its invisible essence, so it must be our aim and prayer to unite externally, what is inwardly one, making every sacrifice, except that of our faith and its object, the truth, to edify the body of Christ, “till we all come in the unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.”—Eph. 4: 13. To be indifferent to the existing divisions, because God graciously brings good out of the evil, is as injurious to the cause of Christ, as to be indifferent to any moral delinquency. The church is intended to be outwardly one: she can be so only by holding the same truth, and confessing it with one mouth, without setting altar against altar; but since she is divided now, she can become one only by a firm retention, and an unwavering confession of the truth, on the part of those who possess it: for, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, the truth must at last prevail.

ARTICLE II.

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Three Lectures on Egyptian Antiquities, &c., delivered at the Stuyvesant Institute, New York, May 1856. By Dr. G. Seyffarth.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

It will not be necessary to say much by way of commending the following lectures to the attention of our readers. They were recently delivered in the city of New York, at the urgent request of a number of literary gentlemen, by the Rev. Dr. Seyffarth, late and for thirty-four years Professor of Archaeology and Philosophy at the University of Leipsic. Among scholars acquainted with the subject of these lectures, none, unless prejudiced or irretrievably committed to the contrary, will be disposed to deny, that Dr. S. was the first to unlock the mysteries of ancient Egypt, to read her written character, to interpret her astronomy, and to expound her history and reconcile it with scripture. His system has been adopted by most eminent scholars: the successor of Champollion at Paris, adopted it at once, in the place of his predecessor's, which is notoriously absurd and useless, having never led to any results except the most ludicrous. Dr. Seyffarth's system is the first by means of which any thing satisfactory has been, the only one by which any thing satisfactory can be, accomplished. Himself a profound mathematician and astronomer, he has, in his unlimited ability to turn the astronomical observations of the ancient Egyptians to most profitable account, an immense advantage over Lepsius and others, who have employed such knowledge as they possessed of Egypt's antiquities, for the purpose of utterly discrediting the Old Testament. Whilst *they* cannot calculate, and know nothing of astronomy, the calculations of Dr. Seyffarth, pronounced correct by the most eminent astronomers of Germany, serve, in the most wonderful, often startling manner, to confirm the history of the Bible. Our distinguished friend is a humble and devout christian, and all his labors and learning are employed in the service of revealed truth and of the church of God. With these few introductory observations, we leave the lectures to speak for themselves, convinced that candid inquirers and intelligent readers will at once perceive their deep interest, and the great importance and value of the learned professor's discoveries. We merely add, that those parts which, for want of time, we were unable to translate ourselves, we most carefully revised and corrected, so that we are prepared to vouch for the accuracy of the translation.

H. I. S.

After an interesting opening, which we reluctantly omit, the author proceeds:

Dr. Abbott's museum contains more than two thousand monuments of Egyptian antiquity, or objects found in Egypt: It is, therefore, not as rich as the Turin museum, the first and most important in the world, and contains one hundred thousand ancient monuments: but it possesses several specimens of nearly all Egyptian antiquities now known, and besides, a large number of such as are exceedingly rare, and even several that had previously been entirely unknown. Among these are a wooden tablet with a demotic inscription accompanied by a Greek translation, a new bilingual inscription therefore: a small Rosetta inscription: four copies of the ancient sacred writings of the Egyptians on papyrus, in hieroglyphics and in the hieratic character; several legal documents on papyrus and in the demotic character, accompanied to some extent, with a Greek index; several Greek papyri and wooden tablets; one papyrus with astronomical observations; a Gnostic seal or signet-stone with three Coptic and Greek inscriptions, being the most remarkable Abraxas [extant?]; a gold finger-ring having on it the name of Cheops, who built the great pyramid near Gizeh, in the time of David; a gold neck-chain inscribed with the name of Menes Athothis, 2781 before Christ, in the time of Phalek; several bricks from the time of Moses, with the impress of the seal of Amenophis; three mummies of Apis-bulls; two marble vessels with the number of cans and buckets which they contain marked upon them. Among the articles of porcelain, a learned gentleman of this city, Mr. Edwin Smith, who has, for many years past, devoted himself to the profound study of this branch of science, discovered the signet-ring of the high priest Ahabanuk, the same man who was the owner of the largest papyrus in the world, measuring fifty-seven feet in length, being the most complete copy of the sacred books of Egypt, and known by the name of "The Book of the Dead," in the Turin museum. Thus are antiquities, long since parted from each other, with four hundred miles between them, brought together again.

The antiquities in Dr. Abbott's museum comprise six distinct classes: historical, sacred or religious, statistical, civil, artistic, and scientific. To the historical class belong all those monuments which contain the names of Kings or of Privates: they belong to that great period which extends from Menes, the first king of Egypt, 2781 B. C., and 666

after the flood, to the reign of Constantine the great, and even still farther down, to the time of the earlier christian converts. Among other names, we find here those of the Pharaohs Menes Athothis 2700 A. C., Apophis, 2212 A. C., during whose reign Joseph was sold into Egypt: Shutmosis I, during whose reign occurred the exode of the Hebrews, 1867 A. C.; the later kings of the eighteenth and subsequent dynasties; Amenophis I., II., and IV.; Shuthmosis II., III.; Ramses, the son of the sovereign who built the celebrated Osimandyum 1649 A. C.; Ramses II. and IV.; Cheops, who built the great pyramid 1100 A. C.; Shishak, Thiraka, Hophra, Psammetichus, Boceharis, Ptolemy III. & IV., and others, of whom several are mentioned in the Old Testament. Among the things connected with particular history are a great number of historical statues and stelae, or tombstones.

Still more numerous are the sacred monuments. The most important of these are three long rolls of papyrus, respectively twenty-two, thirty-three, and thirty-six feet in length, and containing later copies of the very oldest religious books of the country. Thus also the religious ideas, the sacred usages, and the deities of the Egyptians are found represented upon several stelae and smaller rolls of papyrus. To these are to be added a very great number of statues and statuettes of the divinities, sacred animals, plants, vessels and furniture.

To the statistical antiquity belong several demotic and Greek papyri, which throw light upon the laws, courts of justice, officials, and subjects of a kindred nature.

The collection is particularly rich in objects pertaining to civil and domestic life, upon which Wilkinson wrote his excellent work entitled: "Manners and Customs of the ancient Egyptians." Here are found garments of every description and articles of ornament: such as mantles, or cloaks, ordinary clothes, aprons, boots, shoes, sandals, finger-rings, signet-stones, with or without setting, ear-rings, ear-pendants, neck-chains, bracelets and anklets, *nets*, knitted articles, embroideries, pettorali, canes. To the temple and household furniture belong door-frames, pieces of temple sculptures, bricks stamped with the royal seal, altars, vessels used for libations, censers, tables, chairs, footstools, pillows, chests, baskets, vessels and utensils of all sorts, from the largest down to the smallest, such as flagons [flasks], drinking-horns, cups, spoons, knives, forks, lamps, mirrors, combs, brushes,

brooms, colanders, stamps [or prints], wagons, weights, spindles, cords, ropes, needles, hatchets, hoes, hammers, writing materials, sistra [metallic rattles], checker-boards, toys; many kinds of fruit and grain, fig-bread, eggs, which are probably three thousand years old.

Of weapons of war there are clubs, battle-axes, daggers, bows, arrows, helmets, coats of mail, and surgical instruments.

How admirably the Egyptians understood the art, already mentioned by Herodotus, of preserving dead bodies, is here shown by several human mummies in their ornamented sarcophagi, and cerements, many separate parts of these, the mummies of Apis-bulls, crocodiles, sacred cats, Ibises, sparrow-hawks, serpents and beetles.

The higher arts and sciences of the ancient Egyptians are mirrored in nearly all the objects contained in the museum. We here see how they wrote, drew, painted and chiseled; how they formed out of metals, stones, clay or wood, all sorts of human and animal representations or images, elevated or depressed, statues and statuettes, busts and limbs. Nearly all these antiquities are, at the same time, monuments of language of the most varied description: for nearly all of them contain hieroglyphic, hieratic, demotic, coptic, Greek, cufic, Assyrian and Chinese inscriptions. To this scientific class belong also the astronomical monuments. The materials of which these have been made, are: gold, silver, bronze, iron, steel, lead, litharge, enamel, granite, basalt, marble, limestone, green stone, lapis lazuli, cornelian, agate, glass, porcelain-clay, Nile-mud, mineral colors, leather, ivory, wool, mother-of-pearl, silk threads; the sycamore, the lead pencil wood, the cedar tree, the wood of which is used for making lead pencils, the willow, gum, [gums] wax, the papyrus-plant, Byssus, flax, reed.

As respects their artistic value, it must be admitted that all these objects are far inferior to nearly all Grecian and Roman antiquity: they are, as every body will perceive, very uniform, ugly and dirty: and yet, to them that significant passage is applicable: "I am black, but *comely*, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon." The value of the entire aggregate of Egyptian antiquity consists, not in their forms, but in what they tell us and reveal to us. Each separate object is here an embodiment of truths: it is only necessary to lend a listening ear, in order to call them back to life. With every scarabæus which the inquirer takes into his hand, whole series of con-

ceptions and ideas are connected: nay, these are inseparable from that object, so long as it has not become dust. How much more emphatically is this true of entire papyrus-rolls and inscriptions that have come down to us from a period that reaches much farther back than the Old Testament, and concerning which no other nation has left us any scientific legacy. In a museum like Dr. Abbott's slumber whole series of volumes, yet to be written, and even after hundreds of years it will furnish matter for reflection, inquiry and criticism.

But it will be asked, of what use can this old rubbish be to us? This question may be answered in these words: "man liveth not by bread alone." Besides the bread that nourishes the body, human society requires a variety of intellectual nourishment, without which men would deteriorate and become like unto brute beasts. This intellectual food of the whole world, and of all futurity is, in its widest sense, called science. There is not any new, real truth, that does not exert an influence upon our purposes and actions, our pursuits and general conduct. And thus also Egyptian antiquity, which Providence has preserved during so many thousand years, and is now, at last, beginning to disclose to our view, will bear *its* fruits and contribute to the increase of those intellectual stores that furnish aliment to all the world. What scientific truths, and how many, will, in the course of time, be brought to light by means of Egyptian antiquities, no man can determine beforehand, as we have advanced no farther than the vestibule. When that Dutch boy, while playing with spectacle-glasses, discovered the achromatic telescope, nobody could yet conjecture that by means of that same telescope, thirty new planets, innumerable comets, satellites, the rings of Saturn, with the water on the inner side, the binary stars, the stars of the nebulae, &c., would afterwards be discovered. When the youth who attended to the steering of the first steam-engine, discovered the steering-wheel in consequence of fastening his line to the *lever*, it did not yet enter any one's mind that the steam-engine would, some thirty years later, propel whole fleets of ships, and trains of railway carriages. When, at Göttingen, professors Gans and Weber extended two wires from the cabinet, for the apparatus of Natural philosophy, to the Observatory, across streets and church-steeple, for the purpose of experimentally erecting a telegraph, until, struck by lightning, it scorched the dresses of the ladies who were passing beneath, nobody yet even so much as dreamed that the same

wire would, thirty years later, spread a speaking net over the whole of Europe and America. Equally important results may eventually accrue to us from the vast scientific legacy bequeathed to us by ancient Egypt; and therefore no man is justified in prematurely condemning it as worthless. Even now it has brought to light truths of the highest moment and influence. It has, for example, been very generally doubted hitherto, whether, since the days of Adam and Seth, there has been any primeval revelation, which was transmitted, through Enoch and Noah, to all the descendants of the latter. It is only the sacred books of the ancient Egyptians that have furnished the proof of this. Since the destruction of Jerusalem, it has been a subject of controversy in the christian church, whether the Hebrew text or the Greek translation, i. e., the Septuagint, contained the true chronology. But it is now ascertained that a certain Akiba, as was asserted already by Arabian writers and several church fathers, actually corrupted the Hebrew text, in order that the Messiah, whose advent was promised to take place during the sixth millennium after the creation, might be waited for fifteen hundred years longer than the appointed time. Many have hitherto believed, that the chronology of the Bible is discredited by Manetho and the Egyptian monuments. Now it is certainly known, that the two agree precisely, even to years and days, and that both place the creation and the deluge in the same years, and upon the same days. The sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt was even regarded as a myth. Now it has been positively ascertained that Manetho's shepherd kings (Hyksos) were the Hebrews, and that they established themselves in the land of Goshen, in the year 2082. Heretofore it has been maintained that the prophets and chroniclers had assigned an excess of at least four years to the Babylonish captivity. We now have proof positive, that it really lasted seventy years and a few months. It was formerly considered impossible to determine precisely the length of the cubit, which served the Hebrews as their measure in the construction of the tabernacle, and for the purposes of daily life. But now we know of a certainty, that Goliath did not measure in height, more than ten feet eight inches English, and that Og's bedstead was only seventeen feet six inches long. Since the Council of Nice, all christendom has been under the impression, that the Hebrews reckoned time, since the days of Moses, by lunar months. Now it has been demonstrated, that until after the destruction of Jerusalem,

they reckoned by a fixed solar year, and always observed Easter at the vernal equinox, our 22d of March. Nearly all historical text books at present affirm, that the chronology of the christian era is incorrect, and that Christ was announced, born, baptized, crucified and raised from the dead, in years and on days other than those specified by the evangelists. But now we know, on the contrary, that the whole christian chronology is correct, that the days which mark epochs in the [N. T.] new dispensation, are the same as those which were typically consecrated, under the old dispensation through the construction and dedication of the Tabernacle, of Solomon's, of Zerubbabel's and of Herod's temple. Our Dionysian era or reckoning commenced with the year nought: hence the current year is the 1857th after the birth of our Lord, and the current century began on the 1st of January, not of 1801, but of 1800, as is stated already in the still extant Easter-canon of Dionysius Exiguus. It has been asserted, in numberless books, that the deluge was only partial. It has now been positively ascertained that it was universal, and that it terminated on the 7th of September 3447 before Christ. It is currently maintained that our alphabet was not invented until 1500 before Christ, by the Phœnicians. Now it has been clearly proved that there have existed an alphabet and books since the time of Seth, as early as twenty-four hundred years before the deluge; that all the alphabets in the world had their origin in one and the same primitive alphabet, that our alphabet was transmitted through Noah, and so arranged as to express the conjunctions of the seven planets at the termination of the deluge, September 7th, 3447 before Christ. According to the very generally received opinion, the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, or the cuneiform character of the Persians, Medes and Assyrians, was the first of all written characters; now it is ascertained, that all these and similar written characters have the Noachian alphabet of twenty-five letters for their basis. Hitherto a great number of Indomaniacs have maintained, that the original language had been the Indogermanic, a sort of sanscrit. Now it is known that all the languages in the world are derived from the Hebrew original language, as the very names of the antediluvian letters among the different nations, and the language of the ancient Egyptians prove. According to Letronne and others, our zodiac had its origin only five hundred years A. C. Now we know that it is as old as the human race, and that it passed, through Noah, to all the nations of

his posterity. All the world has hitherto believed, that the ancient nations worshiped nothing but dumb idols, stars, animals, plants and the like. Now we know, that they all had more or less faithfully preserved the original revelations; that next to the Creator of all things, they worshiped his servants, more exalted creatures intermediate between God and man, and that they lapsed only in later times into downright idolatry. The seven Cabiri, chief Gods of all the ancient nations, were not symbols of deified powers of nature, but emblems of the seven planets, which were thought to be the bodies of the seven archangels. The twelve superior gods of all the ancient nations had reference to the twelve constellations of the zodiac, these being regarded as the abodes, or the bodies of the second class of those who ministered to the gods. Hitherto it has been supposed, that the earliest and innumerable astronomical observations of the ancient Egyptians, referred to already by Diodorus Siculus, had utterly disappeared from the sphere of human knowledge. Now we know that several hundreds of them, extending down to the Roman emperors, and back to Menes, 2781 A. C., have been preserved upon the pyramids, in temples, on sarcophagi, stelae and papyrus-rolls. It is only by means of these observations of conjunctions, mathematically accurate and reliable, instituted upon the occurrence of important events, and at the birth of Pharaohs, that, because none of these conjunctions can occur twice in history, and similar ones only after intervals of twenty-one hundred and forty-six years, the entire history of Egypt has been reduced to order. The first twelve dynasties of Manetho, and several others, reigned not in succession, but simultaneously in different provinces. Fourteen conjunctions prove that Menes did not take possession of Mizraim, until 2781 A. C., during the reign of Phalek, six hundred and sixty-six years after the deluge. Moses, whose conjunction is mentioned by Josephus, by the Rabbis, and even in the Old Testament, was born under the seventeenth dynasty, 1948 A. C. It has heretofore been believed, that the Greeks never observed conjunctions, or at least preserved no record of them; now a great number of them, going back to the year 778 A. C., expressed precisely like those of the Egyptians, and preserved upon their temples, statues, Etrurian vases, and in the works of authors, have come to light; and thus we are enabled to determine the dates of the events connected with

them, with mathematical certainty. Hitherto it was the opinion of all the world, that the Greeks reckoned by lunar months: now it is manifest, that they had accurately determined solar months, which corresponded with those of the Hebrews and other nations, and by means of which the dates occurring in Grecian history can be determined to the very day. In times past, men believed that the Romans had never observed planetary conjunctions. It is now ascertained that the lectisternia of Livy; the arae, candelabra, lamps, temple-frieses, and walls in Pompeii, contain such conjunctions, stated in the same manner as by the Egyptians: and thus the dates of all the events of Roman history are fixed with more than historical certainty. Hitherto the whole christian and enlightened world has, since the publication, in 1627, of Petav's *doctrina temporum*, been convinced that his chronology and history of the Romans, Greeks, Persians and other nations, as repeated in millions of books, even in Clinton's *Fasti Hellinici et Romani*, were correct. Now it is ascertained that Petav and his copiers have incorrectly inserted the Consules suffecti 47 and 78 after the birth of Christ, and have thus antedated the whole Roman and Grecian history, down to Titus, by one and two years. The assassination of Cæsar occurred, not 44, but 42 A. C., and the Olympiads began, not 776, but 774 A. C. Hitherto all men believed that the historical Canon of Ptolemy was infallible, because Babylonian observations of eclipses of the moon were connected with certain years in the reigns of his sovereigns: it is now known for certain, that Ptolemy fixed these eclipses only by means of calculations, and that, in almost every instance, he calculated wrong ones. And in this connection it has been demonstrated, that all our lunar tables, as was shown already by the total eclipse of the sun in Germany, 1851, are constructed upon the false statements of Ptolemy, hence that they assume, as their basis, an incorrect mean motion of the moon and of the moon's nodes; as also a wrong coefficient of the secular equation, and that, therefore, they require to be rectified throughout. These corrections can be easily made by means of the total eclipses of the sun, found in the history of Rome, Greece and other nations. The same is to be said of our planetary tables hitherto in use, which are also based upon the statements of Ptolemy. For in Egypt there has been found a vast number of the recorded observations of the position of planets, many of which extend back three thousand years earlier than Ptolemy's day,

and serve for the correction of our tables. Hitherto it has been a universally received opinion, that those ages of the Romans, the Greeks, the Parsees, and others, in which Uranus, Saturn, or Jupiter reigns, were mere fables. Now it has become manifest that these ages of the world were periods of twenty-one hundred and forty-six years, during which the equinoctial point runs exactly through a sign of the zodiac. At the beginning of each one of these ages, the ancients observed and recorded the places of the planets, and thus it has been ascertained that the first age of the world began 5871 A. C., on the 10th of May, according to the Julian reckoning, on a Saturday, being at the same time the vernal equinox. The day on which Christ rose from the dead was the same on which the creation of the world was completed. Thus we have a confirmation of the true chronology of the Bible, which begins with the Sabbath of the vernal equinox, 5871 A. C. Thirty years ago half the world believed that the lesser zodiac of Dendera, at Paris, was really, as calculations had been made to prove, seventeen thousand years old, and that the creation and the deluge were mere fictions. Now we know that upon that stone the planetary conjunction that occurred at the birth of Nero, 37 P. C., is inscribed. These are some of the scientific results which Egyptian antiquity has already produced, and is likely to continue to bring to light. And surely no one who examines these Egyptian antiquities will, upon leaving the museum, now give his assent to the words which some former visiter wrote in Dr. Abbott's register: "The greatest humbug;" but will, in his heart, join in the words of Solomon, "they are black, but very comely, ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar."

I. THE PAPYRI.

The first place in Dr. Abbott's museum is due to the seventeen papyrus-rolls which it contains. How were these rolls, from one to twenty-two, twenty-three and thirty-six feet in length, produced? When we compare our fine, smooth white paper, with this yellow, ugly, wrinkled rag, we are apt to smile in pity; and yet, had the Egyptians written on our beautiful paper, not one line of their literature would have attained the age of four thousand years; nay, there would, perhaps, be very little left of the entire literature of the Greeks and Romans. These rolls of papyrus, then: the same as those which Vesuvius buried, for seventeen hundred

years, in Herculaneum, beneath ashes and streams of lava; those rolls, on which Cicero's and Plato's letters were traced, and which have preserved for us the most ancient manuscript copies of the Old and New Testaments, and of the Gothic translation of the Bible; on which Moses, thirty-seven hundred years ago, inscribed the law, and the prophets recorded the word of God; how were they produced?

The aquatic plant, called papyrus, i. e., the royal or noble plant, has now entirely disappeared from Egypt, and is found only in Sicily, Syria, and in botanic gardens. From a root of the thickness of an arm, shoot up long stalks, from two to four inches thick, which grow to a height of from eight to sixteen feet. The head or crown of this straight, trilateral shaft, which tapers but slightly toward the top, is formed by a great number of short branches, from the upper part of each of which three long and very narrow leaves are suspended. Underneath the thin green rind or shell, there is, from the root to the crown, a white pith, through which run threads or fibres resembling those of wood [or, pierced longitudinally by woody fibres]: this pith, which resembles that of several trees, especially of the elder, is the material of which the paper of the ancients was prepared. When we examine an Egyptian papyrus, by holding it against the light, we discover that the woody fibres run horizontally as well as vertically, and that the two layers are cemented together by means of gum. In order to produce a roll of papyrus, the following processes were found necessary: First, the green rind or bark of several stalks was peeled off: thereupon the stalks were cut into cylinders of equal length, and these were then, by means of a very sharp knife, divided into very thin strips, slices or ribbons. Of these strips a number were now laid vertically against each other, so that each overlapped the other by the twelfth part of an inch. After this first layer had been moistened with gum-water, another layer of such strips was, in like manner, laid horizontally across it, and then both layers were pressed, dried and polished [glazed]. Thus one leaf of paper was completed. By joining together several leaves, and uniting their edges with gum, a roll of papyrus, or what *we* would call a book, is produced, of any required length. It would appear that Pliny never saw the papyrus plant, which accounts for his incorrect description of the paper of the ancients. That I have correctly described the process, will become evident upon the examination of any papyrus, and I have placed this beyond all doubt, by myself

producing, from papyrus stalks obtained in botanical gardens, a great number of papyri exactly like the ancient Egyptian, and those found in Herculaneum. No paper in the world is as durable as this: in many museums we find rolls that are more than three thousand years old, and which can still be unrolled and rolled up without the least injury.

The ink of the Egyptians was not made of the [black precipitate produced by the union of gallic acid and iron, and called the] gallate of iron, which would have turned yellow very soon: it was Indian ink; pulverized charcoal mixed with gum: hence their writing has remained black and glossy down to the present day. The titles, as well as the first words of chapters, were written with red ink; as is still the case among the Copts, the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, and among the Acthiopians. The black ink was prepared out of the bark of the papyrus plant, which, owing to the great quantity of siliceous earth which it contains, yields an excellent black for writing.

For the purpose of writing, or rather drawing, letters, the Egyptians did not make use of goose-quills, steel or reed pens, but of the branches mentioned above as forming the crown of the papyrus plant. These also contain pith and many of the woody fibres before spoken of: by sharpening one of these at one end, it was formed into a pencil or brush, which did not, however, take up much ink, so that, as the written lines plainly show, it was necessary to dip into it very often. Thus the remarkable papyrus plant alone furnished every thing which the Egyptians required for the ordinary purposes of writing.

The manner in which their writing materials were arranged is shown by several specimens in Dr. Abbott's museum. They consist of tablets of wood, furnished with two cavities, which contained the black and the red ink, and with a little sliding drawer, in which the small papyrus branches used for writing were kept. Similar apparatuses for writing are also found, made of marble or ivory. These were worn by the sacred writers, in the girdle, just as the orientals who are able to write, still carry their writing materials about with them in the girdle.

Dr. Abbott's Egyptian papyri are to be distinguished under the three heads of Hieroglyphic, Hieratic and Demotic or enchorial writings. The word hieroglyphics denotes the sacred character, for the word is formed of *ἱερός* sacred, and *γλῡφεῖν* to engrave. Hieratic is derived from the word *ἱερατικός*,

priest, and hence the hieratic character denotes that used in ordinary by the priests. Demotic, derived from the root δῆμος, people, designates the characters in use among the common people. This same character the rosetta stone designates as the enchorial, from the Greek ἐγχώριος, indigenous, national. These three different characters, or modes of writing grew, the one out of the other. The hieroglyphic is the most ancient; from it proceeded the hieratic, by abbreviating the signs, because it required too much time to draw, every time, the entire figures. Indeed, the hieratic papyri and inscriptions do not reach back as far as the hieroglyphic. The demotic character is the hieratic abbreviated and simplified to the utmost, because, as in the former instance, the hieratic required too much time and labor. The demotic writings do not reach farther back than the sixth century A. C. In what manner the hieroglyphic signs were abbreviated into the hieratic, and then into the demotic, will be readily perceived upon comparing the same words written in hieroglyphics, in the hieratic and in the demotic character. All the three characters are written from the right to the left, as were the letters of nearly all the nations of antiquity. Only the hieroglyphics were, for the sake of symmetry, sometimes written also in the opposite direction.

II. THE KEY TO THE HIEROGLYPHICS.

In what manner the ancient Egyptians expressed their conceptions and thoughts in these three written characters: in what manner we are to proceed in order to discover anew the laws according to which the ancient Egyptians expressed conceptions and thoughts: and what is the true key to the hieroglyphics? This is a question, upon the solution of which depends the restoration to life of the entire and immeasurable literature of the ancient Egyptians, the oldest, and perhaps the most important literature of the ancient world. With the introduction of the Greek language and written characters in the time of Alexander the Great, and especially since the translation of the Old and New Testaments into the Coptic, the art of reading hieroglyphics was gradually lost. The last instance of a hieroglyphic translation occurred in the reign of Augustus. This emperor caused the large obelisk, which, bearing an inscription of twelve long hieroglyphic lines, has since been erected again at the porta del popolo, to be brought to Rome; and the inscriptions upon it were, as we read in Ammianus Marcellinus, translated into Greek by

an Egyptian priest named Hermapion. Since that time, however, the key to the hieroglyphics has been, in some degree, preserved and transmitted to us, in the new-fashioned hieroglyphics, in the so-called Rebus. These Rebus express syllables by means of pictures, and are still called hieroglyphics. The true key to the hieroglyphics would, probably, have never been discovered again, had not several hieroglyphic inscriptions, accompanied with a Greek translation, been found from time to time. First, Bonaparte found, in 1799, the Rosetta stone, with hieroglyphic and demotic text, besides a Greek translation: this was not published until 1812. In 1844, Prof. Spohn, at Leipzig, my instructor, and Kosegarten, discovered the Greek translation of a demotic papyrus in Berlin. In the year 1826, I found at Turin the original, but unfortunately incomplete, of Manetho's work on Egyptian history; and in the same year, at Rome, the obelisk translated by Hermapion. In 1848 I found the translation of the ancient table of Abydos, preserved by Eratosthenes. In 1849 Lepsius published six inscriptions containing the names of the thirty-six decani (wardens of the zodiac), known from Greek and Roman authors, and written in different ways; according to Champollion's system these could not be read at all. In 1849 Brugsch discovered the gate of Philae, with its translation on the Rosetta stone. In 1855 I found the translation of the table of Karnak in the fragments which we possess of Eratosthenes and Manetho. To these must be added several old Egyptian papyrus rolls, and mummy chests, with Greek translations of some proper names, to be found at Turin, Berlin, Leyden, St. Petersburg, in Dr. Abbott's museum, and in other collections. By means of these numerous bilingual inscriptions, the true key to the hieroglyphics, which had been sought after during eighteen hundred years, was again brought to light. The key to the hieroglyphics is the fundamental law of the Egyptian written character, an acquaintance with which law will enable any man to read whatever text he pleases, and to find the meaning which the writer intended to convey.

The first question that here presents itself is, in what language did the ancient Egyptians write? This was, of course, the Coptic; for the Copts are the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, and Coptus is simply the word Aegyptus, minus the initial syllable *ae*, which was dropped in later times. The later Coptic must, however, have differed somewhat from the ancient Coptic, which is two thousand years older; for no

language remains unchanged during a period of two thousand years. Now, it has been ascertained, that the Coptic was far more nearly related to the ancient Hebrew, or Chaldee, than to any other language in the world: that a great many grammatical forms, and nearly all Coptic roots are derived from the Chaldee. This is not surprising; for there was an original language; and this was not, as the Indomaniacs maintain, the modern and highly cultivated Sanscrit, but, as can be easily proved, the Hebrew, which bears so unmistakably the stamp of antiquity. Experience has shown, that a nation will, in the progress of centuries, make but few and unimportant changes in its original language, if it continues to inhabit the same country, under the same circumstances, within the same surroundings. Now we know that with Abraham, eleven hundred and fifty years after the flood, four hundred and eighty-four years after Phalek, during whose life the Egyptians and all the other ancient nations emigrated from Babylonia, 2781 A. C., the Hebrews left their original place of abode: the Abrahamidae spoke Hebrew, and consequently this same language must have been indigenous in Chaldæa. But as Menes also came from Chaldæa, only four hundred and eighty-four years before Abraham, the ancient Egyptian must be most intimately related to the Hebrew. Furthermore, it is known that all the ancient languages, not only the Semitic, but also the Japhetic, have, in numberless forms and roots, a close affinity to the Hebrew: among these ancient languages are the Greek, the German, the Sanscrit, the Parsee and others. From this it follows again, that the original language was the ancient Chaldee. The same is proved by the names of the letters. For all the alphabets in the world are derived from one original alphabet; and this was [preserved and] handed down by Noah. The Hebraeo-Chaldee letters are pictures with Hebrew names. Aleph is the Hebrew name of the bull; and of this animal the letter Aleph, the Alpha of the Greeks, is the picture, and so on. The same names of the letters we find more or less distinctly preserved among such ancient nations even as differ most from each other: consequently their original language also must have been the Chaldee. Had not the Chaldee been the mother of the Greek language, the Greeks would certainly not have designated their letters by foreign, Chaldaic, entirely unintelligible names. Lastly, the alphabet of Noah, arranged at the time of the deluge, contains within itself, as has come to light twenty years ago, an inscription; and this inscription

is Hebrew. In short, the language of the ancient Egyptians was primarily connected with the Chaldaic original language. But this ancient Coptic language was far from differing as much from the later Coptic, as does the ancient Greek from the modern Greek, the Latin from the Italian.

But our next inquiry now is, what is the first principle, the fundamental law, which constitutes the key to the entire literature of the ancient Egyptians? This key is so simple, that it is a matter of surprise, how it could have remained concealed for eighteen hundred years; but it is a common experience, that the world seeks afar off what is close at hand, and often regards its most unlikely conclusions as the most probable. Let us look at the subject for a moment.

In the immense mass of inscriptions and papyri, there occur not more than six hundred and thirty different hieroglyphics. Now, if with each figure the Egyptians had expressed one whole word, as is generally believed even now, they would have known and employed, within three thousand years, not more than six hundred and thirty words. And surely no sane man will believe this of a people to whom Homer, Plato, and Herodotus assign so high a rank. They certainly must have had at least as many conceptions or ideas as the Copts and the Hebrews, and therefore at least six thousand words.

Now if, in order to express symbolically six thousand words, the Egyptians had assigned to each hieroglyph ten distinct meanings, they would never have been able to understand their own writings a second time. A hieroglyphic inscription of such a character, and consisting of two hundred figures, would be susceptible of twenty thousand different translations; and yet Hermapion was able to translate for Augustus an obelisk seventeen hundred years old, and that in precisely the same manner in which the Rosetta inscription has been translated. There must have been, therefore, a definite, permanent and simple key. The hieroglyphic character cannot have been symbolical.

All antiquity, as, for instance, Josephus, the Koran, the New Testament, the Hindoos, the Chaldæans, the Phœnicians, and others, testify that within the twenty-four hundred and twenty-four years from Adam to Noah, alphabets and books existed, and that the sciences originated with Seth. The same nations, and to specify persons, we may name Sanchoniathon, Berosus, and others, expressly affirm that the

original alphabet was handed down and newly arranged by Noah. Now, if the Egyptians had cast away this glorious invention of a simple alphabet, in order to introduce a system of such a Cimmerian symbolic writing, they would have taken an insane backward stride, and put nonsense in the place of sense.

The original alphabet, transmitted by Noah, comprised, as a comparison of all the ancient alphabets shows, twenty-five letters with seven vowels, and began with a. b. c. and so on. The same alphabet formed, as Plutarch and others affirm, the basis of the hieroglyphics; for the ancient Egyptians also had only twenty-five letters, inclusively of seven vowels, and their alphabet began with a, precisely as the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin, the East Indian, and others, in short, all the alphabets of antiquity. Hence, the hieroglyphics must also have had an alphabet of twenty-five letters for their basis.

If we should assume that the Egyptians had at one time employed their six hundred and thirty hieroglyphics symbolically, as representing words, at another literally, as letters, the absurdity of their method of writing would be reduced by one half; but then again, we cannot comprehend why they should have mixed up together two entirely different systems, and devised, in the place of a clear and reliable method, one utterly obscure and uncertain. Add to this that the symbolical interpretation of the hieroglyphics yields us nothing but the greatest nonsense. From the inscription on the Rosetta-stone, and the other bilingual inscriptions, we have ascertained what ideas or conceptions are expressed by certain hieroglyphics. The hatchet, for example, denoted God. But how can a hatchet, which might, at the utmost, perhaps have symbolically expressed the act of hewing or splitting, in any intelligible manner denote God. The simple minded Egyptians probably conceived their Osiris to be a wood-cutter or a butcher. - We learn from the Rosetta inscription, that the Egyptians designated a burnt offering by a drop-bucket. In all likelihood, therefore, the water of the Nile possessed at that time the properties of fire, and served for burning. The Egyptians expressed the number 10,000 by means of the drawing of a finger: doubtless because, at that time, man possessed, upon his hands and feet, ten thousand fingers, which have gradually dropped off.

When, finally, we examine the written characters of other ancient nations, we find that their method of writing was syllabic. The written signs of the Chinese, numbering from

forty thousand to eighty thousand, were, as I learned from Gützlaff, who understood Chinese affairs better than any other European, not symbolic, but abbreviated syllabic hieroglyphics. Thus, for example, they still designate Cassel by means of two pictures, of which the first was called Cas, the second, Sel. In like manner the groups of cuneiform characters employed by the Medes, the Assyrians, and the Babylonians, denoted syllables, as has been shown elsewhere, and fully confirmed by Rawlinson. Surely then the Egyptians might also, with the aid of the ancient twenty-five articulate sounds, have invented a method of syllabic writing; and that such is the case, has now been fully ascertained. An invention of this kind was, moreover, the most simple, and the most likely to suggest itself. In the Noachian alphabet each pictured letter represents the sound with which the name of the picture commences. The letter Beth is the picture of a bushel-measure, which the Hebrews called Bath: it therefore stands for B, because the name of the picture begins with that consonant. And now, in order to obtain for the temple walls, obelisks, stelae, and the purposes of writing in general, a shorter written character, it was determined to represent, by the picture of the measure called Bath, both the consonants which the name of that measure contains, and therefore to adopt the picture of the Bath measure to designate the syllable Bt [Bth?]; the same remarks are applicable to many other Hebrew pictures.

The key to the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, so long sought after, is then, briefly, this: *It is the general principle that every hieroglyphic represents the consonants contained in the name of the object of which the hieroglyphic is a picture*: as in Hebrew and in other Semitic languages, the vowels were commonly left out of the account. And thus, then, the picture of the hatchet, in Coptic *hater*, represented the word God, *htor*, not symbolically, but because the two words contained the same consonants, *htr*. Therefore, also the well-bucket, *klil*, represented the word burnt-offering, *kalil*, not symbolically, but because both words were formed by the same consonants. Therefore the finger, *tba*, did not, in a fanciful manner, denote the number 10,000, *tba*, but because the same consonants were the basis of both words. The same is true of all the other six hundred and thirty hieroglyphics of the ancient Egyptians. Sometimes combinations of two or three consonants were required, for which no picture representing these consonants, thus combined, could

be found, and in such cases the word was taken in an alphabetic character; each of its consonants was expressed by a picture, the name of which began with that sound which it was required to express: this was especially the case in respect of many proper names. Thus in the name, Ptolemy, the *P* is represented by the picture of the Bath measure, because the name of this measure began with *P* or *B*. Yet even in the case of proper names, syllabic hieroglyphics were often used. Thus the Rosetta inscription expresses, by means of the gridiron, *kera*, the syllable Gr. in Graikos, (Graecus.)

There is not any hieroglyphic which denotes symbolically any idea, or conception, or word: there is not an inscription in existence that has a single symbolical sign. The explanation of hieroglyphic inscriptions and papyri, depends no longer upon fanciful conjectures, in the employment of which every man would fall upon a different meaning; but it is subject, like every other oriental text, to philological laws. Even the figures or pictures employed by the Egyptians to represent their gods, are not to be explained symbolically, but grammatically. Who is able to tell with what rational design the Egyptians represented their Horus as a human being with the head of a sparrow-hawk? How could they represent God by a sparrow-hawk, without being laughed at by every schoolboy? To explain this symbolically, is impossible, but there is no difficulty in explaining it grammatically. The sparrow-hawk was called *hor*, in the old Egyptian *kor*, and therefore syllabically denoted *kur*, κύριος the Lord. The same is true of all the other figures by means of which the Egyptians represented their gods and their insignia.

But the question will be asked, how can it be proved that this syllabic principle furnishes the true key to the entire literature of the ancient Egyptians? We prove this, in the first place, by the fact, that all students of Egyptian antiquities have now, more or less avowedly, accepted this principle; among these we may name particularly Champollion, Salvolini, Birch, Bunsen, Lepsius, De Rouge, Brugsch, Uhlemann, and others. Truth is so mighty, that sooner or later it must prevail. But again, by means of this principle, a great number of proper names which Greek authors had made known to us, have been recovered and read. Moreover, the same principle has enabled us, at last, to decipher all bilingual inscriptions, such as that of the Rosetta stone, of Hermapion's obelisk, the gate of Philae, the tables of Abydos and Kar-

nak, &c. To this we may add the inductive proof, that a grammar of hieroglyphics must be correct, if it enables us to translate, with logical correctness, entire and extensive written productions. With the aid of my grammar, entire books, and chapters, and inscriptions have been translated, word for word, from beginning to end. Wherever it has been applied, the text has yielded connected and rational thoughts, which, had the principle been incorrect, would never have been the case. Lastly, my grammar had already been sometime published, when Lepsius made public more than one hundred proper names of the said Decani; and now it was found that the hieroglyphics which occur in these proper names, the pronunciation of which names had been transmitted to us by Firmicus, Origen, and others, formed syllables, and conveyed precisely the sounds which had previously been ascribed to them in my grammar. It is needless to adduce any further evidence.

However, the question may still arise, what has become of the celebrated hieroglyphic system of Dr. Young, and that of Champollion? Dr. Young was the first man who threw any light whatever into the darkness which had, for eighteen hundred years, enveloped the hieroglyphics. It is true that the Jesuit, Kircher, had before him published, in Rome, seven folio volumes upon the hieroglyphics, and translated entire obelisks; but in all those seven volumes there is not a solitary word of truth. He regarded each hieroglyphic as one word, ascribed to each figure ten distinct significations, employing it at one time as a substantive, at another as a verb, now as an adjective, and again as an adverb. In this way he made one group to yield the following meaning: "The beneficent power of procreation, mighty through the upper and the lower lord, promotes the influx of the sacred fluid, which comes from above, Saturn, the regulator of rapidly flying time; and the beneficent deity increases the fertility of the fields, exerting its influence upon human nature." Now we know that this same group reads and signifies neither more nor less than: *Cæsar Domitianus*. Dr. Young, therefore, first found, in 1819, on the Rosetta stone, the name *Ptolemaeus*: compared it with that of *Arsinoe* and *Berenice*, and thus discovered the first phonetic signs, and the first articles for a lexicon of hieroglyphics. But of the hieroglyphic letters which Dr. Young was supposed to have discovered, only nine subsequently proved to be correct. He assigned to his hieroglyphics one consonant, with one or two

vowels: by the lion, for example, he conceived the sounds *ole* to be represented. All hieroglyphics not occurring in proper names, he regarded, like Kircher, as symbolic; but he justly considered several as together constituting one word. According to him, house, mouth and feet, together denoted symbolically, bearing respect; hence, Epiphanes (illustrious). At the same time, Champollion had published a book for the purpose of proving that the hieroglyphics contained nothing whatsoever of an alphabetic nature. But he no sooner heard of Dr. Young's discovery, than he bought in again, as quickly as possible, the copies of his book, and published, in 1821, his *Lettre à M. Dacier*, in which he deciphered a great many other names of kings, and made additions to the alphabet of Dr. Young, without even once alluding to him. This was the first literary furtum of the French savant, to say nothing of his later ones. On the other hand, Champollion made the discovery that the phonetic hieroglyphics do not express a consonant accompanied with vowels, but only a consonant or vowel, and that the one with which, as in Hebrew, the name of the hieroglyphic begins. Thus, then, the lion, being called Laboi, was made to express the sound or letter l, and not ole. This was, however, only partially true; for in the same manner as in our language, sundry objects and hieroglyphics had several names, so that the same hieroglyphic does not, in every instance, express the same sound, as is the case in Hebrew.

Soon after appeared, in 1826, my *Rudimenta hieroglyphices*, in which it was, for the first time, shown that no hieroglyphic writing or text whatever, contained any symbolic hieroglyphics, and that many figures denote two consonants at the same time, and are therefore to be sounded syllabically.

Before this, however, in 1824, Champollion's *Precis du Systeme hieroglyphique* appeared, and lastly, in 1836, his comprehensive *Grammaire and Dictionnaire*, which completed Champollion's system. All the world believed that this contained the key to the hieroglyphics, and that any body would be able, by means of it, to read entire works of the ancient Egyptians.

But it all amounted to nothing. After the world had, for twenty-one whole years, made laborious and fruitless efforts to turn this system to practical account, Bunsen acknowledged, in 1845, as well as Lepsius and Birch: "We declare, as decidedly, that there is not a man alive, who could read and explain [according to Champollion's system] any whole sec-

tion of the Book of the Dead, much less a historical papyrus." And why not? All the rules laid down by Champollion proved to be wrong. All his efforts were made in a wrong direction. His entire system was based upon hypotheses that contradict history, and upon the deciphering of very short sentences, severed from their connexion, which, precisely because they were too short and disconnected, are susceptible of a hundred different explanations. Of such his whole grammar is full. Had Champollion endeavored, first of all, to decipher the Rosetta inscription and entire hieroglyphic texts, from beginning to end, he would have propounded an entirely different system.

In the first instance, Champollion taught, that the half of every hieroglyphic inscription consisted of symbolic signs; and maintained that the hieroglyphic preceded the alphabetical writing, without for a moment considering, that even before the deluge there had been an alphabet and books, that the Egyptians possessed an alphabet of twenty-five letters, including seven vowels, and that their first letter was *A*; and that their whole system of writing must have been based upon Noah's alphabet. Moreover, his explanation of the symbolic hieroglyphics was so ingenious, as to be, I acknowledge it, quite beyond my comprehension. Thus, according to Champollion, the Egyptians expressed the word thirst by means of waves and a calf. Now we know indeed, that calves are always thirsty; but it was never known that in Egypt they had much thirst for waves. According to Champollion, the intransitive verb was denoted by two feet represented as moving forward. According to our logic, we would rather conclude that two feet in motion denoted the transitive, and not the intransitive form of the verb. In fact, however, these denoted nothing more than the participle *et*, as also in the Coptic, because the feet expressed the consonant *t*. Champollion, as well as Kircher, very ingeniously translated all the agnomina of the kings symbolically: e. g. *Soleil, gardien de la verite*. Unfortunately, however, the Greek translations of the Flaminian Obelisk, and of the tables of Abydos and Karnak, came subsequently to light; and then it was discovered that of the hundred ingenious translations of Champollion, not a single one was correct: instead of *Soleil, gardien de la verite*, *Hermapion* read *Ramses*: instead of *ami de Phtha Nubnubei*, *Diodorus Siculus* read *Osimandya*. In short, Champollion was unable to allege a single well founded reason, why the Egyptians should have expressed

certain words symbolically, by means of certain hieroglyphics : why, e. g., the forehead should logically denote the number 10 ; a ball of yarn, 100 ; the lotus-leaf, 1000 ; the finger, 10,000 ; the hatchet, a God ; or the well-bucket, a burnt-offering, and so on.

The second fundamental law of Champollion's system runs thus : you must not ascribe to any hieroglyphic a syllabic value or meaning. Although the opposite of this had been demonstrated, as early as 1826, in my *Rudimenta hieroglyphices*, Champollion persisted in reasserting this error in all his subsequent works. Even in his grammar, which was published in 1836, after his death, the same law is repeated, whilst not one table with syllabic hieroglyphics is given in his work. And thus Champollion had effectually deprived himself, and all his disciples, of every means of correctly translating the Rosetta inscription, or any other text ; for, in general, every hieroglyphic figure denotes a syllable of two or three consonants. In a text of five hundred hieroglyphics, four hundred syllabic signs are contained.

Not less pernicious was the influence of Champollion's third fundamental law ; that the Egyptians regarded a picture as underlying determinatively the hieroglyphic groups, in order to indicate symbolically to what class of things the word belongs which precedes the determinative. This principle gave rise to the most luxuriant absurdity. For example, in the group consisting of a throne, an eye and a man, it is asserted that the throne denotes dominion, the eye, providence, and both together, according to some unknown logic, Osiris, the most holy God. With this the Egyptians connected the determinative, man. But any sensible man will naturally demand to know, whether the Creator of all things belongs to the class of human beings ? Egypt was represented by the reed, we are told ; and with this the plan of a city was conjoined as the determinative. But, did Egypt belong to the class of cities, or not rather to that of countries ? The hieroglyphic letters *hpi*, form the word *hopi*, serpent ; but also the word *hepi*, house. The determinative of this group is the picture of a snake ; Champollion translated this group, and could not help translating it, serpent or snake. The entire passage, comprising that group, was thus rendered by Champollion : "There is a serpent thirty cubits in length, fifteen cubits broad, and four cubits thick." What has become of this prodigy, which still existed in the time of the ancient Egyptians ; a serpent thirty cubits by fifteen, and

only four cubits thick? Perhaps this was an antediluvian leech, or Dr. Koch's gigantic lizard, only that it was ten cubits broad: or perhaps, even, it was our celebrated sea-serpent, measuring fifteen cubits in breadth. However, that hieroglyphic group also denotes house, *hepi*; and its determinative, serpent, was not symbolical, but syllabic, *hp*; and therefore, once again, for the sake of perspicuity, syllabically expresses the preceding consonants *hp*. Hence the sense of the passage was the following: "There is a house thirty cubits long, fifteen cubits wide, and four cubits high; this is the habitation of the departed one in the land of the blessed." In short, there are no symbolical, but only phonetic determinatives; and whoever translates inscriptions according to Champollion's symbolical determinatives, can produce nothing but nonsense. Even those determinatives which apparently represent the same objects, preceded by their names, phonetically written, are elsewhere used to designate syllabically, words of an entirely different signification, or are separate words. Thus, for example, the word *on*, sun, is followed by the plan of a city, in order to form the compound word *He-liopolis*, a city of the sun; for the city plan, *baki*, signifies city, and together with the preceding *on*, a sun, the compound term, city of the sun. This same plan of a city is employed to determine *Km*, Egypt, in order to form the word land of Egypt; for the city plan *bk*, is syllabically equivalent to *baki*, land, and therefore *km bk* conjointly, denote the land of Egypt.

Lastly, Champollion's system teaches the doctrine that every hieroglyphic inscription contains a multitude of abbreviations. Instead of *suten*, king, the Egyptians, as Champollion says, often put only *s*; in lieu of *nuter* only *n*; in lieu of *kr* only *k*; in lieu of *ouch* only *o*; instead of *pt* only *p*, &c., &c. How can any man conceive of such a method of writing, designed to be intelligible to all men? In every passage of five hundred hieroglyphics, we are required, in four hundred instances, to regard one letter as representing two or three. How would it then have been possible to understand a single line in the sense which the writer intended to convey? Fifty years ago the custom was in vogue in Germany, of adding the letters u. a. w. g. (the favor of an answer is requested) at the bottom of invitation cards, which provoked a playwright to write an entire comedy, in order to exhibit the multiplicity of senses in which the initials in ques-

tion may be taken, in a ridiculous light. Every one interpreted these abbreviations according to his fancy; the gourmands read them, "there will be drinking of choice Hungarian wines:" the young ladies insisted that they meant, "and in the evening there will be dancing." Had Champollion not been stricken with blindness, he would have observed, as early as 1824, that those isolated hieroglyphics, which are expressive of entire words, were no abbreviations, but were to be pronounced syllabically, and that they served to express the sounds contained in their names, and hence phonetically entire words, the same words which were sometimes written alphabetically.

From this system of Champollion, that of the Messrs. Lepsius, Birch and Bunsen differs in only one particular. It is the opinion of these gentlemen, that those isolated hieroglyphics which are expressive of entire words, were not always abbreviations of the same groups, but sometimes abbreviations of entirely different words. They explained the matter thus: In the earliest times the Egyptian words were all expressed symbolically, according to some undiscovered principle, by means of two or three hieroglyphic signs. Subsequently the second and the third hieroglyphic was omitted, and the first was taken in the sense of the original group. At a still later period, this remaining hieroglyphic was besides used to express syllabically other and entirely different words. Surely this is treating the sound common sense of mankind with contempt! Who can for a moment reconcile his mind to a system presenting such a mass of confusion? There was, at least, something to be said in favor of Champollion's system. For the Egyptians really did express many words invariably by the same hieroglyphics, partly because they selected such figures, of which the names themselves contained the vowels of the words to be expressed, and partly for the purpose of establishing a logical connection between the words to be expressed, and the figures employed to express them. Thus, for example, the word *Kam*, Egypt, was not denoted by the lion's paw, which was read *Kome*, and thus also contains the sound *km*, but by the reed *kam*, because the latter contained the same vowel, and is, moreover, logically related to Egypt, which abounds in reeds. Thus then, Champollion's doctrine, although incorrect, had at least something in its favor. For we can conceive of such a thing as that the Egyptians had abbreviated certain words, because these words invariably began with the same sign, and were generally

known. But that doctrine which exhibits a confusion worse confounded, and according to which, a hieroglyphic denotes all the words which begin with the same hieroglyphic, is so absurd, that it is unnecessary to waste another word upon it.

We must, however, guard against the assumption, that this mixed system leads to the same results as the syllabic. For if we look for the names belonging to the six hundred and thirty hieroglyphics, we perceive at once what consonants each of them contained, and consequently, also what words were expressed by each one of them. But according to the mixed system, it would first of all be necessary to ascertain in what manner each word was, in the earliest days, symbolically expressed by several signs, and what hieroglyphics originally lay back of any particular figure, in order to ascertain its syllabic signification in places where it expresses an entire word. The Egyptians, however, have, under no circumstances, written in this manner, so that it is impossible to find the syllabic signification of all the hieroglyphics by such a process. And yet men like Lepsius and Birch, have endeavored to determine the syllabic signification of the hieroglyphics in conformity with this chimerical principle, which, however, they never applied to more than seventy, and even in respect of two-thirds of these, they were utterly mistaken, because their inquiries were confined to hieroglyphic groups which were entirely irrelevant.

Such, then, is the character of the world-renowned system of Champollion. But how, it will be asked, could the whole world regard and recommend this as the veritable key to the literature of the ancient Egyptians? The question is easily answered. The facility of the French language gave his doctrine ready access everywhere, and our brain is a tablet of marble; whatever is first engraven on it, will endure as long as the material itself. Besides, every one knows that the world gives credence to novelties the more readily, the more marvellous and chimerical they are. Goethe somewhere remarks: "The world cannot comprehend the true, because it is too simple."

And now we will proceed to ascertain, still farther, by practical tests, what Champollion's system amounts to. Champollion had the inscription of Rosetta, with its Greek translation, lying on his table for forty entire years, and yet to his dying hour, he was never able to translate this inscription. And why not? Simply because this inscription was based upon a method of writing, differing altogether, in its princi-

ple, from the one found by Champollion, because he had no conception whatever of the true key to the hieroglyphics.

Champollion was twice in Rome, and examined all the thirteen obelisks of the "Eternal city," and yet he could not find the obelisk translated by Hermapion, although it stood before the eyes of all men, close by the porta del popolo. One day, in 1826, he even asked me whether I had found the obelisk in question, but added, without waiting for my answer, "Sarà in una cantina," it must still lie in some cellar. But although I already knew it well, I still considered it the part of prudence to maintain silence awhile longer, in order to secure what I had acquired.

Champollion's successor, De Rouge, the present director of the Egyptian museum at Paris, published, about four years ago, a translation of a remarkable inscription from the time of Moses, in which he formally renounces Champollion's system, and adopts my syllabic alphabet, of which he possessed a copy, as the basis of his version. He says: "It would have been impossible to translate this inscription according to Champollion's system, in the condition in which he left it." And all Egyptologists have now, like him, gradually adopted my syllabic principle.

A great many proper names of kings and gods, especially those of the Decani, Champollion was unable to read. And why? Because they were expressed syllabically. All the Agnomina of the kings were explained symbolically by him. But these also were syllabic, as we learn from the translations of Eratostenes and Manetho.

After Champollion's death, his most distinguished disciples, Ungarelli and Rosellini, published a translation of the inscriptions on the obelisk at the porta del popolo, made exactly after Champollion's system, in accordance with his grammar and his Dictionaire. It was now time for me to come out with Hermapion's translation of the Flaminian obelisk, which I had discovered in 1826. And what was the result? According to Champollion's system, the sense of the entire inscription had been mistaken, of three words, only half a one had been correctly rendered, and not a single one correctly explained. Thus, for example, Champollion's system gave rise to the following version of the second column on the east side of the obelisk: "From his magnificence this edifice to his beloved, by making his name immortal." Old Hermapion, on the contrary, had rendered thus: "A testimonial of the king, who adorns the abode of the gods, which he had erected,

with beautiful Tautic sculptures on the inclosing walls:" meaning that he adorned them with hieroglyphic figures. There is here a reference to Osimandya 1700 B. C., the greatest of all the Egyptian kings, and to his world-renowned Osimandium, the ruins of which are now to be seen at Karnac.

We will now proceed to inquire what the inductive proof is worth.

Champollion left behind him a large dictionary of hieroglyphics, with six thousand articles. The signification of these six thousand groups and figures, he determined in the following manner: He ascribes no syllabic signification to any of the hieroglyphics; he very ingeniously represented one-half of the hieroglyphics of an inscription to be symbolic, and gave to the groups, which were followed by a determinative, the signification required by the determinative taken in a symbolical sense. But he did not translate a continuous or connected text, but only short sentences, severed from the context, or isolated words. Now if Champollion's system is correct, then the translation of any and every continuous text, made with the assistance of Champollion's dictionary, must yield a rational meaning, or good sense. If, on the other hand, it is erroneous, it will inevitably give rise to nonsense. We select, as a specimen, a portion of one of the religious books of the ancient Egyptians, of which the contents are indicated by an adjoined vignette. It exhibits the image of the creation in front of the image of the sun, which is emitting burning rays, or, as we say, drawing water; as is wont to be the case when a thunder-storm is approaching. This text, when translated according to Champollion's dictionary and system, reads as follows. All the words occurring in this text are, with few exceptions, defined and translated in Champollion's dictionary. But let us hear:

"The chapter relating to the eye, the god Scarabeus, the mummy of god, appointed the hour, or rather towards the main road, the darkness, the night."

"This is the image of the truth-speaking Osiris: I am the gazelle, the comely one; the instrument, the lake of the heavenly waters, the woman, the illuminating one, the hour, splendor. The beginning, the hour towards the main road, the darkness, the night. The night to the mouth, duality, women, or rather mouth-man inhabiting my sprout. . . . I am the bride, the hour, the darkness, the night are going to the man, the hour, the darkness, the night, he the mouth il-

lumining to me, be duality, stone of the habitations above the heavens, above fame, and his lord with him; to go to me, he towards the mouth illumining; to me the royal crown, the entire domination; he the mouth illumining and the meadow field and enamel, and the two ostrich feathers. My sprig, to will he; the purse, the belongings to me; I who am the bride, the hour, the darkness, the night, to come to me the hour, the darkness, the night, &c."

The real import, however, of this section, is as follows:

"The discourse concerning the nature of God the creator, who speaks in trumpets, and causes the clouds of heaven to flash with lightning."

Thus saith the High and Holy One N. N., the weigher and measurer: it is I who cause the gleaming garment of the heavenly firmament to be shrouded in sack-cloth, when I purpose to speak with my brazen trumpet. Behold the trumpet, the lightning of the clouds of heaven, the thunder-peals of heaven, which proclaim: Fall down upon your knees, ye women! and say, be afraid, be afraid, ye men! Listen to my voice. . . . I am the holder (keeper) of the trumpet of the clouds of heaven. Prostrate yourselves before me, before my trumpet of the clouds of heaven, when my mouth speaks in thunders: prostrate yourselves before me, when I cause the stones of the houses under the heaven, to fall down and chastise those who enter into their chambers. Prostrate yourselves before me, when my mouth calls; fall down before me who am crowned with the crown of power. When my mouth calls, bring ye Byssus flax, meal; bring the frankincense for an offering; give each of you a little fruit, dried grapes every month of the year. For I am the holder of the trumpet of heaven, the Lord. Prostrate yourselves before me, before the trumpet of the clouds of heaven, before the Lord," &c.

After these unedifying, but necessary digressions, we return to Dr. Abbott's museum, and more particularly to the papyri, in order to ascertain what they have to say to us. We will first take up the three largest.

III. THE SACRED WRITINGS OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

There was, as is well known, a primitive revelation, which was transmitted from generation to generation, and which even before the flood, was recorded in sacred writings, now no longer extant. Immediately after the fall, the Lord said to the serpent: "It shall bruise thy head:" and of the time

of Seth, it is said: "then began men to call upon the Lord." One of these sacred books was the book of Enoch mentioned in the New Testament. The Hindus likewise relate, that there were sacred records anterior to the flood, after the loss of which men became wicked; whereupon God concluded to extirpate the entire human race. Through Noah these primitive revelations were handed down to all the nations that sprang from his descendants. This accounts for the fact that all the ancient nations were in possession of certain sacred books, like the Sibylline of the Greeke and Romans, the Zendavesta, the Vedas, the Tautic writings of the Egyptians. This too, accounts for the fact, that among all the nations of antiquity, we meet with traces of a Triune God, expectations of a Savior in the course of the sixth millennium after the creation, like doctrines concerning the angels, like temples, like festivals, like forms of worship, like priests, &c. This accounts, lastly, for Virgil's singing shortly before the advent of Christ: "The last age of the world is already approaching. Be propitious to the coming boy, with whom the iron age will end, O chaste Lucina be propitious to him. Then, then will be effaced the traces of our guilt, and the earth will be redeemed from its perpetual terror;" the serpent will die. "Accept, the time is already approaching, O accept the exalted honors, thou dear child of God, descended from great Jupiter." Moses himself has received these primitive revelations, which he transmitted to posterity, enriched by new and more definite ones from Sinai. The Egyptians, in all probability, likewise received primitive revelations of a similar description, in their forty-two sacred records, which, according to their traditions, came from Thoth or Athothis, the son of their first king, Menes, six hundred and sixty-six years after the flood. If these books had contained no truths of a higher order, they would certainly never have been mentioned and described by the church fathers, as e. g. by Clemens Alexandrinus; they would never have been copied so often, and as late as the times of the apostles. Now the three larger papyrus-scrolls in Dr. Abbott's museum are precisely such copies, as proved in a book concerning the Berlin Papyri, as early as 1825. In the European museums there are nearly five hundred such hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic manuscript copies of these forty-two sacred books of the ancient Egyptians, more or less complete. The most complete is that of Turin, which is sixty feet in length. Now what may be the contents of these books, which are upwards

of forty-six hundred years old? The first book contains the following text:

Title: "This is the book of prayers for the praise of the Lord of Lords, who has resolved to create servants, serving the eternal counselor, the creator of all things."

"The Lord Lords declares, at the same time, in this mummy-scroll, how the deceased Ahabanum, the child of the most holy, the just, the son of the daughter of Phaminis, the just, his mother, has been exalted."

All the papyrus-scrolls of this description belonged to some particular individual, and were, after his decease, deposited with his corpse in the grave, provided he had led a virtuous life. In this case, the name of the deceased was subsequently inserted after that of the creator, in a space designedly left vacant in transcribing, in order to indicate that the soul of the departed was thenceforward to become partaker of all the glories of God. I now proceed to the translation of the first sacred book.

"There is a Most Holy one (a God), a creator of the fullness of earth, a ruler of days (a providence)."

"I am (saith the Lord) the God of Gods, the exalted maker of the planets, and of the (heavenly) hosts, which are praising me above thy head; I, the creator of the exalted race of the mighty of princes and governors, (I) who sit in judgment; (I) the Most Holy one, who condemn the wicked, I (am) myself my king, the preserver of the laws, as long as he walks in the valley of thy promises, O Most Holy (God)." The persons are here sometimes confounded, as in other oriental texts.

"I am the creator of the exalted generations of the mighty (the celestial powers), of the children of heaven, which (the starry heaven), moves in order to disclose the murderers and persecutors of the pious, in order to find the deceivers, the children of the traducer (of Satan) before his (i. e. the creator's) countenance, as long as they walk in the valley of thy promises (i. e. on earth); I, the king of my hosts above thee; I, the planter of my herbs beneath thee."

"I am myself the world, the judge of every deed; myself the light (the sun) that convicts the evil-doer; myself my king, the preserver of the laws of Egypt, who dwelleth at On, the city of the sun."

"I am the light, the son of the primeval light, I dwell in the exalted land of light, I was born in the land of light (with me there is no night)."

“The government is mine, ye men and women of Egypt! Mine, who am the high and holy institutor of the adorations, which in the temples of both Egypts concern the Most Holy one (the creator); mine, who sit in judgment (the holder of courts), the Most Holy one, that convicteth the wicked, mine who have joined together (made) the glory of the sun, the king of the worlds; mine, (who am) the judge and condemner of the wicked, mine, who have fashioned the verdure of the earthly pasture.”

“The government is mine, who am the prince of my sun, which clothes all lands, the abodes of man, which illumines the house of worship (the world), which make manifest the heart of the persecutor of the just; mine who determined to make burnt offerings and victims of sacrifice for him whom all the world feareth.”

“The government is mine, who am the Lord, who have made my arm, my right arm to be dreaded; the Most Holy one, who hath trampled under foot the abode of the wicked, who hath destroyed (in the deluge) the polluted race of the world, who hath made the children of the deceiver (of Satan) and the insolent in the habitation of wickedness upon earth, to tremble.”

“The government is mine, who am the prince, the lord of the festive assemblies of the Most Holy, of the good spirit, of the judge (the triune God); who have ordered the solar years, who hath commanded the sanctification of the seventh day of the week, the celebration of the new moon at On.”

“I am that I am, myself my own priest at Tantatho (the sacred city), who slays the victim at Abydos, the delightful city, who slaughters the burnt offering of trespasses for thee: I, the high priest at Abydos, the delightful city; the lord of the offering of unrighteousness for thee; the supreme offerer of burnt victims and of sacrifices, which are brought to him whom all the world feareth.”

“It is I who slay the sacred sin offering of the lamb for thee at Tantatho, and who burns it in his flames.”

“It is I that weave the garments (i. e. the bodies of men), as I am also the inventor of the loom, I, that devised woof (i. e. in the human body).”

“It is I, that caused the vine, grain, sheaves, threshing and meal to grow in the kingdom of Egypt, the magnificent.”

“There is one, who has made the walk of the servants, of the (walking) statues in the house of the Most Holy one (i. e.

in the world) to be upright, who has made your walk upright: it is the spirit (i. e. wisdom) of the most holy and just one; your sovereign."

"The Most Holy one lives; he seeth as ye see; he hear-eth as ye hear; he standeth as ye stand; he sitteth as ye sit."

"There is one, who giveth to the servants, to the (walking) statues in the house of the Most Holy one, fruit and refreshing drinks of every kind; who giveth *to you* fruit and refreshing drinks of every kind every (new) year of the Most Holy one; and he is your sovereign."

"There is one, who hath lighted the lamps of heaven; one, who hath woven the star-covered path (the milky way) for his servants, the (walking) statues in the house of the Most Holy one; who hath lighted the heavenly lamps *for you*, who hath woven the star-covered path *for you*; and that is the Most Holy one, your sovereign."

"He, whom my prayer in the house of the Most Holy one exalteth, whom my song of praise exalteth, whom the choral anthem praiseth; he the Most Holy and Just."

"He, to whom all the world crieth, and whom they seek and worship on bended knees, whom the choir of the anthems of praise exalteth; to whom the circle of musicians shouteth; he, the sitter in judgment over his harvest-fields on earth; who walketh about in his plantations, your sovereign."

"Yea, the Most Holy one walketh through the terrestrial hosts, when evening hath come, and findeth the derider of those who seek after righteousness, as well as the obscurity of the just, who are concerned for the safety (salvation) of many; who instruct the other servant in the fear of the law."

"He findeth whosoever reveres what is sacred, whosoever humbles his head, whosoever is willing to attend to thy work, to the host of heavenly powers."

"Praise me (saith the Lord), the almighty; seek him, who upholdeth the terrestrial hosts; augment your care for the host of the heavenly powers, of the inhabitants of the celestial firmament, who occupy a habitation like unto your habitation, who walk above the head of the terrestrial hosts."

"I (the Lord) look and see who offers to the Lord of hosts whose image (the sun) is sailing upon the heavenly floods (in the blue firmament), sin offerings and thank offerings, who worships him on bended knees with humility."

"Thus also look ye up to me, all ye children of men in the house of praise, look up, too, to the host of heavenly powers, to the shining garment of the sky, to the carpet of

glory (the starry heavens), to the mansions of the host of mighty, who work for their master for my glory; look up to me, who have established my kingdom above the heavens."

"Hearken unto me, my servant! Weave garments, weave cloths, weave linen, girdles, bracelets of thanks for me in humility of heart, and in profoundest reverence, for me who am the Lord of all." Here begins the anthem of praise to God, as follows:

"Praise be to thy countenance, who hast woven the hosts of worlds, thou High and Holy God! Thou Lord of all that breathes the breath of life: who adornest the entire earth! Let me praise the architect who has made the terrestrial hosts; who at the appointed time hath caused all things on earth and beyond the world, to spring into existence, who hath constructed them all for me."

"Songs and anthems of praise to the master-architect, who made the world for me, who made it for the habitation of man, the creator's image; praise be to him, who once created that splendid garment of the sky, that alternation of the two heavenly luminaries (sun and moon) every year around."

"I shout praises to the Lord, to the good spirit, to the Holy one; I serve the Lord, whom all lands fear, to the most Holy one at Tantatho (in the land of light)."

"I extol the works of the Lord, which delight my heart, as long as I walk in the house of the Lord (on earth)."

"O that the words of my mouth, and the works of my hand, who am mean and unworthy, may be acceptable."

Here follow now the concluding observations to this first book of the sacred writings of the ancient Egyptians."

"Here endeth the first book, the introduction to the writings contained in this sacred mummy-scroll, which glorifies the Lord of the universe."

"O that the Lord might be exalted in his holy temple, that he might be worshipped with bended knee, that corn of every kind, refreshing drinks, sheaves, textures of linen and wool might be brought to him upon the altar of the Lord God; (might be brought) to him, before whom the meadows and woods of both upper and lower Egypt are bowing their heads, that fields and gardens might be offered to him (to his temples)."

"For his is the end, as is his the beginning (of all things)."

Now what do we learn from these religious books of the ancient Egyptians, which have so long been enveloped in im-

penetrable darkness? They tell us, in the first place, how men, whose descendants we are, thought, spoke, acted, and worshipped our Lord and Master forty-six hundred years ago. Such, and perhaps still better, may have been the state of things six hundred and sixty-six years earlier, in the family of Noah. Whether the world in general, at the present time, has advanced further in piety like this, I leave to every one to answer for himself.

We, in the next place, find here another proof, that there really was a primitive revelation. For, of themselves, the ancient Egyptians would never have known any thing concerning a triune God, concerning the angels, his ministers; concerning a father of lies, concerning the creation, the flood, the sanctification of the Sabbath, concerning the typical sacrifice of the lamb, concerning the High and other priests.

We learn, moreover, and in the last place, what were properly the objects of religious worship among all the ancient nations of the globe. The highest object of every form of worship was the creator and governor of all things; The "Most Holy one;" "The father of Gods and men, Zeus," the "Deus optimus maximus," "Zedek (the just one) with his seven sons," the "great king with his seven ministers." Besides, they did not, as is now generally assumed, worship the local powers of nature, animals and plants, but higher beings, created by God, and of an intermediate nature between God and man, who work for their Lord and for his glory." These are the above-named seven sons of Zedek, those seven Kabiri of the Greeks, the Romans and others; those seven ministers of the Most High, through whom he governs the world. According to the already corrupted opinion of the ancients, the seven planets were the bodies of these seven Kabiri, and the twelve constellations of the zodiac were the mansions of the twelve dii majores. Sacred animals were held in veneration by the ancient Egyptians, merely because they were, according to the statement of the ancients themselves, regarded as the "symbols of the divine creative powers, which revealed the single deities." Besides this, it is extremely probable, that these sacred writings will, in time, make us acquainted with many other things, of which we, at present, have as yet scarcely any conception: they will bring nearer to us an age and a world, which thus far has lain far beyond our horizon.

IV. THE JUDICIUM MORTUORUM, (*Judgment of the dead.*)

Nearly all the manuscript copies of the sacred records of the Egyptians, contain a pictorial representation of the judgment, to which the souls of the deceased were forced to submit, before they were either united with the Lord, or consigned to perdition. They nearly all contain the same figures, and are accompanied by almost the same inscriptions. The entire picture represents the celestial judgment-hall. In the middle of the top of it are inscribed the words: "House of the Tribunal;" on both sides, there are five times repeated, the words: "Light, revelation, justice." In the background towards the left, is seated the Most Holy one, upon his throne, surrounded by the holy of the holies. Before him are stationed the witnesses of the tribunal, of which all are personified, as, for example, the forty-two personages on the pediment, signifying the forty-two cardinal virtues (*justitiae*, Diodor. I. 92), below appear pity, loyalty, just weight and measure, the four seasons of the year (the *horae*), which had witnessed all the actions of the deceased; further to the right stands Thoth (the world). Behind him are seen both the Cabiri, Day (Horus) and Night (Amibis), which are balancing the virtue of the deceased, and the foibles of his heart, against each other, in a pair of scales. The result is recorded by Thoth upon a tablet, in order to present it to the judge. Hereupon follows justice, who introduces the soul of the deceased "into the secret mansion of God (into heaven) in order that there it may worship the creator face to face, throughout all eternity." The soul thus introduced by justice, approaches the Most Holy one with the following words (which are annexed to the figure): "Let me enter in among the people for all times. I have carefully refrained from committing murder. I have carefully refrained from trespassing (robbing). I have carefully refrained from secret fraud and deception (from lying). I have maintained reverence for the gods, and respect for the law. I have praised thy countenance, thou creator of terrestrial hosts, thou sacred Being, God, Lord of Abydos (lord of time); who impartest light to thy servants, flashes of light to the darkness of night. O Lord, I have loved thy servants, who walk in the house of thanksgiving and praise (on earth). I have exalted, I have glorified him, who has made all the world, in this house of creation, ever since I have walked among the

terrestrial (hosts) I have brought sacrifices in abundance in the house of worship, in the house of praise (upon earth).

V. THE DEMOTIC DOCUMENTS.

The administration of justice among the ancient Egyptians was formerly entirely unknown to us. In the course of time, however, a multitude of demotic, hieratic and Greek papyri were brought into Europe, which documents diffused a great deal of light on this point, and enlightened us respecting the history of ancient jurisprudence. The Greek translations and subscriptions of judicial documents from all parts of Egypt, served especially as valuable aids in this respect. Now we know that there were tribunals, or courts of justice, in every city, that all sales or conveyances of property, were required to be made according to a regular legal process, that sixteen witnesses were necessary to their validity, that of every deed there existed an original document and an anti-graphon, that purchases and sales were effected with the utmost circumstantiality and caution, and that the persons concerned were as minutely described as in lettres de cachet. All the documents of this kind begin with the year, month and day of the reigning sovereign; they make mention of his predecessors, and of the priests and priestesses then living. No American deed can offer greater security than one of these papyri of the ancient Egyptians. Precisely the same arrangement is to be observed in the legal documents from the times of Psamstichos, Darius, Xerxes, Ramses (1650 B. C.) and Amos (1800 B. C.), which are preserved in the museum at Turin. Dr. Abbott's collection contains six documents of this kind, and even a large papyrus, which is not yet cut asunder, and presents both the original document and its antigraphon. These are all from the time of the Lagidae; more particularly from the age of Ptolemaeus Epiphanes, two hundred and two years before Christ, and will furnish many a valuable contribution to the history of jurisprudence.

VI. THE PHŒNIX.

Nearly all the copies of the sacred writings of Egypt contain, as is evident from Dr. Abbott's papyrus, No. 766, among others, a religious consideration of two birds, *Penoh* and *Choli*, placed side by side, and are distinguished from each other only by the long feathers which adorn the head of the former. These two birds have reference to the well

known myth concerning the phoenix. For the word *Penoh* is identical with phoenix; and Hermapion translates the picture of that bird sitting on his funeral pile, which is to be observed in the Flaminian obelisk, by phoenix. The name *Choli* corresponds exactly with the name of phoenix in the book of Job, where it is *chol*, and also with the later Coptic *Alloe*. Now what may be the true meaning of the ancient myth concerning the phoenix, which has been preserved and transmitted upon monuments and coins, even down to the time of St. Cæcilia? The ancients themselves, who were very well acquainted with the import of this myth, give us only the following brief account of it: There is a bird, of which there is but one specimen in the world, and which comes flying from the East once in the course of every six hundred and fifty-one years, in company with many other birds, and after its arrival in the city of the sun (Heliopolis) here burns itself up, about the time of the vernal equinox, whereupon it rises again out of its ashes, and flies away again, to return no more till after the expiration of six hundred and fifty-one years. This phoenix made his first appearance in the reign of Sesostri, then again during the reign of Amos, and the last time amid great festivities, in the sixth year of Claudius. There was, however, also a pseudo phoenix (*chol*), which consigned itself to the flames as early as the autumn of the five hundred and thirty-ninth year, and besides, made its appearance repeatedly during the interval. The latter event occurred under the consuls, 310 B. C., under Evergeta I., under the consuls, 37 after Christ, under Trajan, during the second and sixth years of the reign of Antoninus Pius, under Caracalla, Caius, Constantine the Great, Constantine II., and others. It has now been ascertained that this singular myth signified nothing more than the transit of Mercury across the disk of the sun. The bird phoenix was an emblem of Mercury, as we are informed by the Isis-table (*Tabula Bembina*). There is but one planet Mercury, as there was but one phoenix. The city of the sun, in which the phoenix was accustomed to consign himself to the flames, is simply the sun, or the house of the god, sun, in which Mercury, during his passage through the disk, may be said to be consumed by fire. As the phoenix burns himself up every six hundred and fifty-one years, about the time of the vernal equinox, so Mercury subjects himself to a similar process every six hundred and fifty-one years, on nearly the same days of the year. Mercury passes always from east to west,

across the disk of the sun; it is exactly the same with the phoenix. Whilst Mercury enters upon his passage across the disk of the sun, performing his flight into the disk of the sun, he is attended by a multitude of stars; and in a similar manner, the phoenix is accompanied by a multitude of minor birds (flying stars). As the phoenix came forth anew out of his ashes in the sixth year of Claudius, under Amos and Sesostris, and always at the expiration of six hundred and fifty-one years, so Mercury was likewise, as it were, born again in the years 50 A. C., in 1904 and 2555 B. C. Precisely as another and different phoenix consigns himself to the flames in the autumn, always after the expiration of five hundred and thirty-nine years, and according to circumstances, still more frequently; so does Mercury. Like the phoenix, Mercury has also made his transit over the sun's disk on October 10th A. 310 B. C., on April 11th A. 227 B. C., on April 13th A. D. 37, on April 19th A. D. 109, on Oct. 25th A. D. 138, on April 18th A. D. 142, on Oct. 24th A. D. 217, on Oct. 23d A. D. 283, on April 20th A. D. 326, and on April 22d A. D. 339. In a word, there was a phoenix-period and a mercurial-period of six hundred and fifty-one, and of five hundred and thirty-nine years. In the same years in which the phoenix had destroyed himself with fire in the city of the sun, Mercury had likewise performed his transit over the sun.

But it will be asked, what benefit can we derive from these astronomical observations of the Egyptians, which go back as far as the year 2555 B. C.? They show us, in the first place, how far this nation had already, at that time, advanced in the science of astronomy. And moreover, as the transits of Mercury very rarely occur, and are based upon infallible calculations, these facts, as they are distinctly stated to have occurred in particular specified years of certain sovereigns, will serve to rectify ancient history and chronology. They will, as we shall see hereafter, assist us in showing, that Petavius, the originator of the chronology now generally in use, has put all the events of Greek and Roman history a year, and respectively two too high, and that the whole history of Egypt, as determined by Messrs. Boekh, Bunsen and Lepsius, will have to move down three thousand years.

VII. THE APIS-MUMMIES.

It is true, that no Egyptian museum is, as yet, in possession of such an Apis-mummy. But what information can we

gain from these ancient bulls? The voice of no bull is at all agreeable to the ear, and yet from those we shall learn very agreeable things. We learn from them, in the first place, how admirably the ancient Egyptians understood the art of preserving dead bodies for thousands of years. How can they have effected this? Herodotus affirms, that they employed *oinos phoenikios*, οἶνος φοινίκιος, and that the process occupied the space of several months. But what may have been this palm-wine, which is the literal translation of the word? This substance was, as we now know, nothing more than pyroligneous acid, which is found in the smoke of burning wood, and contains a large quantity of creosote. Thus the mummies of the ancients were nothing more than our smoked hams. Creosote and pyrolignic acid possess the property of desiccating meat or flesh completely, in the process of time, and of preserving it against putrefaction and worms. If the practice should be revived, of administering the flesh of mummies as medicine, to which purpose our ancestors probably appropriated many an entire mummy, then these three bulls would alone suffice to supply all the apothecary-shops of America with pills three thousand years of age.

But these Apis-mummies have yet another much more important value, even in confirming the truth of the sacred scriptures. The Egyptians are known to have computed their time, in the transactions of ordinary life, according to vague years of three hundred and sixty-five days, without any intercalary day. Hence it happened, that the first day of the year would come one day too early once in every four years, and so it went on, till after the expiration of fourteen hundred and sixty-one vague years, the new-year's day, which was the first day of the month of Thoth, would again coincide with our 20th of July. On the same day the dog-star, Sirius, rose in Egypt, shortly before sunrise. Hence it came, that the Egyptians denominated the period of fourteen hundred and sixty-one vague years, which began in the year in which the dog-star rose heliacally on the 1st of Thoth, or on our 20th of July, a canicular period, or *Periodus Lothica*. Now these canicular periods commenced on the 20th of July, in the year 2781 and 1322 B. C., and the last time in the year 139 p. c. n. About the year 1322 B. C., the Egyptians made the important discovery, that at the commencement of the second canicular period, on the 1st of Thoth, 1322 B. C., the moon was in its first quarter; exactly as it had been on

the 1st of Thoth, twenty-five years before; in short, that after the lapse of twenty-five vague years, the moon presented again precisely the same shape on the same day, and at the same hour. This observation, which proved conclusively, that the creator had, from eternity, so ordained the course of the sun and moon, that after the lapse of twenty-five years, they would again be at exactly the same distances from each other, appeared of such importance to the pious Egyptians, that for this reason they instituted a division of time into periods of twenty-five years, and expressed this sacred period by a living symbol, i. e., by the Apis-bull. The bull was, among the Egyptians, an emblem of the sun; the Apis-bull, however, representing as it did, at the same time also the moon, and the conjunction of the sun and moon on the 1st of Thoth, required to have marked upon it the symbolic signs of the moon. The Egyptians therefore selected, for the worship of Apis, who, according to Plutarch, was to them a living image of the divine wisdom, of the soul of Osiris, a black bull, which had a crescent on its side, and a wart in the shape of a beetle, (which likewise designated the moon) under the tongue.

This Apis-bull was worshipped in a temple of his own, at Memphis, and at the expiration of twenty-five years, when the Apis period was at an end, it was killed, embalmed in the shape of a mummy, and in commemoration of the quarter of a century just past, solemnly interred for preservation in one of the Apis-catacombs. An Apis-catacomb of this description, full of Apis-mummies and inscriptions, was discovered a few years ago, by Mariette, a French Savant.

But the question now arises, in what year the Apis-periods began. This question is answered by several coins, which were struck under the Roman emperors after the commencement of the third canicular period, and which dated the beginning of the Apis-period from the same year with which the canicular period had begun, i. e. the year 139 p. c. n. The Apis-periods, therefore, commenced simultaneously with the canicular periods, as is manifest from the moon-crescent on the side of the Apis-bull, and from the nature of the case itself. This is a fact of great importance in ancient history. For the ancient historians record, in several places, in what years of the Persian, Greek, and Roman sovereigns, an Apis-period commenced again. And thus it has been ascertained that the unfortunate Petavius, whom all our historians have to this day implicitly followed, has put the dates of all these

sovereigns too far back, by two years. Thus Alexander the Great did not die 324 or 323, but not until 321 years B. C.; the seventh year of Cambyzes was not 723, but 721 B. C.; Cyrus did not ascend the throne in 538, but in 534 B. C.; as is proved by still other incontrovertible facts, especially by the eclipses of this time.

This goes, in the next place, to establish and confirm a biblical tradition, which ought never been so rashly and unscrupulously assailed. The prophets and chroniclers assure us repeatedly, that the Babylonian Captivity lasted seventy entire years. But according to Petavius, we cannot even make out sixty-six years, simply because he has put Cyrus four years too early. But as Cyrus is now brought down to a date by four years later, that is, to the 534th year B. C., the Babylonian Captivity actually extends through a period of seventy years. In the spring of the year 533, the Hebrews returned to Jerusalem, and on the 25th of September, of the year 533 B. C., on a Saturday, the twenty-four classes of priests commenced again their weekly rounds of duty, until, on the 22d of September, of the second year before the commencement of the christian era, the birth of John the Baptist was announced to Zacharias, who belonged to the eighth class of the priests, i. e. to the class Abia.

From these corrections of ancient history it likewise follows, as many have already surmised, that the entire historical canon of Ptolemaeus down to Titus, is entirely erroneous. Consequently, the eclipses recorded by the ancients, must have been different from those which Ptolemy calculated, and our lunar tables must be based upon a different motion of lunar nodes, from that assumed by Ptolemy. In the year 130 after Christ, Ptolemy undertook to construct the first lunar tables, in which he endeavored to determine the elements of the lunar motion. With this end in view, he started upon the basis of the earliest eclipses of the moon, and his own observations. He found, however, in older authorities, nothing further than the bare announcement of the fact, that in certain years of the reign of certain kings, as far back as 721 B. C., fourteen different eclipses of the moon had been witnessed. But in prosecuting his task, he had the misfortune to be guided by erroneous chronological tables, in consequence of which, he placed the eclipses in question into the wrong years, and necessarily determined the place of the moon's nodes incorrectly. The later astronomers, as far down as the time of Burckhardt and Damoiseau, without any

regard whatever to the facts of history, labored under the delusion, that those lunar eclipses, mentioned by Ptolemy, had been observed to the nicety of a minute, by the Babylonians themselves; and hence their repetition of the errors of Ptolemy. We can easily conceive that these new lunar tables, which were based upon entirely false premises, could only for a short time correspond with the observations of later eclipses. It was therefore necessary to construct new tables every one hundred years, and even still more frequently. We now comprehend, at last, why it is that all the lunar tables thus far in use, are not in harmony with the most recent observations of eclipses, as is proved by the total eclipse of the sun, which occurred in Germany in 1851, and also in what place the lunar node must really have been in 721 B. C. It is obvious that this fact is one of the utmost importance in astronomy. We now also know the date of the celebrated total eclipse of the sun, so long an object of anxious inquiry, mentioned by Thales as having occurred during the battle between the Medes and Lydians, on the Halys. It did not take place 610 years B. C., according to which the mother of Cyrus would have been but twelve years of age at the time of her marriage; but on the 18th of May 622 B. C., which would make Mandane twenty-three years of age.

VIII. THE ASTRONOMY OF THE EGYPTIANS.

Diodorus asserts as an eye-witness, that the Egyptians, "from time immemorial, had been in the habit of making and recording astronomical observations on all the planets." An example of this is furnished us by the above-mentioned papyrus in Dr. Abbott's collection, which, besides, is remarkable for this reason also, that it contains demotic explanations, and that it is the only one of the kind at present known to us. But in what way did the ancient Egyptians express and preserve their astronomical observations? In answering this inquiry, we find, in the first place, among the ancients, a statement to the effect, that they designated the seven planets by means of the images of their seven supreme divinities, the Cabiri, and the twelve signs of the zodiac by means of the images of their twelve greater gods. The ancients, in consequence of their ignorance of the telescope, were acquainted with only seven planets, arranged in a series according to their several velocities, thus: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. The zodiac is the ball of the heavens, within which these seven planets perform their

perpetual revolutions. The middle of this belt is the line on which the sun advances, or the ecliptic, a circle which, like all others, was divided into three hundred and sixty degrees. The zodiac is divided into twelve sections of thirty degrees, and each of these sections contained a group of stars, into which the imagination conjured figures of men, animals and utensils; whence the name of the zodiac (which is literally a circle or belt of animals). These images or signs of the zodiac are, in their regular order, as follows: Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces; their course, when observed with the north pole behind the spectator, is, like that of the sun, moon, and planets, from right to left. Each of these signs of thirty degrees in length, was again subdivided into three smaller sections of ten degrees (*Dicuria*), into five sections of different lengths (*Horia*), into twelve sections of two and a half degrees (*Dodecatemoria*) and lastly into thirty sections of one degree (*moirae*), and every one of these subdivisions of the zodiac was presided over respectively by one of the inferior divinities.

It was by means of these divinities, and their symbols, therefore, that the Egyptians expressed their astronomical observations, and more particularly the position of the seven planets at the time of memorable events. They brought the images of the seven planetary gods in connection with the images of the twelve zodiacal gods, and with the subordinate deities of each sign, with which a planet stood in conjunction. This could, of course, be accomplished in several ways, as we can at once show by a few examples. It is scarcely necessary to state beforehand, that with the assistance of our astronomical tables, these ancient planetary constellations can easily be calculated with mathematical certainty, to the year and day. For a planetary constellation, showing only the signs of the zodiac, in which the seven planets formerly stood at a particular time, can, according to well known astronomical laws, occur but once in twenty-one hundred and forty-six years; but planetary constellations, showing the *Dicuriae*, *Horia*, *Dodecatemoria* and degrees in which the seven planets formerly stood, can occur but once in the entire course of history, nay even in millions of years. All the events of ancient history, to which such constellations, as observed by the ancients themselves, are linked, are by means of these planetary constellations, determined with incontrovertible certainty. And this is of the utmost importance for the cor-

rection of ancient history. Several hundred such planetary constellations have been preserved, partly in the historical works of the ancients, partly on their monuments, on the pyramids, on temples, in the catacombs, on the sarcophagi, mummy-chests, tables of stone, papyrus-scrolls, &c. Among the Egyptians, they go back as far as the year 2781 B. C.; among the Greeks, as far as 778 B. C.; among the Romans, as far as 752 B. C.; among the oriental nations, as far as the years 3447 and 5871 B. C. Among the most remarkable of them are the following:

IX. THE ZODIAC OF DENDERA.

In the year 1799 the French Savants, who accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt, discovered, on the ceiling of the little temple at Dendera, a carved representation of the heavens, with the signs of the zodiac, and other figures. After this stone slab, which formed the ceiling of the temple, had been cut out with a saw, and transported to Paris, the grand discovery was made, that this monument was at least seventeen thousand years old, and that the flood and the creation were myths. From that time to the year 1833, upwards of fifty works of this character have been published. This preadamitic chimera soon created so great a sensation, that it was found expedient to make it invisible in Paris, by locking it up in a dark room. Meanwhile the key to the astronomical inscriptions of the ancient Egyptians had been found in 1833, from which it appeared that this zodiac of Dendena contains a planetary constellation, by means of which the exact date of this much discussed monument could be determined by its own evidence. We observe, namely, besides other heavenly constellations, expressed by certain figures, the twelve signs of the zodiac, and also the images of the seven planetary gods, which are distinguished from all the rest by the circumstance, that they, like the planetary gods on all other astronomical inscriptions, bear in their hand the sceptre (*zor*, the mighty, puissant one) and the ansated cross (*anak*, prince)

We find, therefore, that at the time of the construction of the temple of Dendena, Saturn stood in Virgo, Jupiter in Libra, Mars in Gemini, the Sun, Venus and Mercury in Aquarius, and the Moon in Taurus. Every planetary constellation of the kind, can be easily calculated: and what was now the result with reference to the date in question? It was not the year 17000 B. C., but the 11th of February, of the thirty-seventh year after Christ, which was the year of the birth of

Nero. This emperor had, according to the account of the Roman writers, constructed and restored many temples in Egypt, and Nero's name is, even at the present time, still to be found on every side of the temple at Dendena, and half of it even on the zodiac at Paris. Thus ended the merry tragedy of the zodiac at Dendena.

X. THE ISIS-TABLE

(*Tabula Bembina*).

Two hundred years ago, a magnificent bronze tablet or plate, inlaid with a great many silver figures of the gods, was dug up in the city of Rome, and came into the possession of Cardinal Bembi, whence it has been designated ever since as the *Tabula Bembina*. After an examination of many years, the discovery was made that this table had been executed as early as the time of Moses, and that it contained the secrets of the magnetic needle. A closer examination in the year 1833, however, led to the conclusion, that this table represented in its twelve squares, nothing more than the twelve signs of the zodiac, expressed by means of the twelve superior deities of the Egyptians, and that it furthermore contained, in certain squares or signs, the figures of the seven Cabiri or planets. It was thus found that the antemosaic and magnetic Isis-table exhibits the planetary constellation of the year 54 after Christ, in which year Trajan was born. And it actually contains the names of *Cæsar Trajannos*, and those of his wife and daughter, *Plotina* and *Sabina*.

XI. THE SARCOPHAGUS OF OSIMANDYA.

About forty years ago, Balzoni discovered, near Thebes, in the valley of Biban el Moluk (the graves of the kings), a large catacomb, which had never been opened, and which contained thousands of mummies, with which he cooked *bil-lah* for himself and his fellahs. In the innermost chamber, however, he found a costly colossal royal sarcophagus, made of alabaster, and covered, both externally and internally, with inscriptions and images of divinities; which subsequently was brought into the museum of the architect Soane at London, through the agency of consul Salt. This sarcophagus once contained the lifeless remains of Osimandya, the greatest king of Egypt, and father of Ramses the great, the last king of the eighteenth dynasty. To this same Osimandya and Ramses, was dedicated the obelisk, with Hermapion's translation, now standing near the porta del popolo at Rome.

The sarcophagus of this Ramses the great, was likewise discovered by Belzoni, in a catacomb of the vicinity. It is now in Paris, and its lid at Cambridge. The diagrams of both these catacombs, on papyrus-scrolls of the same age, showing all their chambers, and their length, breadth and height, was found at Turin, by myself, in the year 1827. On these two sarcophagi are inscribed the planetary constellations at the birth of the two kings already named from the years 1731 and 1694 B. C. The planetary constellation of Osimandya, in Soane's sarcophagus, is also found on the colossal ruins near Karnac, in the vicinity of Thebes. It follows from this, that the ancient Osimandyeum, the largest edifice of antiquity, and minutely described by Diodorus, was what is now known as the ruins of Karnac. Its gigantic columns, which are so large, that one hundred men can find standing-room upon one of its capitals, are still standing to this very day, simply because the vandal hand of Cambyses was unable to overturn them.

XII. THE PLANETARY CONSTELLATION OF MENES.

Among the greatest curiosities of Dr. Abbott's museum, is a necklace containing the name of Menes Athothis. This work of art reminds us of the founder of the Egyptian empire, of the first king of the land, concerning whom there has been so much contention during the last three centuries. It is a fortunate circumstance, that the Egyptians made an observation of the planetary constellation at the time of Menes' arrival in Egypt, and that it has been preserved for us in their temples and in their sacred writings, even to the present day. We are at present already acquainted with sixteen temples and monuments, which exhibit a representation of this very planetary constellation of Menes. On the majority of them, the ancient Menes stands opposite to the row of the gods, his only garment being a tiger skin; on others his person and his name are expressed by means of the crescent, i. e. the letters M. N. (Menes). The most concise expression of this planetary constellation, is to be found in the said temple near Karnac, from the year 1700 B. C. Each of the seven planetary gods is seated on a chair, together with one of the twelve gods in whose sign the planet at the time happened to stand. We therefore find the sun in Cancer (0°), the Moon in Scorpio, Saturn in Sagittarius, Jupiter in Aries, Mars in Sagittarius 10° , Venus in Cancer 10° , Mercury in Cancer 5° . This planetary constellation, which

has occurred but once in history, has reference to the year 2781 B. C., to the sixteenth of the Julian July, which was, at that time, the day of the summer solstice. It is by such methods, therefore, that the Egyptians expressed and transmitted their astronomical observations from Menes down to Constantine. Several hundred of them have been preserved to this very day. They determine the natal year of Pharaohs, of priests and private individuals, for example, from the years 1833, 1632, 1573, 1524, 1104, 787, 661, 621, B. C., &c.

XIII. THE PLANETARY CONSTELLATIONS OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.

By means of the key to the astronomy of the ancient Egyptians, we have also found the key to the Greek and Roman astronomical monuments. We are already familiar with the manner in which the Greeks and Romans denominated their seven planets, and expressed them by means of the images of their seven Cabiri (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercury and Luna). To which signs of the zodiac, the twelve Dii majores of the Greeks and Romans related, the ancients have themselves told us. It was, consequently, easy to explain also the astronomical monuments of the Greeks and Romans. Examples of this description are found in their authors, on their temples, houses, altars, Etruscan vases, lamps, &c. Among the Greek planetary constellations, which were denominated *hierae Klinae*, we may mention the Olympian double-altars from the year 778 B. C., which was the commencement of the Olympiads; the planetary constellation on the statue of the Olympic Zeus, 490 B. C., having reference to the battle of Marathon; the planetary constellation on the frieze of the Parthenon from the year 480 B. C., referring to the battle of Salamis, &c.

In precisely the same way the lectisternia of the Romans mentioned by Livy and others, likewise denoted planetary constellations; as, for example, the lectisternium 397 B. C., under the tribunes, Augurinus and Priscus, and that of 217 B. C., after the battle against Hannibal, near lake Thrasimenus. The Roman altars (*Arae*) contain the planetary constellations at the birth of the Roman emperors, to whom they were dedicated. We thus find on the *ara albani*, the nativity of Augustus, of the year 63 B. C.; on the Puteolian plinth that of Tiberius, of the year 40 B. C.; on the Capitolian puteal and on the Borghesian Ara, that of Claudius,

of the year 9 B. C. ; on the Gabinian Ara that of Vespasian nine years after Christ, &c.

XIV. THE PLANETARY CONSTELLATIONS OF THE FOUR AGES OF THE WORLD.

Astronomy is, according to the accounts of the ancients, coëval with the human family. Josephus already assures us, that Seth was the originator of this science, and the Egyptians trace it back to a period as early. That astronomy extends back to a period prior to the time of Noah, is manifest beyond a doubt, from the fact, that among all the nations of antiquity, we meet with the same zodiac, and the same arbitrary divisions of it, the so called hypsomata of the planets, that is to say, certain remarkable degrees of the zodiac, &c. Among these ancient nations, we may instance particularly the Romans, Greeks, Egyptians, Aethiopians, Arabians, Phœnicians, Chaldæans, Babylonians, Hindus, Chinese, Japanese, Persians, Mexicans. It will, consequently, not be surprising to us, that antiquity should have transmitted to us astronomical observations of a far earlier date, observations which, in whatever way we may explain them, go back as far as the creation of man. To these belong the four ages of the world, and the planetary constellations observed at their respective commencements. All the ancient nations were acquainted with the gradual revolution of the entire starry heavens, and their great world-period of thirty-six thousand years, was based upon this fact. On the day of the vernal equinox, in the year 1784, the disk of the sun may have covered a certain star at the ecliptic, but on the same day, 1856, the same star stood aside the sun towards the east; it removed during these seventy-two years, one degree, or two diameters of the moon. This phenomenon is termed the precession of the equinoctial points. As the ancients had no telescopes, they were unable to determine this precession with sufficient accuracy, and assumed, that the heavens moved but one degree in every one hundred years. Now, as the ecliptic, in which the sun performs its course, is divided into three hundred and sixty degrees, the ancients calculated thirty-six thousand years for the revolution of the entire heaven; and as the ecliptic was divided into twelve signs, of thirty degrees each, the time of the precession of the heavens through one sign, or thirty degrees, would consequently be three thousand years. The periods during which the equinoctial point passes through the different signs of thirty de-

grees, constituted the basis of the so called ages of the world, among the ancients, as we learn even from Daniel's colossal image (a symbol of Time), with its head of gold, its chest of silver, its brazen body, and its iron feet. The Greeks and Romans expressed these ages by means of the reigns of the gods. In the first, or golden age, Uranus was on the throne, in the second, or silver age, Saturn, in the third, or brazen, Jupiter, in the fourth, or iron, Mars; i. e., consequently in the four periods of time in which the equinoctial point passes through the signs Gemini, Taurus, Aries, and Pisces, in which at the present time the sun stands on the day of the vernal equinox. Each of these four ages of the world comprised, as we have already shown, a period of three thousand years, in round numbers: as, however, the equinoctial point moves backward a degree, even in seventy-two years, the exact number of years for each world-age is twenty-one hundred and forty-six. We are now ready for the enquiry, in what years, and on what days these four periods may have begun? It is self-evident that this enquiry is of the utmost importance, inasmuch as these ages, among all the ancient nations, began with the very year and the day of creation, and are based upon mathematical and incontestable truths. Now the ancients have preserved the observations of the planetary constellations, as they took place at the commencement of these four periods respectively. The planetary constellation at the commencement of the fourth age of the world, in which we still live, is to be found in the later Vedas, the sacred writings of the Hindus. It relates to the year 598 after Christ, and in that same year, the equinoctial point passed out of Aries into Pisces. The planetary constellation of the beginning of the third age, is preserved in the Ramayana, the celebrated epopee of the ancient Hindus, and relates to the year 1579 B. C., to the same year in which the equinoctial point passed out of Taurus into Aries. The planetary constellation at the commencement of the second age, is recorded in the Zendavesta, the sacred scriptures of the Parsees, and relates to the year 3725 B. C., in which the equinoctial point passed out of Gemini into Taurus. And lastly, the planetary constellation, at the commencement of the first age of the world, has been preserved to us by all the nations of antiquity. We find it in the Hypsomata (beginnings of the planets) of the Romans, Greeks, Egyptians, Arabians, Persians, Chaldeans, Hindus, &c. The most explicit account of it is given by the translator of the chronicle of Abu

Dschafar, Mohamed Tabani. It is as follows: "Know then, that the astronomers, Aristotle, Hipparchus and other great masters of this science, make mention of the time, which is to elapse from Adam (peace be with him) to the day of judgment. Those masters inform us, that at the time, when the Almighty and incomparable one created the moon, the sun and planets, every one of these heavenly bodies remained motionless in its place, until the command went forth from God. At that time Saturn stood in Libra 21° , Jupiter in Cancer 15° , Mars in Capricornus 28° , the Sun in Aries 19° (others correctly in 0°), Venus in Pisces 27° , Mercury in Virgo 15° (others correctly in Pisces 27°), and the Moon in Taurus 3° . This was the beginning of the world, and since that time, the planets have never again been in the same position." And so it is, for such a planetary constellation can occur but once in millions of years. It took place in no other year, and on no other day, than the year 5871 B. C., and on the 10th of the Julian May, which, at that time, was the day of the vernal equinox. On that day the sun stood near the first star of Gemini (Castor and Pollux, which the celestial globes of the Arabs call Adam and Eve). As for the rest, it will be perceived, that these epochs of the four ages of the world, 5871, 3725, 1579 B. C., and 598 p. c. n., are separated from each other by an interval of twenty-one hundred and forty-six years, during which the heavens advance through one sign of 30° . It was the last age only, that was made thirty years too long by the Hindus. Among the most ancient astronomical observations of our forefathers, we are yet to mention,

XV. THE PLANETARY CONSTELLATION IN THE ALPHABET.

What may be the age of our alphabet, and in what year was it invented, or at any rate, did it receive its present arrangement? Many are now of the opinion, that our alphabet was invented by Cadmsu, the Phœnician, about 1500 B. C.; that, consequently, at the time of Moses, the art of writing was as yet unknown, and that consequently the pentateuch could not have originated with Moses. But as respects the Phœnician Cadmus, this ancient tradition rather imports that we owe the alphabet to the "Phœnicians from eternity," i. e. to the Noachians, and that the name Cadmus rather signifies the Ancient or the Ancestor, consequently none other than our ancestor Noah. First of all, it is obvious to every one, that even before the deluge, during the long interval

from the creation until Noah, which embraced a period of no less than twenty-four hundred and twenty-four years, an alphabet of some kind must have existed. For the New Testament makes express mention of the book of Enoch: the Koran, the Vedas, the book of the Zendavesta, the apocryphal writings of the Old Testament; Hyginus, the Phœnician Sanchoniathon, the Chaldean Berosus, and others affirm, that books and an alphabet existed already before the flood, and that the latter was invented or newly arranged by Noah himself. These historical traditions are confirmed by the very fact, that all the alphabets of the world coincide with each other in point of the number, order, form, name and signification of the letters, and consequently they must have originated at the time when there was, as yet, only one people in the world. All the ancient alphabets agree in respect of the first twenty-five letters, and Plutarch has already remarked, that the alphabet of the ancient Egyptians, whose literature goes back, as we have already seen, as far as the six hundred and sixty-sixth year after the flood, also contained twenty-five letters. That now and then a letter should have become obsolete, and been eventually dropped entirely, or subsequently appended to the last letter, *u*, this cannot be a matter of surprise. All the alphabets commence with *a. b. c.*, and end with *s. t. u*. These twenty-five letters were originally pictures or figures of objects belonging to ordinary life, from which they also derived their names; and every letter expressed the sound with which its name began. The ancient *a* signified a bull's head, in the Hebrew *aleph*, and consequently expressed the vowel *a*. Now if the alphabet had not been invented until nineteen hundred years after the deluge, then the Greeks would have adapted to their own language, letters of which the names and forms were entirely foreign to them. In short, the agreement of all the ancient alphabets, among which we may likewise include the cuneiform letters of the Persians, Medes, and Assyrians, and the twenty-four radical signs of the Chinese and the Japanese, all go to confirm the tradition, according to which Noah re-arranged and transmitted the primitive alphabet. To this we must add the special historical notices among the ancient Phœnicians, Chaldeans, Greeks, &c., according to which Noah employed the alphabet to indicate the places of the seven planets in the zodiac, at the time of the flood, by means of the seven vowels of the alphabet. The alphabets of the present time contain but five or six vowels, but the ancient Egyptians had seven; and the

two vowels *c*, *e*, which were afterwards dropped, had their place, according to the ancient Arabians, next to the Hebrew *cheth*. The ancients still further specify to which particular planet each one of these seven distinct vowels respectively referred, that is, *a* to the Moon, *e* to Venus, *e* to the Sun, *c* to Mercury, *i* to Mars, *o* to Jupiter, *u* to Saturn. That the seven vowels of the Noachian alphabet, as the ancients affirm, really expressed a planetary constellation, is evident from the very fact, that those vowels which are entirely distinct from the consonants, are not put in juxtaposition, neither at the commencement, nor in the middle, nor at the end of the alphabet, but scattered, like the planets in different points of the zodiac.

Now if these traditions are correct, then the alphabet must indicate the planetary constellation at the end of the deluge, on 7th of September, 3447 B. C. For all the reliable traditions of antiquity, as we shall show hereafter, concur in bearing witness that the deluge ended in the year 3447 B. C., on the 7th day of September. If, therefore, the alphabet was, at that time, a representation of the zodiac, as Sanctionia-thon expressly says, then the twenty-five letters must be referred to the twelve signs of the zodiac, and that in such a manner, as that the first two letters are placed in Gemini, which was then the first sign of the zodiac. We thus obtain the following places of the planets: The Moon (*a*) in Gemini 0° — 15° ; Venus (*e*) in Leo 0° — 15° ; the Sun (*c*) in Virgo 15° — 30° ; Mercury (*e*) in Libra 0° — 15° ; Mars (*i*) in Scorpio 15° — 30° ; Jupiter (*o*) in Aquarius 15° — 30° ; Saturn (*u*) in Gemini 0° — 15° . This is really, as every one can find from his astronomical tables, the planetary constellation of September 7th, a. 3447 B. C.

But, it will be asked, what benefit or advantage can we derive from these ancient Asiatic, Egyptian, Greek and Roman astronomical observations, although they have thus far been entirely unknown to us? Let every one form his own judgment from what I shall now proceed to say.

XVI. DEFECTS OF THE PLANETARY TABLES.

Our planetary tables are based upon the observations of Ptolemy, A. D. 130. But as at that time there were as yet no instruments for making astronomical measurements, these observations of Ptolemy must necessarily contain errors, and these increase considerably in importance, as we go back towards earlier dates. We are now acquainted with planetary

places and constellations which, among the Romans, are eight hundred, among the Greeks nine hundred, among the Egyptians three thousand years older than those of Ptolemy, by means of which our planetary tables can be corrected. They furnish us, in repeated instances, with coincident, though not very important, deviations from the ancient observations; and we have thus been already enabled to show, that the mean motions of the planets, their anomalies, nodes and apogees, differed in some degree from those assumed in the tables constructed on the basis of Ptolemy's observations. It is, therefore, to be hoped that astronomers by profession, will make themselves acquainted with the astronomy of the ancient Egyptians.

XVII. THE HISTORY OF EGYPT.

The celebrated Lepsius, of Berlin, has, in his great work on the history of Egypt, made the immortal discovery, that Menes, the first king of the country, reigned before our dates of the flood and of the creation; that "the deluge was confined to but a small portion of the globe;" that "the sacred scriptures contain no history;" that "the chronology of the Bible must accommodate itself to that of the Egyptians (as interpreted by Mr. Lepsius)," &c. This great Savant, however, has exhibited in all his writings, to the present day, such a degree of ignorance, heedlessness, and levity, that there is no need of any refutation of his chimeras. Mr. Lepsius has not even learnt, as yet, that all great kingdoms or empires have originated in smaller ones, that consequently also Manetho's dynasties must, from the very beginning, have been contemporaneous. The whole history of Egypt is now determined, even to minute dates of years and days, by means of the many planetary constellations mentioned above, as having occurred at the birth of the Pharaohs, at the commencement of the said four ages of the world, and at the beginning of the reign of Menes, by means of the transits of Mercury connected with the reign of certain monarchs, and lastly, by means of the phoenix-periods and apis-periods, concerning which we have already spoken. On the basis of these mathematical truths we, in the first place, find the commencement of the reign of Thuthmoses, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, during which the Hebrews emigrated, to have been in the year 1904 B. C. On the 7th April, of the same year, there was a renewal of the phoenix-period of six hundred and fifty-one years, which is said to have taken place

in the reign of this very Shuthmoses, or Amos I., and in the sixth year of the emperor Claudius. The arrival of the shepherd-kings (hyksos) i. e. the Hebrews, as Josephus testifies, is ascertained with equal certainty. Even Manetho states, that these hyksos became the founders of Jerusalem subsequently to their expulsion from Egypt, and according to Africanus' copy of Manetho, they ruled contemporaneously with the Diospolite kings of the seventeenth dynasty, that is to say, in their land of Goshen. The Hebrews, therefore, arrived in Egypt, according to Manetho, in the seven hundredth year of the canicular period, consequently in 2082 B. C. The precise time of Sesostris the Great, of the twelfth dynasty, is determined by the circumstance, that during his reign, and on the 6th of April a. 2555 B. C., those phoenix-periods of six hundred and fifty-one years commenced, which were subsequently renewed in 1904 B. C., under Amos I., and in 50 A. D., under Claudius. The first year of Menes, namely the 2781st B. C., is determined by sixteen astronomical inscriptions, and by the fact, that the *vetus chronicon*, an old historical work of the Egyptians, places Menes in the first year of the canicular period, that is, likewise in 2781 B. C. Thus it is evident that between Menes and the eighteenth dynasty, several dynasties must have ruled simultaneously in upper and lower Egypt, which was early divided into twelve provinces, or *Nomi*. The question now is, which of these were contemporaneous? Erastosthenes has left us a translation of a list of the Pharaohs, from Menes to the end of the eighteenth dynasty (1647 B. C.), together with a statement of the years of the respective reigns of these kings, and from these it is manifest, not only that Menes did not come from Babylonia into Egypt, until the said year 2781 B. C., but also that among the earlier dynasties, enumerated by Manetho, the I, XII, XVI, XVII, XVIII only were successive, and that the intervening ones were contemporaneous with them. The same Egyptian history is established with still greater certainty, by the table of Abydos, of the year 1600 B. C., in which all the Egyptian kings of the 1st, 12th, 16th, 17th and 18th dynasties are enumerated in their regular order, but all the intervening ones entirely omitted. Finally, we have, in addition, the table of Karnac, of the year 1700 B. C., which divides the kings, from Menes to the eighteenth dynasty, into two series, by arranging those that ruled successively on one side, and those who were their contemporaries, on the other. Thus then, the strife which has lasted

so many years, respecting Manetho's dynasties, and the true commencement of Egyptian history, has at last been set at rest. The history of Egypt did not begin before the year 2781 B. C. It is true, that men may differ in opinion, but astronomical and mathematical facts can never be controverted.

Our next inquiry is, what may have been the date which the Egyptians assigned to the creation and the deluge? The day of creation was, according to their traditions, the day of the vernal equinox, as Philo and the church fathers testify. The said planetary constellation of the commencement of the first age of the world, also preserved by the Egyptians, refers us, as we have already shown, to the same day, 5871 B. C.

Furthermore, they placed the creation in the year in which Sirius, the dog-star, rose with the sun, on the day of the vernal equinox, as we are informed by Porphyry, by Aeneas, by Gazaetus, and others. And this again, could take place only in the year 5871 B. C. Lastly, we find it stated by the Alexandrian astronomer, Theon, that in the year 27 B. C., the sixteenth of the reign of Augustus, on the 29th of August (the 1st of the month Thoth) a new canicular period (the fifth since the creation, comprising fourteen hundred and sixty-one years) had commenced; by which 5871 B. C., is again confirmed as the year of the creation. In short, the Egyptians, like all the other nations of antiquity, have assigned 5871 B. C. as the year of the creation. The history of the deluge they represented by the myth concerning the death of Osiris, which occurred on the same day, the 17th of the month Athyr, on which the deluge began, according to the sacred scriptures.

But how does this agree with Manetho and the *vetus chronicon*, which reckon three thousand years from the beginning to Typhon, the murderer of his brother Osiris (i. e. the flood, for Typhon signifies also the sea, as Osiris the mainland) and farther 3984 years, from thence to Menes, and besides 217 additional years? We are informed by Censorinus Horapollon and others, that the Egyptian word *abot*, *babot* (complexus) signified not only a year, but also a month, and also a season of two months. Consequently, Manetho and the author of the *vetus chronicon*, were authorized to calculate times according to such shorter years, without contradicting the other historical traditions of their nation. Now we know, more-

over, that Manetho's history of Egypt was called the book of the Sothis, that is to say, the book of the great canicular period of 36525 years. This number was obtained by the multiplication of the smaller Sothis of 1461 years with the Apis-period of twenty-five years, and proximately coincided, as we have seen, with the great world-period of thirty-six thousand years. Now since Manetho was acquainted with the very year of the creation, 5871, which was recorded in the planetary constellations concerning the commencement of the ages of the world, he must have taken shorter years as the basis of those periods, in order to include in his great Sothis of 36525 years, the entire history of Egypt, down to his time. In short, for the purpose of establishing a history of 36525 years, called Sothis, Manetho turned solar years into months, by multiplication, as we find it also among the ancient Chaldeans, Hindus, Chinese and others. He therefore regarded those three thousand years of his from the creation to the flood, as so many lunar months, and consequently reckoned only 2424 solar years for the period in question. Moreover, the 3984 years (Horae) from the deluge to Menes, of which each expressed a season of two months, give but six hundred and sixty-four solar years, and Manetho's third period of two hundred and seventeen years, rather comprises the days from Menes' departure to his arrival in Egypt. Hence there is nothing at all irreconcilable between Manetho's Sothis and the other traditions of his people. All knew that, according to the above-mentioned planetary constellations, the creation had taken place on the 10th of May 5871 A. C., and the arrival of Menes, on the 16th of July, 2781 A. C. Between the two epochs 3089 years intervene, and precisely this number we have in Manetho's periods of 30,000 months and 3984 Horae with 217 days. In fine, as Manetho reckons from the creation down to Typhon (the deluge) 2424 solar years, the Egyptians placed the flood 2424 years subsequent to 5871 A. C., and therefore in the year 3447 A. C., to which year, as has already been said, the planetary constellation in the alphabet refers.

XVIII. THE PYRAMID OF CHEOPS.

To the most remarkable among the antiquities in Dr. Abbott's museum, belongs a heavy gold signet-ring (No. 1050), bearing upon it the name of King Cheops. This was the king who, according to Herodotus, built the great pyramid at Gizeh; and his name has actually been found in a chamber

of this pyramid. But at what precise time may this wonder of the world have been erected? Mr. Lepsius places the pyramid before the flood, and even before the creation: this coming from such an illustrious philosopher, does not surprise us at all. Yet it will be well to hear what Herodotus, whom Mr. Lepsius does not name, has to say on the subject. Herodotus, Book II. c, 99, mentions all the particularly remarkable kings, from Menes (2781 A. C.) down to his own time. Among those who succeeded Menes, the more remarkable were Moeris, the ninth king of the eighteenth dynasty, 1777 A. C.; after him, his son Sesostris (Osimandya) 1731 A. C.; then Pheran (Ramses the great) 1692 A. C.; then Proteus, at the time of the Trojan war; then Rhampsinit; then Cheops; then Chephren; next Mykerinos; next Asychis, and so on. Thus, then, the erection of the great pyramid long subsequent to the end of the eighteenth dynasty, the period of which is determined by reliable astronomical observations: nay, its date is later even than that of the Trojan war, which, according to the unanimous testimony of antiquity, took place about twelve hundred years A. C. During this time, Egypt was governed by the kings of the twentieth dynasty, whose names the transcribers of Manetho have unfortunately not preserved. In short, the pyramid of Cheops was not built before the creation and the flood, but as late as the period of the twentieth dynasty, later than the fall of Troy, and in the time of David.

XIX. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The currently received chronology of the Old Testament is based upon the "*Doctrina Temporum*," Paris A. D. 1627, of Petavius. But this unfortunate chronologist adopted, as the basis of his scheme, not the correct statement of the Greek text, but the falsified numbers of the Hebrew, which shortens the period from the creation to Abraham by fifteen hundred years. Petavius might, and ought to have known, as well as Perizonius (*l'Antiquite des temps*, Paris 1687), that after the destruction of Jerusalem, a certain Rabbi, Akiba, shortened the chronological statements in the Hebrew text, by fifteen hundred years, for the purpose of making Christ appear to have been a false Messiah, who had come so many years before the predicted time: Petavius ought to have known, that, according to the present reckoning in the Hebrew text, Methuselah and Lamech must have survived the flood; that Christ, the apostles, the first christian church-

es, and all the eastern churches of the present day, nay even the Jew Josephus, never knew of any other chronology of time than that of the LXX; that even the Arabians bear witness to that intentional corruption; and that the Jews in Ethiopia have retained, down to the present day, a biblical history, longer by fifteen hundred years, than that of the present Hebrew text. However, even the Greek version of the Old Testament, made two hundred and fifty years before Christ, has, like all other ancient manuscripts, suffered from the carelessness of transcribers, so that we find mistakes in two passages. According to the book of Judges, which states the years during which nearly all the judges governed Israel, according to Josephus, and according to the genealogies of the Old Testament, as even Prichard, *Egyptian Mythology*, London 1816, already showed, it was eight hundred and eighty years from the Exode of the Hebrews out of Egypt, down to the building of Solomon's temple. The Greek text, 1 Kings 6: 1, makes it only four hundred and forty years, and the Hebrew four hundred and eighty. This then would make the date of Israel's exode four hundred years earlier than Petavius would have us believe, i. e., in the year 1867 A. C. This correction of the biblical reckoning is established beyond all possibility of doubt, by a great number of mathematical and historical facts. Clemens Alexandrinus states that the Israelites emigrated five hundred and forty-five years before the beginning of the new canicular period, which began 1322 before Christ, consequently in the year above mentioned, 1867 before Christ. Manetho informs us that the shepherd kings (Hyksos), who, according to him and Josephus, were the Israelites, had come to Egypt seven hundred years after the beginning of the first Sothic canicular period, beginning 2782 before Christ, therefore in the year 2082 A. C. Now, as they departed again two hundred and fifteen years later, it is again obvious that the year 1867 before Christ was the year of their departure. This occurred, as is testified by ecclesiastical antiquity, under Amos I, king of the eighteenth dynasty; but this king reigned, as is shown by the planetary constellations of his successors, and the transit of Mercury, which occurred 1904 A. C., during his reign, from the year 1904 to the year 1867 A. C., when he perished in the Red Sea. Joseph was, according to ecclesiastical traditions, sold into Egypt during the reign of Apophis (2105 A. C.), and twenty-three years later the Israelites came to Goshen: and this again proves that their exode oc-

curred 1867 A. C. Josephus and the ancient Commentaries on Numbers 24: 17, inform us that three years before the birth of Moses, a remarkable conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter occurred in the sign Pisces, which takes place, according to Kepler, only once in eight hundred years. But the only time when this can have occurred, is 1951 before Christ, whence Moses was born 1948 A. C. But as Moses was, at the time of the exode, eighty years old, it is again obvious that this exode must have occurred 1867 A. C. Furthermore, the scriptures reckon from the flood, which ended on the 7th day of September, down to the exode, 1580 years. Now it has been ascertained that, according to the planetary constellation contained in the alphabet, the deluge came to an end on the 7th of September, 3447 A. C., hence, once again, the Israelites must have made their exode 1867 A. C. In short, from the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, down to the building of Solomon's temple, a period elapsed, not of 440, or of 480, but of 880 years.

The second mistake made by teanscribers of the Greek text, is found in Genesis 5: 25, 26; this appears already from the different readings, and the contradtctions that have grown out of them. If, at the birth of Lamech, Methuselah had been only one hundred and sixty-seven or one hundred and eighty-seven years old, he would have survived the deluge. But if we read three hundred and forty-nine years, his death occurred 168 years before the flood. This being correct, a period not of 2242 or 2262, but of 2424 years intervened between the creation and the flood. In this way the history of the Old Testament is again reconciled with itself, with the historical traditions current among all the other ancient nations, and, what is in itself decisive, with the ages of the world and the astronomical traditions of all the nations of antiquity. For, from the planetary constellation at the beginning of the first age of the world, on the 10th of May, 5871 A. C., down to the constellation at the end of the deluge, on the 7th of September 3447 A. C., we again have 2424 years. It has been ascertained that the Egyptians also reckoned, from the beginning of time to the death of Osiris by Typhon, i. e. to the deluge, 30,000 lunar months, hence 2424 years. All ancient nations, and even Habakkuk and Daniel reckoned 6000 years from the creation to Tiberius and Christ. So definite a history of the Old Testament, accurately fixing not only years, but days, would never have come to light, had not the hand of Providence preserved for us so

many antiquities of Egypt, together with so many astronomical observations from the time of the Roman emperors back to the day of creation. The beginning of the first age of the world, according to the Julian year, that 10th of May, 5871 A. C., was really, as the traditions of the ancient nations reported, the day of the vernal equinox, and, at the same time, the first Sabbath.

XX. THE HISTORY OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.

The computation of time, as respects the history of the Greeks and Romans, at present universally in use, has also been derived from Petavius, but also contains, as is well known, the greatest contradictions and incongruities: the last demonstration of this will be found in the chronological tables of Clinton and Fischer. Thus, according to Grecian chronology, as given by Petavius, the Olympic games occurred in years differing from those obtained by means of his Roman chronology: a great number of eclipses of the sun and the moon, which the historians place in the years of particular consuls and archons, occurred, according to the reckoning of Petavius, a year or two later than is affirmed by annalists and eye-witnesses, and Petavius even pretended that many of them had been supernatural phenomena. All these contradictions and mathematical impossibilities have now also been rectified by means of Egyptian, Greek and Roman astronomical observations, and through the Apis-periods and the reappearances of the Phoenix. Petavius has, in his heedlessness, had the misfortune to take the consuls of 47 and 78. P. C., namely, L. Cocceius Commodus, associated with D. Novius Priscus, and Rufus associated with Silvanus, for ordinarii, whereas they were mere consules suffecti, or extraordinarii, as might, and ought to have been ascertained from the Roman inscriptions and coins. Petavius, assigning to each of those consuls two entire years, inserted them in the succession of the ordinary consuls, and hence dated all their predecessors, consequently also the whole Roman and Grecian history, too far back, from Titus to Claudius by one year, and from Claudius backward, by two years. One example will elucidate this sufficiently. On account of the consuls inserted in the years 47 and 78 P. C., Petavius was obliged to place Cæsar's death in the year 44 instead of 42 A. C. In the same year the Julian calender was introduced, and its 1st of January, as we learn from the historians, and from the Julian coins, struck at the same time, began on the day of a new moon.

But in the year 44 the new moon occurred twenty days later; and only in the year 42 A. C., the new moon appeared on the 1st of January. The last lunar year of the Romans must, for the very reason that it was a lunar year, have begun with a new moon. This last lunar year of the Romans, consisting of 445 days, had commenced, as is well known, on the 13th of Octoebea. But neither in 46 nor in 47, and not until 44 A. C., did a new moon occur on the 13th of October; again, therefore, two years later. The historians relate that, on the night preceding Cæsar's assassination, Calpurnia was awakened by the light of the full moon: another impossibility for Petavius to dispose of; for not until 42 A. C., was the moon full in the night from the 14th to the 15th of March. A short time before Cæsar's death, the Romans witnessed a total eclipse of the moon; but this could have occurred on the 13th of March only in the year 42 A. C. In short, Petavius has incorrectly inserted the consuls in 47 and 78 P. C., and Cæsar's death did not occur in the year 44, but not until 42 A. C. Besides this, we know that in the month of July next following Cæsar's death, the Olympic games were celebrated. Now, as these did not occur in 44, but as late as 42 A. C., all Grecian history, as arranged by Petavius, must move down two years. This appears already from the aforementioned planetary constellation at the beginning of the Olympiads, which occurred, not 780, but 778 A. C. For the Olympiads, as all the eras of the ancients, began with nought. Not until the close of the first Olympiad events were for example, dated thus: Ol. I. year 2d. Thus, then, the second Olympiad began, not 776 but 774 A. C. By means of these corrections in Grecian history, two other facts of great importance have come to light: these facts, namely, that the Greeks and the Hebrews computed time, not by lunar months, but by fixed solar months. As respects the Greeks, this was maintained already by Scaliger, Clinton, and many others, but who were prevented, by the confusion which Petavius had introduced in Grecian history, from proving what they asserted, or giving a correct view of the solar calendar of the Greeks, which even Halma found in an ancient manuscript. The months Gimelion and Apellæus have always commenced on the 4th of December according to the Julian year. That the Hebrews reckoned, until after the destruction of Jerusalem, by fixed solar months of thirty days, we learn from Josephus, the earlier Rabbis, many passages of the Old Testament, and the dates of the Jewish Sabbaths

assigned to certain days of the month. The first day of the month Nisan, of the ecclesiastical year, began on the 6th of March, Julian time. With the aid of these two calendars, all the dates of Hebrew and Grecian history have now been definitely traced to distinct days of our own reckoning, with which they precisely correspond.

XXI. THE HISTORY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

For a long series of years it has been very generally believed and taught, that Christ did not appear in the sixth year thousand, had not been announced, or born, or baptized, or crucified, or raised from the dead, in the years or days, foretold by the prophets, testified by the evangelists, and believed by the primitive christian churches. All the formerly received epochs of the New Testament have been transferred to other years and days: and for what purpose? In order to reduce the New Testament to a "myth."

We are to consider christianity under three distinct aspects, the historical, the dogmatical and the ethical. Historical christianity forms the basis of the christian faith and christian love. For, suppose it were true that the prophets, the apostles and their disciples, the early church-fathers, were mistaken respecting the historical groundwork of the New Testament: then, of course, not the slightest credence would be due to them in respect of all other matters; and therefore the structure of the christian church would, sooner or later, have to crumble into ruin. This the enemy has clearly perceived, and therefore he began with undermining the basis of the christian church, historical christianity. Let us be thankful to God that, by means of the new historical and chronological aids which have been specified, we are now enabled to demonstrate the correctness of the dates, both as to years and days, of all the New Testament epochs, without exception, transmitted to us by the church.

Everybody knows that the christian era begins with the 1st of January next following the birth of Christ; that is, with the year which the astronomers designate with nought. If from the 1st of January of the current year, 1856, we count back 1856 entire years, we arrive at what has just been stated to be the beginning of the christian era. This is the order fixed, 625 P. C., by Dionysius Exiguus, the originator of our era, or method of computing time since the birth of Christ, for his calculations of the Easter full moons for the entire christian era, are still extant. He places the first Eas-

ter festival after the birth of Christ in the year nought. It is, indeed, the opinion of many, that, according to Dionysius, the current year is the 1856th, and not the 1857th; but they have forgotten the easter-canon of Dionysius, and neglected to consider that all the eras of the ancients began with a year nought, and had, of necessity, to begin in this way, in order that no ambiguities might arise. In like manner the first hour after noon begins at the moment when the clock strikes twelve; but it does not strike one until sixty minutes later, when the second hour after noon commences. The current century began, therefore, not on the first of January 1801, but on the same day of 1800. And now let us inquire, whether the New Testament is really a "fable."

The first point that is fully confirmed is, that Christ came into the world in that century which is foretold by the prophet Habakkuk, chap. 3, v. 2. For, "the midst of the years" was, according to all the ancient nations, the middle of a period of twelve thousand years; whence, also the Greeks and the Romans expected the Redeemer of the world at the time of Augustus. Now, as all the astronomical traditions of antiquity, and especially the Old Testament, place the creation in the year 5871 A. C., Christ really came into the world "in the fulness of time," in the sixth year thousand [millennium]. The Jews, with their corrupt chronology, have no authority whatever to be still looking for the Messiah.

Furthermore, Christ was born, as is stated by Luke, in a census-year. A census of this kind was, at that time, taken every seven years (*lustra*). Now since the years of Augustus, move down, as we have seen, two years, one census under Augustus occurred in the year 9 A. C., another in the year 6 P. C.

Hence it follows that also in the year 1 B. C., such a census was taken, although it is not mentioned by any of the Roman authors that have come down to us. Christ was really born during the first census of Quirinus.

Herod is known to have died three months after the birth of Christ, and according to the account of Josephus, two months after an eclipse of the moon. Now since the years of his reign, which were linked to those of Augustus, are likewise brought nearer to us by two years, and since the lunar eclipse in question can have taken place only on the 9th of January of the year 0 (nought) A. C., therefore Christ must have been born shortly before the commencement of our era.

From Josephus, and from the Rabbinical commentaries on Numbers 24: 15, it appears, that three years and some months before the birth of Moses, a remarkable conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in the sign of Pisces, had taken place, which really did occur in the year 1951 B. C.; and that a similar conjunction was to occur three entire years previous to the birth of the Messiah. In fact, such a conjunction did take place in the year 4, prior to the commencement of the Dionysian era. The eastern magi, who were acquainted with this prediction, came, of course, to Herod three years after that conjunction, i. e. shortly before the commencement of the year nought, and found the child at Bethlehem: whence it is again manifest, that Christ was born shortly before the commencement of our era.

Eusebius, Tertullian, and others, place the birth of Christ in the same year. And thus the prophecy of Daniel 9: 24, has been fulfilled in every particular. For according to that remarkable prediction of the greatest of all prophets, the Savior of mankind was to come into the world in the year 532 after the Babylonian captivity, which terminated in the first year of the reign of Cyrus 534 B. C. For it must be borne in mind, that Daniel reckons his weeks by years of six, twelve, and twenty-four months, in conformity with the custom of his time, according to which the term month was applied indifferently to intervals of fifteen, thirty, and sixty days. Daniel's weeks of years are periods of seven years, computed in accordance with this manner of employing the term month. This is already made evident by the words that "Christ was to die in the middle of the week," and yet "confirm the covenant with many for one week." Daniel therefore reckons from the first year of the reign of Cyrus (534 B. C.) to the birth of our Lord, seven weeks of years consisting of years of twenty-four months each, in other words, ninety-eight ordinary years, and then again, sixty-two additional prophetic weeks, composed of years of twelve months each, in other words, four hundred and thirty-four years; which, added together, give us the sum of five hundred and thirty-two years. Now since Christ was born shortly before the commencement of the Dionysian era, he really came into the world five hundred and thirty-two years after the Babylonian captivity, as Daniel had predicted, five hundred and thirty-four years before.

The birth-day of Christ, which is the day of the winter solstice, or our 22d of December, is determined in the first

place, by the testimony of the Gnostics. For these heathen christians, who existed already before Christ, were waiting for the birth of the Savior, and have left us a multitude of monuments, some very ancient, others more recent, according to which Christ was born on the day of the winter solstice. Clemens Alexandrinus, together with the oldest and most credible fathers of the church, give their testimony in favor of the same day. The *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, moreover, assign the Savior's birth to the 25th of December, which, according to the old Julian style, was the day of the winter solstice. To this must be added the evidence afforded by the chronograph preserved in the works of Cardinal Noris, according to which, Christ was born on the day of the full moon; and the 22d of December of the year preceding the commencement of our era, was actually the day of a full moon, and a Sunday. The words of John the Baptist: "He must increase, but I must decrease," serve to prove, as is affirmed by the fathers of the church, that John was born on the longest day of the year (on the 22d of June), and Christ, who was six months younger, on the shortest, i. e. on the 22d of December. The same thing is proved by the Sacerdotal class of Abia, at the annunciation of John the Baptist. In the year 533 B. C., the Jews returned to Jerusalem, and on Saturday, the 25th of September, upon the occasion of the dedication of the new altar of sacrifice by Zerubbabel, the twenty-four classes of priests resumed once more their weekly turns of official duty, which continued until the destruction of the temple, seventy-one years after Christ. Now it was in the year 2 before the commencement of our era, on Saturday the 22d of September, that this eighth Sacerdotal class Abia, to which Zaccharias belonged, left the temple, after the birth of John the Baptist had been announced to him. Consequently John the Baptist was really born on the 22d of June, and Christ, as he was six months younger, on the 22d of December. Thus has the prophecy of Haggai, 2: 6, 7, 18, been literally fulfilled. For the 24th day of the 9th month, to which the prophet points us, was at that time the day of the winter solstice. It was on the same day that the dedications of the temple by Hezekiah and Judas Macabaeus, were typically performed.

The baptism of Christ, and the beginning of his public ministry are, first of all, determined by the testimony of St. Paul. For since the fifteenth year of Tiberius, in which the Baptist entered upon his prophetic ministry, is by our pres-

ent calculation brought down two years later, Christ must have been baptized in the twenty-ninth year after the commencement of our era, "at an age of nearly thirty," to enter forty days later, upon his ministry. On the same day, the 22d of December of the same year, Christ was thirty years of age, and as he was "born under the law," and consequently obliged to enter upon the priestly office on the first day of his thirty-first year, he must have commenced his public ministry on the 22d of December A. D. 29, and received his baptism on the 13th of November. Epiphanius specifies the 8th of November, simply because on account of the shifting of the five Epagomena, his 8th of November corresponds to our 13th. The evangelists report still further, that Christ entered upon the duties of his public ministry forty-six years after the erection of the temple of Herod. As the eighteenth year of Herod's reign, in which he laid the foundation of the temple on the 22d of March, is now brought down two years later, it again appears that Christ must have begun his public ministry A. D. 29.

The three years and some months of our Lord's public ministry, are indicated with sufficient clearness, in the parables concerning the fig-tree, and the vine-dresser, and by the four feasts of the passover, mentioned by St. John. This period is marked still more distinctly in the Apocalypse, by forty-two months, 1260 days; for, as the Hebrews always calculated by solar months of thirty days, that statement will give us exactly three years and six months. Thus then, the prophecy of Daniel, according to which Christ "was to confirm the covenant with many for one week," was literally fulfilled; for exactly three years and six months, or forty-two months, or 1260 days elapsed from the baptism of Christ to the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the first christian feast of Pentecost. This prophetic week of Daniel was, as we have already shown, composed of months of fifteen days, consequently of years of six solar months, of which seven make exactly three and a half of our ordinary years.

The year of the death of Christ, A. D. 33, is, in the first place, determined by the years of his public ministry, and of his birth. For since our Lord was baptized in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (29 A. D.) "at the age of nearly thirty," and then preached the Gospel during three and a half years, he must have died A. D. 33, or in the eighteenth year of the reign of Tiberius. The same year of Tiberius is named as that of the death of Christ, by the *Martyrologium Pauli*, by

Eusebius, Epiphanius, Prosperus, Matata, by the chronicon paschale and others. And thus has the prophecy of Daniel again been fulfilled. For he reckoned from the Babylonian captivity (534 B. C.) to the year in which Christ shall be cut off, and not be according to the Hebrew text, an interval of twenty weeks of fourteen years each (i. e. 280 years), forty weeks of seven years each (i. e. again 280 years), and two weeks of three and a half years each (i. e. 7 years), in all 567 years; he has consequently placed the death of Christ in the year A. D. 33.

It is well known, that the death of our Lord took place on the 14th of the month Nisan, on the day before the feast of the passover, which was called "the preparation, Parasceue," and this always corresponded, as we have already seen, with the 19th of the Julian March. It was on these same days of March, that the earliest christian churches, which were founded by the Apostles themselves, always observed the festival at Easter, and more particularly the Quatradecimani, the Cappadocians, the Gauls and others: all place the death of Christ, the passio, by which they meant the whole space of time intervening between the crucifixion and the resurrection, upon the 19th, 20th and 21st of March. The solar eclipse of Dionysius Areopagita, confirms that as the day of Christ's death, with mathematical certainty. While travelling in Egypt and Aethiopia, this author was witness to an eclipse of the sun, at the sight of which he exclaimed: "Now the Lord is suffering something." This solar eclipse on the 14th of Nisan, i. e. on the 19th of March, could have taken place only in the year 33 after Christ; it occurred at two o'clock in the afternoon, consequently during the very same hours in which Christ expired on the cross. Christ died, therefore, precisely on the same day on which the pascal lamb had been typically slain in Egypt; that is to say, three days before the vernal equinox.

The resurrection of Christ took place, as we all know, on the following Sunday, which in the year 33 A. D., was on the 22d of March, the day of the vernal equinox. This fact is already attested by Augustine, for he says, that Christ's death or passion, occurred on the very day on which the annunciation to Mary had taken place. But the constitutiones apostolorum refer this annunciation to the day of the vernal equinox, which was at the same time a Sunday. Now this day of the vernal equinox occurred upon a Sunday only in the year preceding the commencement of our era; from which

it is again manifest that the birth-day of Christ was on the 22d of December. The resurrection therefore occurred on the very day that had already been typically sanctified by the exode out of Egypt, by the founding of the temples of Solomon and Herod, and by the dedication of Zerubbabel's temple. In like manner, the dedication of the ark of the covenant, the entry into the promised land, and the dedications of the temple of Solomon, and of the altar of Zerubbabel, had been fixed upon the day on which the birth of John the Baptist was announced, which was the 22d of September, the day of the autumnal equinox. Finally, Christ, the second Adam, rose from the dead on the very day on which, as we have already shown, the Almighty had completed the work of creation. And thus the prophecy of Daniel has likewise been fulfilled, that "Christ was to confirm the covenant with many for one week, and to be cut off in the midst of the week," as it reads in the original. For as the Hebrew year commenced on the day of the autumnal equinox, the middle of the prophetic week must have been the day of the vernal equinox, i. e. the 22d of March.

Finally, since Christ died on the 19th of March, and rose again on Sunday, the 22d of March, A. D. 33, he must have remained in the grave three days and three nights: for this 19th of March A. D. 33, was a Thursday. This is evident already, from the testimony of the evangelists. They make minute mention of all the events of the sacred week, and expressly refer Christ's death to Thursday, to the fourth day after Palm Sunday, the third before the resurrection. Thus then the typical death of Jonah, which our Savior expressly referred to himself, found here its perfect antitype. Christ was really, like Jonah, in the heart of the earth for three days and three nights.

Such, then, are some of the fruits which the antiquities of Egypt, preserved to us by Providence, have borne to us: of that Egypt, out of which God designed to call his son.

We have here a mathematically accurate confirmation of the entire Old and New Testaments, a thorough and complete rectification of the Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian, Greek and Roman histories and chronologies, down to Titus. And who can determine beforehand, what advantages may yet, in time to come, accrue from this source, to the christian church?

XXII. THE EGYPTIAN & HEBREW MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

Among the most remarkable curiosities of Dr. Abbott's museum, are two vessels, on which their measure of capacity

is indicated.* It is known, that at the time of their departure from Egypt, the Hebrews carried with them the Egyptian weights and measures, and retained these in use until the destruction of Jerusalem. All the names of these weights and measures are known to us from ancient Egyptian, Coptic, Hebrew, and Greek authorities; but until a few years ago, no man was able to compare them with our modern measures. Attempts have been made to determine the weights of the Hebrews, and consequently those of the ancient Egyptians, by means of the Hebrew coins from the time of the Maccabees. The result, however, is still an uncertain one, and the weights preserved in Dr. Abbott's museum may perhaps help to shed some additional light upon the subject. Since the five cubit measures have been found in the catacombs, we are, as they give all the Egyptian measures of length, with their names, down to the sixteenth part of an inch, in possession of an accurate criterion for determining the Hebrew and Egyptian method of measuring lengths. But the solid and liquid measures of the Hebrews and Egyptians, are yet wrapped in impenetrable darkness. Every conceivable method has been devised, in order to determine the capacity of the Hebrew liquid measures; for instance, that of the brazen sea in the temple of Solomon; but the results reached are utterly unsatisfactory. Dr. Abbott's museum is now the only one in the world, by means of which the subject in question can be settled. The carefully executed measure, No. 389 of the collection, contains the number 19; probably because it was capable of holding 19 Hins, which in Egypt and Palestine was the most commonly in use, and was equivalent to about a pint of our measure. In the same manner, the larger amphora, No. 6, contains, as a friend discovered, the number 4, probably because its capacity was equal to that of 4 Egyptian amphorae. But it will be said, that these are matters of trifling consequence. It is true, they may be so, but it is well known that important truths have often been brought to light by apparent trifles.

XXIII. THE ABRAXAS.

I take the liberty, in conclusion, of mentioning signet-stones (Nos. 969 and 971), which were worn by Gnostic christians. The name Abraxas or Abrasax, contains as Mather has first shown, the number 365, according to the numerical value of the Greek letters; hence the number of the days of the year, and thus, the Lord of the year, or of time.

The Gnostics considered Christ as the promised Savior of the world; but their creed contained an admixture of a variety of pagan superstitions, and this accounts for the peculiar character of these Abraxas stones. The specimens in Dr. Abbott's museum belong to the most important monuments of the kind; they were entirely unknown to Mather, and afford a good deal of new and important information respecting the sect of the Gnostics. No. 969 is remarkable, from the fact that it presents the image of Christ with pagan insignia, and holding two phoenixes in its hands. We learn from the fathers of the church, and from Münter, that the phoenix was a christian symbol, probably because the phoenix (or Mercury) had made its transit over the sun, in the month of October, at the beginning of the Hebrew year, immediately after the birth of Christ, and after his resurrection, and had thus marked the resurrection and the commencement of a new era. The Abraxas No. 971 exhibits an entirely new representation of Christ, and besides, four remarkable inscriptions, which although they offer many difficulties to the translator, on account of the corrupt Coptic and Greek terms contained in them, are yet susceptible of an appropriate rendering. Christ's image is a God with a lion's head, with the ansated cross in his right hand, a sceptre in the left, and the sun disk surrounded by the snake Uracus on his head. These symbols phonetically denote the Lofty one, the Prince, the mighty one, the Lord, by their Coptic names. Underneath, we find the inscription: "To the illustrious one." To the right of the figure, we find the words: "Great is Osiris, greater the sun, the light, the fire, the flame; but the greatest of all is Horus (Christ), born in humility, but greatly exalted." On the reverse we read: "I will praise him who possesses a dwelling at Leontopolis, who is surrounded by the Holy of Holies, the Lord of lightning and of thunder, of the storm and of the winds, to whom belongeth the heavenly government of everlasting nature." Around the circumference of the edge we perceive the words: "Thou art the guide that came from the sun, the God of Glory, lion-shaped, incomparable to all eternity." The Jews had a temple at Leontopolis in Egypt, which was constructed after the model of Solomon's at Jerusalem, and destroyed in the same year with that of Herod, in A. D. 71. Now as our Abraxas alludes to the resurrection of Christ, and to the temple in question as still existing, it must be referred to the time between the resurrection of Christ, 33 A. C., and the destruction of the temple, seventy-one years after Christ.

ARTICLE III.

REMINISCENCES OF LUTHERAN CLERGYMEN.

XXIII.

MICHAEL J. STECK.

“We gaze around,
We read their monuments: we sigh; and while
We sigh, we sink; and are what we deplor'd;
Lamenting, or lamented, all our lot!”

AMONG the good whom the year 1848 numbered with the dead, the name of Michael J. Steck will long be affectionately remembered and pronounced with reverence and love. Many years must elapse, before his beloved memory and blessed labors will be forgotten, especially by those who acknowledge him as their spiritual father, and who first learned from his lips the way of eternal life. As long as exalted worth and devoted piety awaken admiration, so long will his virtues be held in regard, and his example commended for imitation!

The subject of our sketch was born in Greensburg, Pa., May 1st, 1793. He was the son of Rev. John M.* and Esther Steck, who early dedicated their child to God in the Sacrament of Baptism, and faithfully endeavored to bring him up in the discipline and instruction of the Lord. Their efforts were accompanied with the reward promised by Him, who is presented in his word as “keeping covenant and mercy with them that love Him and keep his commandments, to a thousand generations.” “From a child” Michael “knew the holy Scriptures,” and seemed to love God and every thing good. At an early age he renewed the vows, assumed for him in infancy, by the rite of Confirmation, according to the practice of the Lutheran church, and to this solemn period of his life he often referred, as an occasion of peculiar interest, and rich spiritual blessing to his soul. As he advanced in years he grew in piety, and “increased in favor with God and man.” He was regarded as a youth of unusual promise, and

*Rev. John M. Steck was a pastor of the Lutheran church for a period of nearly fifty years, the last thirty-eight of which he had charge of the congregations of Greensburg and its vicinity. He died July 14th, 1830, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

the same excellencies which distinguished his subsequent career, shone forth in his life at this early period. He was remarkably steady in his habits, and entirely free from the waywardness and folly, so prevalent at this critical age. He was always most careful in the selection of his companions, keeping himself aloof from the vicious and the corrupt, and thus he escaped the pernicious rock upon which the bark of many, that bade fair, has stranded. He also seemed fond of books, and early evinced a taste for literary pursuits. His father therefore determined to furnish him with the facilities for acquiring an education, and accordingly sent him to the Greensburg Academy, where he continued for several years, in the prosecution of his studies. Having passed over the usual curriculum, he now, in reliance upon Divine aid, resolves to devote himself to the ministry of reconciliation, and to labor for the salvation of souls. He begins at once the study of Theology, under the direction of his father, who was, at the time, pastor of the United Lutheran churches of Greensburg and the vicinity, and who for nearly forty years ministered to congregations scattered over a large region of the country. His time was, however, so completely occupied with his pastoral duties, as to afford little leisure for giving instruction to his son, who consequently removed to Pittsburg, and continued his studies with Rev. Jacob Schnee, then pastor of the German church in that city. He here applied himself with great diligence and zeal to the work assigned him, and also by experience and observation, acquired knowledge which proved invaluable to him in subsequent life.

In the Spring of 1816 he presented himself as an applicant for licensure before the Synod of Pennsylvania, then assembled in Philadelphia, and after sustaining the usual examination, was invested with the sacred office. On his return home, he immediately commenced to preach the Gospel, and, for a season, voluntarily aided his father, whose pastoral charge covered so large space of territory, by performing services in the most remote parts of his diocese. Whilst he was engaged in this work, it was that he received and accepted a call to Lancaster, Ohio, which was, at the time, considered one of the most important fields of labor in our western church. He entered upon his duties December 15th, 1816, with fear and trembling, so low an estimate did he place upon his own qualifications for the work, so deep was his sense of the responsible vocation which was to claim his attention. His introductory sermon he preached from the words: "Now then we are

ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." The choice of his theme on this occasion, may serve to give us some idea of the views he entertained in reference to the work to which he had consecrated himself, and of the evangelical spirit which marked his labors from the very beginning. He always seemed to keep before him the great object of the ministry, and continually strove to bring souls "unto the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus." In this sphere of usefulness, Mr. Steck labored for twelve years indefatigably, and with the most gratifying evidences of success. He was the pastor, not only of the congregation in Lancaster, in which he officiated in English as well as German, but also of several churches in the neighborhood. Such was the difficulty at that day of procuring the services of a minister of the Gospel, that often a charge included more than a dozen congregations. In addition to the regular labors devolving upon him, Mr. Steck frequently, by appointment of Synod, performed itinerant missionary service, making extensive tours, and sometimes even to the very frontiers of civilization, gathering together our scattered members, and dispensing to them the word and the ordinances. Many who had wandered from the fold, and become remiss in the discharge of their religious duties, were reclaimed, and restored to the communion of the church, whilst others who had long been deprived of the means of grace, were cheered and strengthened in their christian course. Churches were planted in the wilderness; they were watered by his care; the solitary place was gladdened, and the desert made to blossom, and he rejoiced that his labors were not in vain. Greatly beloved by his own people, and enjoying the regard of the whole community, he wielded an influence as extended as it was deserving. He cordially reciprocated the attachment, and it was one of the severest trials of his life to separate from those, among whom he had so pleasantly labored for the space of twelve years. Nothing could have prompted his decision, but an imperative obligation to a beloved parent, whose declining years he felt bound to relieve of their onerous duties. In allusion to his removal from the endeared scenes of his early labors, he thus speaks: "Here my official acts in Lancaster, and the congregations connected with it, cease! These last days were to me days of mourning, for it caused me the greatest pain to leave these churches! While life lasts, I shall never forget my separation from this people. I feel

grateful that they are provided with a faithful pastor, who I hope will labor among them with greater success than I did. O that God would richly bless him and them, and grant them abundant grace.”

The remainder of Mr. Steck's life was passed at Greensburg. On the death of his father, in 1830, he assumed the duties of the whole charge, and continued them without interruption, until the termination of his active and useful life. Some idea may be gathered of his labors, when it is stated that he ministered regularly to eleven churches, besides preaching at three or four stations, some of which were distant thirty miles from his place of residence. His Journal, for the space of nineteen years, exhibits a succession of pastoral duty in his numerous congregations, scarcely credible to one unacquainted with his active ministry. Earnestly and faithfully devoted to the flock entrusted to his care, he was ever ready to labor for their good. “Though blessed with a strong constitution and vigorous health, the duties of his widely extended parish were so excessive, that at times he often sank under their burden. This was especially the case the last few years of his life, when the long rides on horseback were peculiarly trying, and the infirmities of age were beginning to be felt. Returning from his distant churches, exhausted with frequent preaching and fatigue, and hoping to find a little rest in the bosom of his family, messengers from remote congregations were often in waiting, to accompany him to the bed of sickness or the house of mourning. And nowhere was the kindness of his nature, or his high sense of ministerial fidelity, more strikingly displayed, than on occasions like these. Weary and exhausted as he might be, he never refused the calls of mercy, and taking a fresh horse, he would at once turn away from home and all its sweet attractions. Venerated man! No wonder that the widow's heart leaped for joy, and the sorrowful felt a sweet relief, and the dying saint revived again, as thy feet entered the abode of suffering. Thy tender sympathy was too real, not to shed its balsam on the bruised heart, and the consolations of thy lips were as life to the departing soul.”*

When the subject of our narrative was finally arrested in his course, by the hand of malignant disease, he was actively engaged in the discharge of his ministerial labors, attending

* Rev. W. A. Passavant, to whom we are indebted for many of the facts presented in this sketch.

to the spiritual wants of the sick and dying, and furnishing them with the comforts of the Gospel. He was himself attacked with typhoid fever, during the prevalence of the epidemic, and after lingering on his sick couch for several weeks, and often enduring the most acute suffering, he was released from his tenement of clay, and entered into his eternal rest.

It is an interesting spectacle to see how the christian dies, to witness in his last moments, the influence of the principles he professed in life. Then, as the individual stands upon the threshold of eternity, there is usually no concealment of character—no disposition manifested to practice deception, or to disguise one's real sentiments.

“A death-bed's a detector of the heart.”

Then is seen the power of the Gospel, in sustaining and strengthening the individual for his last conflict, in taking away the sting of death, and robbing the grave of its victory. It enables him triumphantly to exclaim in apostolic language: “Thanks be to God, who giveth *me* the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.”

Mr. Steck approached his end without any feeling of trepidation. He knew in whom he had believed, and he was assured that his confidence had not been misplaced. On one occasion he inquired of the attending physician in reference to his condition, and finding him unwilling to reply, he said: “Do not think it will alarm me—I am not afraid to die!” Although for the sake of his family, and for the church, he at times expressed a wish to live, yet he would often break forth into strong desires to depart. His words were, “How long, dear Savior—O! how long must I stay here? Come, come quickly—do come.” Animated by a bright and cheering hope, he spoke of the peace, the perfect peace that reigned in his soul, of the joy that was set before him, and on which he was so soon to enter. He calmly closed his eyes on earth, and went to sit down with the glorified Redeemer on his own throne, even as he, when he had overcome, sat down with the Father on his throne.

On the day following, he was borne from his home to the grave, and immense multitudes flocked together, to mingle their common grief, and testify their warm affection for one whom they had loved whilst living, and whose departure from the world they greatly lamented. Religious exercises, solemn and appropriate to the occasion, were conducted by Rev. N. P. Hacke, of the German Reformed church, and Rev. Mes-

srs. W. S. Emery, J. Mechling, W. A. Passavant and J. Rugan, of the Lutheran church. Funeral sermons were also subsequently preached by several of the brethren in the country churches, formerly under the care of the deceased, and the occasion was still further improved, by Rev. W. A. Passavant, of Pittsburg, delivering a discourse in Greensburg, from the words: "And devout men carried Stephen to his grave, and made great lamentation over him." In the Lutheran burial ground of Greensburg, is to be seen a plain, simple, upright stone, set in a stone block, with the following inscription: "Here sleeps in Jesus the body of the Rev. Michael J. Steck, for nineteen years the faithful pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran churches in Greensburg and its vicinity; Born May 1, 1793—Died September 1, 1848; Aged 55 years and 4 months. 'He was a good man and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith: and much people were added unto the Lord.' Yet he might with justice have adopted the lamentation of the prophet: 'All the day long have I stretched out my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people; yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God.' This stone is erected to his memory by the Pittsburg Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church."

In the year 1818 the subject of our memoir was united in marriage to Catharine Elizabeth, daughter of William Penn and Elizabeth Cope, who, with a large family, survives to mourn the loss of a most affectionate husband, whose memory is still fondly cherished by a large circle of most devoted friends. The fruits of this marriage were eleven children, four sons and seven daughters. Two of the daughters are the wives of Lutheran ministers, the one of Rev. J. Rugan, and the other of Rev. A. H. Waters.

In gathering material for our present sketch, we have been deeply interested in its subject. We have seen much to admire in his beautiful character, and the important services he rendered—much that calls for gratitude to Almighty God for furnishing the church with such a standard-bearer, who labored so faithfully for the advancement of its interests, and then left a name untarnished, as a rich legacy to posterity. We are not surprised at the laudatory language employed by the church papers at the time of his decease. Says one: "Long has he labored as a minister of Jesus Christ, and labored, too, with great fidelity and success. His departure to his eternal home, will be a loss to his late charge, and to the Lutheran church in general, which it will be difficult to sup-

ply." Says another: "In the death of this brother, the church has lost one of its brightest ornaments and best ministers. We have known him long, and loved him as a father. Long will his memory be cherished by the older members of the Lutheran church in this city, to whom he broke the bread of life more than thirty years ago, as a missionary. Their tears will mingle with those of his family, for the loss of a dear friend and a benefactor. But we feel that our and their loss is his gain."

Mr. Steck was a man of unsullied private character, with a good report among those that were without, as well as among those that were within. He was distinguished for the kindness of his heart and the gentleness of his nature. His cheerful visage, his mild and winning virtues, his engaging manners and popular address, secured for him the warm and unfeigned regard of all who came within the reach of his personal influence. In his intercourse with others, he was modest and unostentatious, evincing a low estimate of himself and his abilities. He was frank, honest and sincere, and his simplicity threw a lustre over his whole character. He was patient and forgiving, willing to suffer wrong rather than resent an injury, that peace might be promoted. He seemed to act upon the principle of "giving no offence in anything, that the ministry be not blamed."

As a christian, his character was rendered still more attractive. His piety was deep, sincere and consistent. It was seen in his private walk and conversation, it was manifest in his public ministrations, in his daily intercourse with the world. He adorned "the doctrine of God, our Savior in all things." He confided in God, trusted in his promises, depended not on his own strength, but on the strength of the arm of God. He was "steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord." He seemed to grow in grace from day to day, and to ripen for heaven. His path was "as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

Mr. Steck united the qualifications of a good preacher and a successful pastor in more than a common degree. His appearance in the pulpit was very prepossessing. His enunciation was distinct, his voice melodious, his manner natural, animated and impressive. His style was simple and practical, his matter deeply evangelical, and his appeals to the sinner most affectionate and earnest. He meekly but faithfully preached Christ and him crucified. The last discourse he

delivered was based on the text: "Likewise I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God, over one sinner that repenteth." The services of the sanctuary he conducted with the greatest solemnity. He was never irreverent—he never introduced anything into the pulpit, unbecoming the place or the occasion.

Mr. Steck, in his preparations for the pulpit, is said to have been careful and laborious. He was a diligent student of the Bible. The views of divine truth he presented, were clear and discriminating. The large number of manuscript sketches and sermons, which are still in the possession of his friends, affords ample proof of his unwearied and successful efforts to instruct and edify those over whom he had been set as a watchman in Zion.

As a pastor he was faithful and zealous. His whole time seemed consecrated to the spiritual improvement of his people. During the thirty-two years of his ministry, it is supposed he preached upwards of eight thousand sermons, baptized five thousand persons, and received into the church, by the rite of confirmation, more than two thousand. "Although almost constantly overwhelmed with labor," says one who knew him well, "never was a single call of duty neglected. He was always ready to wend his way to his distant congregations, or convey the peace of the Gospel to the abodes of disease and poverty. By day and by night, even when oppressed with the infirmities of age, or weighed down by sickness, or worn out by constant mental and physical exertion, he would forsake the comforts of home, and fly to the post of duty, preaching the Gospel, instructing the young, and administering the consolations of religion to the sick and the dying, burying the dead, and comforting the widow and the fatherless in their affliction." All his duties were discharged with the most conscientious fidelity. His great regret was, that the results of his labors were not more satisfactory. The field which he was required to cultivate was so extensive, owing to the system which at that time prevailed, and which often made it necessary for a man to take charge of as many congregations as are now connected with a single Synod, that he was not able to give to his people that amount of attention which he desired, and their interests demanded. Still he did under the circumstances, what he could, and we have seen that his labors were owned and blessed by the Great Head of the church, to the salvation of souls and the advancement of His kingdom.

XXIV.

MICHAEL EYSTER.

More than twenty years have passed away since we first met with the subject of our present sketch, and from the very beginning of our acquaintance, we entertained for him the warmest regard, which more intimate relations only strengthened, and the changes of time never diminished. Seldom have we encountered a stranger, to whom we so quickly became attached, and felt more free in giving our most unreserved confidence. The attachment was reciprocated, the confidence was not misplaced. In connexion with the reminiscences of our college days, our relations with this dear brother are among the most pleasant, and as busy memory reverts to the scenes of the past, and recalls to mind the associations of by-gone years, we still think of him with mingled feelings of delight and sadness, and remember with satisfaction the many happy hours we took sweet counsel together, shared each other's sorrows and joys, travelled in company the road to knowledge, and unitedly bowed the knee at the mercy seat, in earnest supplication to our common Father, for his blessing. In a communication received from him only a short time before his death, referring to this period, he says: "Those were halcyon days—days, the scenes and incidents of which will ever constitute the brightest and loveliest chapters of our history—days to which we may recur, if not with unmingled delight, yet with feelings of profoundest gratitude."

The more we knew Mr. Eyster, the more we loved him. His influence over us was most salutary. During our whole intercourse with him, we never saw anything in the man unbecoming the gentleman, or unworthy the christian. Never did we hear from his lips an expression which we could now wish unsaid, nor witness in his conduct that which we could now desire undone. We always regarded him as one of nature's noblemen, as a christian of exalted integrity, who enjoyed communion with his God, and who realized the responsibilities of life. This, we know, is strong praise, and many who were brought into occasional contact with Mr. Eyster, may suppose that we have drawn too high an estimate of his character. He was not, perhaps, generally appreciated. Naturally retiring and distant, modest and unobtrusive in his manners, only those who were intimately acquainted with

him, and had full access to his heart, could form anything like a correct opinion of his excellencies, and could properly understand the noble qualities he possessed. There is a mournful interest connected with the duty we are now attempting to discharge, and as the spirit of our departed friend rests in the bosom of his God, glad shall we be if the narrative of his virtues, and the recollections of his example shall animate and quicken others to active efforts in the service of the Redeemer!

Michael Eyster was a native of York County, and was born May 16th, 1814. He died August 11th, 1853, and was consequently, at the time of his death, in the fortieth year of his age. He was of German extraction, the son of Adam and Elizabeth Eyster, and spent his early days at home on the farm, helping his father, who was engaged in agricultural pursuits. When he reached his thirteenth year, he was placed in a mercantile house in York, where he remained for several years, and, by his industrious habits and attention to business, soon won the confidence and favor of his employers. At this critical period of his life, thrown into the society of other young men, older than himself, and practiced in sin, his morals for a season greatly suffered. He wandered far from the path of rectitude, into forbidden scenes, and disregarded the pious lessons inculcated upon his youthful mind beneath the paternal roof. Distinctly do we remember, on more than one occasion, his recital of the imminent danger to which he was exposed, and his expressions of gratitude to his Heavenly Parent, for his happy deliverance. The claims of religion, it is true, had not made any decided impression upon his heart before he left home. He had never felt any special concern in reference to the salvation of the soul, yet the early training he had received, would not allow him, without some compunction, to indulge in that which he knew was sinful. Conscience, that faithful monitor, kindly implanted within our breast, often reproved him for his derelictions, and reminded him of his obligations. God did not forsake him. He was not given up to hardness of heart. The Holy Spirit continued to strive with him, and it may be, in answer to fervent, effectual prayer, which was daily poured forth at the family altar, the young man was brought, as a penitent prodigal, to the foot of the cross. He is most deeply exercised on the subject of religion; his mind is shrouded in darkness and gloom, and he is found anxiously inquiring "what he must do to be saved?" He felt, however, that no human

agency could furnish the relief he needed. So overwhelmed was he with a sense of his guilt, and his utter inability to rescue himself from impending ruin, that he turned to God as the only source of safety. On bended knees, in an upper room of the store, he pleads for the divine forgiveness, and promises, if his petitions are granted, to devote himself unreservedly to the christian ministry. He soon found the peace he so much desired. His despair and distress gave place to hope and gladness of spirit. He enjoyed the consciousness of pardoned sin through the merits of the Redeemer. He could trust in God, he could submit to his will. Jesus was precious to his soul, and he rejoiced that he was a child of God. Old things had passed away—all things had become new. He at once relinquishes his situation in the store, and commences the necessary arrangements, preparatory to the important work, to which he had solemnly dedicated himself. Renouncing pecuniary advantages, he is happy in the decision to which he has come. Although his prospects in business were exceedingly promising, and the most tempting offers were presented, to secure his permanent services, he indignantly rejected all worldly considerations. He felt that he was called to a higher vocation, to a nobler work, that he “must be about his Father’s business,” that he must hereafter labor for the salvation of souls in the ministry of reconciliation.

He soon commenced his Academic course of study in Marshall College, then located in York, and, at the time under the care of Rev. Dr. Rauch, to whom he always seemed much attached, and whose teachings exerted no inconsiderable influence upon his youthful pupil. On the removal of the institution to Mercersburg, Mr. Eyster repaired to Gettysburg, for the purpose of continuing the prosecution of his studies in the institutions of his own church. He became a member of Pennsylvania College in the fall of 1835, and the following year entered the Theological Seminary. During this period, he was regarded as a faithful student and a consistent christian, and by his honorable and exemplary deportment, secured the respect and confidence of all with whom he was brought into association.

His Theological studies having been completed, he was licensed to preach the Gospel in the fall of 1838, by the Synod of West Pennsylvania. Soon after, he accepted a call to Williamsburg, Pa., and congregations in the vicinity, and immediately commenced his ministerial career. During his residence at this place, he devoted himself to study with great

assiduity, and the most unremitting application, and to this fact, in connexion with the severe labor the duties of the charge required, is to be ascribed the commencement of his physical prostration, from which he subsequently suffered. In this field of usefulness he labored for upwards of seven years with great efficiency and success, and exchanged it for another, only on account of the impaired state of his health. His congregations were attached to him, and he commanded the esteem of the whole community.

In the Spring of 1846, he received and accepted a call to the Greencastle charge. Here also he had the most abundant reason to believe that his services were appreciated, and the divine blessing rested upon his efforts to do good. Many were added to the church under his ministry, and the religious character of the flock materially improved. He seemed happy in his position, and apparently settled, in the midst of a devoted people, for life. But an unforeseen and most unexpected circumstance, disappointed his calculations and frustrated all his plans. Three years of his ministry in this place had scarcely passed, when he was called to experience a most painful bereavement in the death of an affectionate and beloved wife, whom he had led to the altar in 1839, and to whom he was most tenderly attached—an engagement between them having been entered into, long before he commenced his preparations for the ministry. The love he cherished for her was of the most ardent and romantic character, his devotion was deep and most intense. “She, who had been the guiding star of his boyish days, the charm of his early manhood, the joy of the present, and the hope of the future, was borne ruthlessly away by the chill hand of death, and left him a bereaved, a changed and almost broken-hearted man. A sad and cheerless despondency overcame him. An event, which he had never even contemplated, broke upon him with crushing power, and a cloud of despair, dark and heavy, hung gloomily about his pathway, and shut out from his gaze all that was bright, all that was hopeful. His health received a shock from which it never fully recovered, and his mind an impression which caused his friends much alarm, lest the effects might be permanently disastrous. But his trust in a higher power never forsook him. He saw the hand of God in the affliction, and humbly submitted himself to the will of him who ever tempers his judgment with mercy, and supplies some balm for every wounded spirit. Although he pursued his labors with his usual devotion, and preached the

truth with a power and an effect heightened by his affliction, yet he never fully recovered from the severe calamity which had befallen him.”*

The loss which he sustained, gave to his tender susceptibilities a sombre hue, a deep shade of melancholy, which was constantly apparent, and exercised an influence over his feelings. In a letter written about this time, he remarks: “I have seen a dear and tender *mother* close her eye in the dreamless sleep of death, a fond *father* and an affectionate *brother*, and above all, the dear, dear *wife* of my bosom laid in the cold, the silent grave. But it was God that did it, and acquiescence in his providences is both our duty and our privilege. I do not wish them back again. They rest from their labors, and their works have followed them.” The associations connected with his residence at Greencastle, however, became so painful to him, that he gladly sought relief from his grief in a change of location. He accordingly resigned his charge, much to the regret of his people, and with his three bereaved children, removed to Greensburg, Pa., where he continued to labor also with great acceptance, until the termination of his useful life, in the summer of 1853.

Mr. Eyster's health had been, for some time, gradually declining, but his friends never abandoned all hope of his recovery. They did not, indeed, apprehend any immediate danger, until death appeared inevitable. They clung to him with great affection. They felt as if he could not yet be spared from active duty. He attended the meeting of the Pittsburg Synod, held in the month of June, 1853, but he seemed very frail. Fatal disease was apparently making progress in his system, and serious apprehensions were excited with regard to the result. He, on this occasion, preached his last sermon. His strength was scarcely adequate for the service, but his brethren were anxious to hear him once more, and he yielded to their wishes. The theme selected by him was the nature of the Eucharist, based on the words: “This do in remembrance of me,” and although the sermon was extemporaneous, “it equalled,” it is said, “in beauty of delivery, depth of thought, and force of argument, any of his best efforts in former days. Those who were present on that occasion, will not forget the elegant and philosophical discourse which closed the ministerial labors of their accom-

* William C. Lane, M. D., Greensburg, Pa., to whom our obligations are due.

plished brother and co-laborer. His audience listened to the sermon with deep and painful interest, for they all felt that death had marked him for the tomb, and that his place in the ministry would soon be vacant."

On his return from Synod, urged by his friends, with the view of resuscitating his health, he made a visit to the Bedford Springs, but deriving no benefit from the use of the water, he directed his course to the home of his childhood, and there returned to die in the bosom of his own family. He was confined to the house only one week before his death. Disease did its work fast. In a few days the struggle was over, and his mission on earth fulfilled. His sufferings during the brief illness, were severe, but they were endured without complaint, and with remarkable fortitude and submission to the Divine will. He spoke of the change with great composure and christian triumph. He said that "he felt he was dying, but he was not afraid of death; earth had few pleasures, but many sorrows, and he was quite willing to go to the house of eternal rest, in which he would be forever free from their invasion." With his children he conversed most affectionately, and as they drew near his couch, he tenderly embraced them, giving them the most minute instructions in reference to their future life, and earnestly beseeching them to follow the example and lessons they had received from him. He requested them to kneel around his bed, and in a clear and strong tone he poured forth his expiring breath in earnest supplication to God on their behalf. His radiant smile, his glowing love of the Redeemer, and his perfect assurance of entering into the joy of his love, will never be obliterated from the minds of those who witnessed his dying hours. The last words he uttered were addressed to one of the officers of the church, who had been his constant and devoted friend. Looking him full in the face, he softly whispered, "I expect to meet you in heaven." Then turning his eyes towards the window of his chamber, he gazed for a moment upon the rays of the setting sun, and soon his spirit passed away as peacefully as the gentle ripple dies upon the beach.

"The angel of the covenant
Was come; and faithful to his promise, stood,
Prepared to walk with him thro' death's dark vale,
And now his eyes grew bright, and brighter still—
Too bright for ours to look upon, suffused
With many tears—and closed without a cloud.
They set as sets the morning star, which goes

Not down behind the darkened west, nor hides
Obscured among the tempests of the sky,—
But melts away into the light of heaven."

On the twelfth day of August, at six o'clock in the evening, just as the sun was declining behind the western hills, and the moon was casting her pensive light upon the gathered multitude, they carried him to the grave. Beside two of his predecessors in the pastoral office, they laid him, in the Cemetery of the church, and there he will quietly rest till the morning of the resurrection, when "the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and this mortal put on immortality."

"Nor pains, nor grief, nor anxious fear,
Invade thy bounds; no mortal cares
Can reach the peaceful sleeper here,
While angels watch the soft repose!"

The neighboring brethren were present, and participated in the solemnities of the funeral services. Discourses were subsequently, by special appointment, preached in Greensburg and Adamsburg, the respective churches in which Mr. Eyster officiated at the time of his death, by Rev. Messrs. J. Martin and W. S. Emery, both of them selecting, without any previous consultation, as the text for the occasion: "For he was a good man and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith, and much people was added unto the Lord."

Mr. Eyster's last illness, death and burial, were attended with such demonstrations of wide-spread and deep-felt sorrow and esteem, as only a lively sense of his great private virtues and public relations could inspire, and which are not always accorded even to one holding the highest official station, cut down in the midst of public duties, and the height of usefulness.

Although comparatively a young man, he had gained a strong hold upon the church. He was frequently invited to occupy positions of commanding influence, but the most advantageous offers were declined by him, because he felt that he was, at the time, useful in the field of labor in which he was engaged, and could see no satisfactory reason for making the change. He was also invited to situations in connexion with the literary institutions of the church, but these invitations were promptly rejected; he was unambitious, except to do good, and he believed he was called to preach the Gospel. This he regarded as his appropriate sphere, as that department of labor in which he could best serve his Master, and from this work, to which he had solemnly consecrated his

powers, no other pursuit, whether subordinate or not, could divert his attention or interest.

In attempting an analysis of Mr. Eyster's character, we naturally first turn to his piety. He was, in the full force of the words, a good man. His perfect sincerity and christian integrity, none dared call into question. He walked with God. Never have we known one more under the influence of religious principle, of faith, and of the hope of the Gospel. He was endowed by nature with many noble qualities. These had been sanctified by the power of divine truth. All that he did seemed to be marked by uprightness and purity of motive. You always knew where to find Michael Eyster. Frank, ingenuous, and sincere, there was no concealment of his sentiments. He had no two sets of opinions. He never seemed to have any sinister purposes in view. He was the most unselfish of men. No sacrifice for the relief of others, was considered by him too great. By many he was regarded as generous to a fault. His purse and his services, his sympathy and his counsels were always at the disposal of those whom he loved. Yet his benefactions were not confined to friends, or to his own brethren in the faith. He recognized in every man a brother, and cheerfully was he disposed to labor for his happiness, and the improvement of his condition. He was attached to his own communion. He cordially embraced, and greatly revered the symbol of his church, believing that its doctrines were in perfect harmony with the word of God, yet he did not prescribe the Augsburg Confession as a test of religious faith; you never discovered in him any sectarian prejudice or ignoble jealousy. He was a man of truly Catholic spirit, and liberal in his estimate of other denominations. He acknowledged all as christians whose daguerreotype resembled the divine Master, whose life corresponded with their professions.

We always admired Mr. Eyster's fearless character. He was never afraid to stand alone in a good cause. It mattered not to him, who were with him, or who were opposed to him. It was sufficient for him to know that he was right. His was a moral courage that never blenched. He would have defended the truth in opposition to the whole universe. The language of the immortal Reformer he could readily have adopted: "*Hier stehe ich ; ich kann nicht anders : Gott helfe mir ! Amen !*" When he was convinced that he was in the path of duty, no human being could have intimidated him, no influences that were brought to bear upon him, could have

tempted him to swerve from his principles. He was a bold and independent thinker. He never echoed the sentiments of others. He never took any man's mere *ipse dixit*, however prominent his position or venerable his character. He thought for himself on all questions. Although it may seem contradictory, yet he entertained a very humble opinion of his own abilities. He made no pretensions. He was modest and unassuming, and for this reason was often underrated, where he was not fully known. His opinions, however, were not hastily formed. They were the result of thoughtful deliberation and of careful investigation. He took time before he decided, and hence it was seldom necessary for him to reverse his decisions. If he found he was wrong in his views, or had committed a mistake, no one was more willing to retract and make the honorable reparation. He never clung to an opinion because he had publicly committed himself in favor of it; his pride never prevented him from acknowledging his error. He possessed a fine sense of honor. He never stooped to do a little thing. He despised meanness. No one could charge him with that which was undignified or unworthy a christian.

As a scholar, Mr. Eyster was a man of considerable attainment. Although his attention had been directed principally to Theological studies, yet he was, by no means, a novice in other departments of knowledge. He was fond of the natural sciences, and was quite familiar with history and intellectual philosophy. He had also cultivated a taste for poetry, and could, with great facility, quote from the standard authors of our language. His favorite study was, however, Theology, in the whole range of which he seemed at home. Those truths, which were difficult and abstruse to others, appeared easy and intelligible to his mind.

As a preacher, he was solid. His sermons always contained thought. They were clear and logical, and could easily be followed by the hearer. It requires long and patient mental discipline to enable a speaker to attain simplicity without the sacrifice of elegance of style, and to maintain a constant elevation of thought, without becoming unintelligible to any. Mr. Eyster had reached that point. He was disposed to discard ornament, and to present truth in the simplest and plainest language. When he used illustrations, they were always apt, and their point could at once be seen. There was a freshness, as well as an originality in his discourses, not

always met with at the present day. His manner in the pulpit was earnest and dignified. He spoke with pathos and humility. His power over the audience was very great. The impression he usually left was deep and abiding. He possessed great fluency of speech, and in his extemporaneous efforts he was exceedingly happy. It is said that few men had the ability to preach so profoundly and so readily on any text, with as little preparation as he required. His study of the sacred volume had been so careful, that he was never at a loss for truth, and his quotations from the scriptures were most felicitous. The grand theme of all his preaching was the cross. "Around the cross," says one who knew him well, "all his hopes centred, from it all his thoughts diverged, and back to it they always returned. This was the secret of his success in convincing and persuading men to renounce sin and unite themselves with the followers of the Lord."

As a minister of the Gospel, Mr. Eyster was most faithful. During the fifteen years of his ministry, the one idea which had prompted him to give himself to the work, always pervaded his mind and influenced his conduct. Never did he shrink from the performance of labor, nor become weary in well-doing. When he was in delicate health and scarcely able to preach, his friends would often urge him to omit the regular exercises of the sanctuary, but his reply was, that his personal comfort was insignificant compared with the great duty he owed the church, and the cause of the Redeemer. Whatsoever his hand found to do, he did it with his might, for he knew there was "no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave, whither" he was going.

He now rests from his labors, but his works do follow him! What a motive to animate the christian in his efforts to do good, is derived from the fact that when dead he shall yet speak! Time is short! Life is uncertain!

"The insatiate archer has an arrow for each of us,
To the same complexion we must come at last,
The like event happeneth to us all."

Our work will soon be accomplished, and our labors terminate in the grave. We are all in a current that is moving forward into the great ocean of eternity.

"While man is growing, life is in the decrease,
And cradles rock us nearer to the tomb,
Our birth is nothing but our death begun,
As tapers waste, that instant they take fire."

Let us, then, do life's work in the appropriate hour. Let us

be faithful in the performance of every duty. Let us strive to be useful and fulfil the object of our being, earnestly looking to Him who has promised to be with us at all times, even until the end, and to give us the strength required for every duty! "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God: and if children, then heirs: heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ: if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together. For the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed to us."

ARTICLE IV.

CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

By G. A. Lintner, D. D., Schoharie, N. Y.

It is of fundamental importance to the salvation of men, that they should understand the principles on which God has established his church, and the authority with which he has invested it, for accomplishing the ends of its institution. That the church is a divine institution, placed on a rock, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, is an established fact, which can no longer be questioned. All past history proves it. Through all the changes and revolutions in which so many of the institutions of this world have disappeared, the church has been preserved. She has survived the rage and persecutions of her enemies and after all her conflicts and trials, she stands at this day stronger than ever, on the basis which has always sustained her.

But although the church is a divine institution, placed under the care and protection of the Almighty, she is to be preserved, and extended through the earth, by human instrumentality. The principles on which God has established his church, he will always maintain, by the exercise of his sovereign authority; but there is an authority, which he has committed to men, to teach the doctrines, and administer the ordinances of our holy religion, according to his will and purposes, revealed in his covenant with his people. This authority, with which God has invested his servants, for the instruction, government, and discipline of his church, must be well understood, and faithfully exercised by those to whom

it is committed. Without the exercise of such authority, by ministers and other officers of the church, the pure and holy principles of true religion cannot be sustained against the corruption and wickedness to which they are exposed in this world.

The church, as a visible body, is not entirely free from human corruption and depravity. Sin has invaded her borders, and shows its sad effects in the evil and disorderly conduct of many who belong to her communion. And the church cannot exist as a body, separate from the world, holy and acceptable unto God. She cannot be preserved from the degenerating influence of corruption among her own members, and the evils to which she is exposed from the world, without the wise and judicious exercise of that government which God has prescribed in his word. In the discussion of this subject, I propose, 1. *To inquire into some of the general principles of that ecclesiastical government, which christians should exercise in their spiritual connexion and fellowship with each other ; and 2. Consider those principles in their application to the government and discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church :*

There are some who suppose, that the church should never exercise *any* authority over her members. They have an idea that christians should be left to govern themselves by the religious principles which they profess, without any restrictions of ecclesiastical authority. This theory is more specious than practical. It might be sustained, if all connected with the church were as holy and perfect in their characters and lives, as they should be. Then we should need no law to regulate the conduct of christians. They would be a law unto themselves, and the church would be a paradise on earth. But such a state of perfection cannot be attained by the church in *this* world. She has always had some in her visible connexion, who were unholy, and she will be subject to the evil influences of unworthy members, until she reaches her glorified state in heaven. Those even, who are real christians, and come nearest to perfection, are still imperfect, and need the care and government of the church, to make greater advances in piety. The idea, therefore, that christianity can exist without law ; and that we can dispense with all authority and government in the church, is fallacious. It is inconsistent with all human experience, since the church was established in the world.

The apostle Paul, in his interview with the elders of the church of *Ephesus* at *Miletus*, refers to this subject, and requires them to exercise the ecclesiastical authority which they had received from the Holy Ghost, for the sustenance and edification of the church. "Feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his blood." Those ministers, or bishops, as they are called in the original language of the New Testament, did not derive their authority from an exclusive episcopal ordination, or any official pre-eminence, conferred by the title of bishops or priests, as is sometimes contended for in our day. They received the pastoral office, and the authority connected with it, from Christ, through the Holy Spirit, and they could exercise it only so far as he had directed them. The inspired apostle also instructs the people, to obey their spiritual overseers, whom Christ had invested with authority for the government of his church. "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves."—Hebrews 13: 17.

This principle of submission to Christ's authority, as exercised by his servants, who had the care and government of his church in the days of the apostle, is the *basis* upon which all ecclesiastical authority must rest in our day. Christ has never authorized any of his servants to exercise an independent power in his church. The church has no right to exercise any authority which she did not directly derive from Christ, or irrespective of the rights of conscience. Men, as spiritual rulers in the church, are to execute the laws of Christ. They are not to make their own laws, establish their own rules, and carry out their own views and principles, however necessary and just they may seem. In all matters connected with ecclesiastical government and discipline, we are to follow the direction of Christ in his word. He has given us all the directions which are necessary on this subject. True, he has not entered into particulars. He has not furnished a connected and systematic form, containing specific rules for every case which may occur; but he has laid down fundamental and general principles, covering the whole ground of ecclesiastical government, suitable to all cases, and admitting of universal application through the church.

One of these principles is, *that the church, as a spiritual body, must be kept separate and distinct from the world.* The church is the body of Christ, which he has purchased with his blood, and purified by his spirit; that it may be kept unspotted from the world. It is the spiritual family of God,

which is to be distinguished from all worldly connexions and associations, by a strict conformity to the spirit and precepts of the Gospel. This is the design of the church, and the character it should always maintain before the world. But it is to be lamented, that the church does not always sustain this high and holy character, and that among many of her members, there is such a disposition to conform to the world. Hence the apostle says: "Be ye not conformed to the world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may know what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God."—*Rom. 12: 2*. He reminds christians of their high calling, and exhorts them to "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather to reprove them."—*Eph. 5: 11*. Speaking of the corruptions prevailing among the children of this world, and the danger of christians participating in them, he urges the disciples of Christ to "come out from among them, and be separate."—*2 Cor. 6: 17*. And Christ himself, the founder of his church, and the great teacher sent from God to instruct us in the nature and design of his spiritual government on earth, has told us, "My kingdom is not of this world."—*John 18: 36*. He said also to his disciples, "If ye were of the world, the world would love his own, but because ye are not of the world, for I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you."—*John 15: 19*.

These declarations of scripture show that the kingdom of Christ in this world, is designed to be holy and heavenly in its character, and can have no fellowship with the works of darkness. They establish the principle that, the church must be kept separate from the world; and this principle must be faithfully carried out by those who administer the government of the church. They are bound to watch over the purity of the church, and endeavor to guard it against the introduction of a worldly spirit. They are to manage its affairs according to the principles and spirit of the Gospel, and not stop to consult the views and feelings of worldly-minded men, when God commands them to go forward in the path of duty, which he has marked out for them.

Men, who in their hearts are strangers to true religion, and opposed to its real interests, are always ready to exercise a controlling influence over the church. In almost every religious community, there are some such men, who would carry the spirit of the world into religion. They have an idea, that the church cannot be sustained without bringing in this

worldly influence. Let ministers and officers of churches beware of such an influence. The men who would exert it, are often of high standing in community. Their property and rank in society give them the power of creating schisms, and raising disturbances which are not easily quelled. Let christians beware how they throw themselves into the power of such men; for there is nothing that will so soon destroy a church, as such a worldly spirit and policy. God has separated his church from the world, and there can be no compromise between them; no communion between light and darkness; no fellowship between righteousness and unrighteousness. This principle God has established in his word—and on this principle the government of the church must be administered, if she is to be preserved pure and unspotted from the world. Irreligious persons should have the compassion, and sympathy, and kind feeling of the church. They are entitled to her labors and sacrifices for their spiritual good; but under no circumstances should they be allowed to exert a controlling influence in her councils, or interfere with her government and discipline.

Another principle which Christ has established in the scriptures for the government of his church is, *that her unity and harmony must be preserved, by excluding from her communion, disorderly and unworthy members.* A house divided against itself cannot stand. An association which is not bound together by congenial principles and harmonious action, must soon be broken up. So the church, which is an association, formed and established on the principles of the Gospel, must be united in those principles, or she cannot stand. Her unity is essential for her success and efficiency in the great work to which her energies are to be directed. Hence she is commanded by divine authority to withdraw herself from every brother that walks disorderly; to separate from her communion, such as propagate error, break their covenant engagements, create dissensions, or in any other way bring dishonor on the christian profession. The apostle speaks of the church as *one* body in Christ, and members one of another. He exhorts them to “keep the *unity* of the spirit in the bonds of peace.”—*Eph.* 4: 3; to “walk by the same rule and mind the same thing.”—*Phill.* 3: 16; and that this holy fellowship, which binds them together, may be preserved uncorrupted and unimpaired, he directs, “If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to the doctrine of Christ, from such *withdraw* thyself.”—1 *Tim.* 6: 3. “Mark them which

cause divisions, and *avoid* them.”—*Rom.* 16: 17. “I have written to you not to keep company with any man that is a brother, if he be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolator, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner—put away from yourselves that wicked person.”—1 *Cor.* 11: 13.

These apostolic directions were given, to prevent the body of Christ from being rent asunder by unholy and refractory members. For this purpose Christ gave to his ministers the keys of the kingdom of heaven, of which he speaks in *Matt.* 16: 19. They give authority to ecclesiastical rulers, and all religious bodies, to exclude from their communion, persons whose disorderly and wicked conduct have rendered them unworthy of christian fellowship. This was the original design of the “power of the keys.” In this sense it was exercised by the first christians, and is still retained in the church. Every church must determine for itself, when it is necessary to exercise such an authority; and when it does become necessary, christians should proceed to acts of discipline with caution, moderation, and in the spirit of their Master. They should treat offenders with forbearance and charity. But when the honor and interests of religion are assailed, when they are suffering from the defection and wickedness of those who profess to be the friends of the Redeemer, and stand identified with his cause, the church has a duty to perform. She must wipe from her skirts the shame and reproach that have been brought upon her. She must wash her hands of the sin of tolerating such iniquity. She must make an example for her own members, and before the world. And to shrink from her duty in such cases, or show any hesitation or fear, would be to prove faithless to the trust which her supreme Head has reposed in her. It would make her a participator in the sin lying at her door, and expose her to the judgments of the Almighty. When men are suffered to transgress the rules of christian discipline, and trample on the order and authority of the church to which they belong, they become hardened in sin. One such disorderly member may spread his evil influence through a whole religious community. The whole camp of Israel was troubled by one such sinner. The judgments of God fell upon the entire congregation, for tolerating such an abuse, neither could that judgment be removed, until the sin of *Achan* had been visited, and a public example made before the people.

There can be nothing more offensive in the sight of God, than the professed disciples of Christ wounding him in the

house of his friends, and harboring and upholding his enemies, by the neglect of christian discipline. The church must not suffer such a reproach to rest upon her. She must deal faithfully and promptly with every offender. Whatever may be his standing and influence, he must be brought to account, and if guilty, not screened from punishment. He may be professedly a moral man, and even assume the garb of holiness, in his endeavors to sow the seeds of disaffection and disunion in the church; this is no reason why he should be indulged in his wicked work. A factious and unruly spirit is often concealed under a sanctimonious covering, and it is sometimes difficult to tear away the veil, and expose the guilty offender. But it must be done; for such professed friends are more dangerous, and do more evil to ministers and churches, than the open enemies of religion. No church can exist in order, it cannot be kept in harmony, and live in peace, where such factious and troublesome spirits are at work. Disunion, corruption, and eventual dissolution, either in the church, or between the minister and his charge, must be the consequence. The church has the power of protecting herself against errorists, schismatics, and disturbers of her peace, and unless she faithfully exercises this power, which God has committed to her for her own preservation, she cannot expect to be sustained by his divine approbation and blessing.

There is another important principle laid down in the scriptures, which the church should always keep in view in the exercise of the spiritual authority committed to her, and that is, *she must maintain the pure doctrine of the Gospel, and suffer no departure from those great fundamental truths which the scriptures reveal as essential to salvation.* One great design, and it may be said, perhaps, the chief purpose for which Christ established his church and ministry on earth, was, that he might make known to them the mysteries of the kingdom of God, and give them authority to teach and maintain the truth. He has revealed the truth to his people in various ways, through successive generations, and made it their sacred duty to preserve it pure and uncorrupted. This duty was enjoined by our Savior on his apostles, when he commissioned them to go forth and teach all nations, to “observe all things, whatsoever he had commanded them.”—*Matt. 28: 20.* The same duty is urged by the apostles on the ministers and churches who succeeded them in the work of preaching the Gospel through the world. “Hold fast the

form of sound words which thou hast heard."—2 *Tim.* 1: 13. "Take heed unto thyself, and thy doctrine; continue in them; for in doing this, thou shalt save both thyself, and them that hear thee."—1 *Tim.* 4: 16. "It was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you, that ye should earnestly contend for the faith once delivered to the saints."—*Jude* 3. "Stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel."—*Phill.* 1: 27. "If any man preach any other Gospel than that ye have received, let him be accursed."—*Gal.* 1: 9.

Such is the language of the apostle in regard to the christian duty of steadfastness in the truth.* And christians would do well to give earnest heed to these apostolic injunctions; especially in this day, when the interests of truth, and sound doctrine, are so easily sacrificed to what is termed the *progressive spirit* of the age. This spirit is making wonderful progress. It is unsettling the fundamental doctrines, the pillars of the church, breaking down the ramparts of truth, demolishing the fences round the enclosure of the fold of Christ, and letting in the enemy like a flood. It is a spirit professing to have a very tender regard for the rights of conscience and freedom of opinion, and under this specious pretence it would drive out of the church all doctrinal standards

* There are too many in the church, who are continually crying peace, and seem willing to make any sacrifice to retain it. Peace certainly is desirable, but the church should never think of purchasing it at the expense of truth. The duty of christians is, first, to hold fast the truth, and seek peace afterwards. In the christian warfare there are always some who are tempted by their fears to remain neutral, to halt between two opinions, scarcely knowing which side to join; or trying to reconcile differences, by surrendering their principles and convictions of duty. And this kind of neutrality, or rather compromising spirit, is by many considered an amiable and praiseworthy trait in the christian character, while those who stand up in defence of the truth, unwilling to surrender it, are branded as ultraists and bigots, devoid of all christian charity. It has almost become a reproach in our day, for a man to be so orthodox, or symbolical, as to be unwilling to change his views with every new improvement in religion or theology. If these new discoveries and improvements go on at the rate they have for some time past, it will not be long before the commands and exhortations of scripture, requiring christians to remain steadfast and immovable, contending earnestly for the faith, will be out of date; the Bible become a dead letter; the church may dispense with all government and discipline, and let every man exercise his liberty of believing and doing what may seem right in his own eyes. We shall then have a practical demonstration of the beauties of the new system; and whoever will be unwilling to acknowledge its superiority to all the systems that have preceded it, must expect to be denounced as a bigoted opposer of the light, and an enemy to liberty.

and forms of government, which are indispensable for the preservation of the truth. Men who are opposed to the truth, are impatient of restraint. They wish to cast off the order and government with which Christ has invested his church; and *this* is the reason why they are so ready to fall in with the spirit of opposition to all ecclesiastical authority, and join in the clamor against confessions and creeds, which has of late become so popular.

When such a spirit prevails, christians cannot be too often reminded of the established principles of church government and discipline, which the scriptures teach. The church is the pillar and ground of truth. She has a sacred trust committed to her, not only for herself, but for those who come after her. And she is bound to deliver to future generations, as well as hold fast for herself, this sacred deposit of truth, pure and undefiled as she has received it from her divine Head. If the truth revealed in the scriptures is essential to salvation—if all men are to believe and practice it, it is right that the church should seek to preserve it in her standards, and forms of government. No one who has correct and enlightened views on this subject, will consider such an authority, when it is exercised within the limits which the scriptures prescribe, any *infringement* on christian liberty; but rather regard it as a means of preventing that liberty from being *abused*. Take away this authority from the church, remove her confessions of faith, and her forms of government, and what security have we that we shall not be launched on the broad sea of error, to be driven about by every wind of doctrine, without a compass or a chart? Who would abandon the order and government which Christ has established in his church, and leap into the dark gulf of human expedients,

* Many of the Lutheran churches of Germany have been overrun with rationalism and infidelity; but not till after their ministers, under the influence of modern notions of liberty, began to dispense with the confessions and formularies introduced by the Reformation. It was this departure from the symbols of the Reformation, together with laxity of christian discipline, that opened the door for the flood of error and corruption, which subsequently spread through the churches. Hence, when the friends of evangelical religion made an effort to bring the churches back from their apostacy, and re-establish them in the principles of the Reformation, they found it necessary to return to the old standards. This was done at a late ecclesiastical convention (Kirchen-Tag) in which most of the German protestant churches were represented. The Augsburg Confession was reaffirmed, and adopted as the symbol of the Reformation, embracing the cardinal doctrines of the Gospel, in which all evangelical christians can unite.

where so many souls have been lost? What christian who loves God, and regards the honor of religion, would venture on such an experiment?* Let the ministers and officers of the church, who are to instruct and govern it according to established principles, which they have solemnly promised to observe, beware how they are led away by the temptations of the times from those principles. Let them stand by the church, in the exercise of her legitimate authority for the maintenance of the truth, and God will bless them in their labors for the instruction and edification of the people.

Such are the purposes for which Christ instituted his church, and the principles he has established for her government. He has provided that his *spiritual kingdom shall be kept separate from the world*; that the *unity and harmony of his church should be preserved, by excluding unworthy members*, and that her authority should be exercised for the *maintenance of the pure doctrines of the Gospel, which are essential to salvation*. Let us now proceed to apply these general principles, laid down in the scriptures, for the observance of all ecclesiastical authorities, to the government and discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

The Lutheran church in this country, is organized upon the fundamental principle, that the church can exercise no authority but that which is derived expressly from Jesus Christ, her supreme Head. Her ministers and officers are bound by the constitution, to carry out this principle, in all their ecclesiastical relations and proceedings. They have the power to rebuke, censure, and exclude from christian fellowship, such as act disorderly, or refuse to submit to the government which Christ has instituted in the church; but in the exercise of this authority, they are to be careful not to exceed the limits to which Christ has restricted us in his word.

Our system of church government is wisely adapted to promote the unity, peace, and edification of the spiritual body of Christ; and if all our ministers and members had faithfully adhered to this system, we would not now have to deplore the divisions and disorders, which in some portions of our Zion, have had such an unhappy influence.* Such evils,

*In the year 1837, a number of ministers and members belonging to our churches in the State of New York, became disaffected, withdrew from the Hartwick Synod, and formed themselves into a separate body. They renounced the Augsburg Confession, published a new Declaration of Faith, and organized under a constitution, requiring *new tests* of admission into their association, and abolishing *old established* rules of

however, will arise under the best regulated systems. Our ministers are all equal in rank and authority, and there is no cause for jealousy or strife. Our lay members are admitted to our ecclesiastical councils; and in all matters relating to the general interests of the church, they are entitled to participate in our deliberations. Their rights are secured to them in the *church councils*, the *district synods*, and the *general synod*; all so constituted, that the people, though their representatives, can exercise with the ministers, that wholesome authority and influence, which are desirable to secure the order, the harmonious action, and full coöperation of the whole church.

The *Church Council*, consisting of the minister and officers of a particular church, are entrusted with the care and government of the congregation under their immediate supervision. They admit to the communion, all such persons as they may deem qualified for a public profession of religion. They also have the power of excluding those whose conduct is inconsistent with the christian profession. It is their duty, first, to labor in the spirit of christian kindness with offenders, to rebuke and admonish them, as circumstances may require; and when they find these measures ineffectual, to suspend, or finally cut them off from the church. This authority, however, they are to exercise under the supervision of the District Synod to which they are attached, and which, in cases of appeal, has the right to review and pass judgment, or give advice on acts of discipline performed by church councils.*

church government, under which they had been ordained and received into the church. This secession produced a division in the churches, which led to controversies between ministers, congregations, and members of churches, that had to be settled by the courts, after a long course of litigation. The churches where these difficulties occurred, have not yet recovered from their disastrous effects. Though much of the bitter feeling, which once existed, has passed away, we can still trace the unhappy influence of this division in the feeble and crippled state of the churches it has torn asunder.

*“The church council consists of the pastor, elders and deacons of a particular church. It shall be the duty of the council to administer the discipline of the church. To this end, they shall have power to cite any of their church members to appear before them, and to endeavor to obtain other witnesses, when the case may require it. It shall be their duty, when any member offends, first privately to admonish him, or, if necessary, to call him to an account; and when they shall deem these measures ineffectual, to suspend or excommunicate him. It shall also be their duty to restore those subjects of suspension, or excommunication, to all the privileges of the church, who shall manifest sincere repentance.”—*Form. Gov. and Dis. Ev. Luth. Church, Chap. 4.*

The *District Synods*, composed of ordained ministers, licensed candidates, and lay representatives from the churches within their bounds, are authorized to transact all business relating to the general interests of the churches in their district, reserving to the ministers the exclusive right of examining, licensing, ordaining, and receiving into their connexion ministers, according to the provisions of the constitution. In all synodical business, the lay representatives, who come as delegates from churches, are entitled to the same rights and privileges with the clerical members. They are to consult together on the interests of the churches whom they represent, and execute such measures as they may deem necessary to promote their prosperity. Ministers are amenable for their conduct, to the Synods with whom they stand connected, and members of churches have the right of appealing to these ecclesiastical bodies* for redress of any grievances which they may suffer from the action of church councils. The District Synods are charged with the duty of preserving purity of doctrine, and an evangelical ministry in the churches under their care. They are to watch over the conduct of their members, and see that the rules of government and discipline prescribed in the Formula, are duly observed by all the ministers and congregations within their limits.†

The *General Synod* consists of clerical and lay representatives from the District Synods which are connected with it.‡

* "Any member being dissatisfied with the decision of the church council, relative to himself, may appeal to the Synod. In every such case, the applicant shall give notice to the church council of his intention, and shall specify to them the reasons of his dissatisfaction, and the grounds of his appeal.—*Chap. 5.* In cases of appeal, the council shall take no further measures grounded on their decision, until the sentence has been reviewed by the Synod, and send a detailed and correct account of their proceedings in the case."—*Chap. 4.*

† "It shall be the duty of each Synod to see that the rules of government and discipline, prescribed in this formula, are observed by all the congregations and ministers within its bounds; to receive appeals from decisions of church councils, and special conferences, when properly brought before them, and review, reverse, or confirm said decisions; to examine and decide on all charges against ministers and licentiates, that of heterodoxy alone excepted (which belongs to the Ministerium); to form and change ministerial districts, and attend to any other business relative to their churches, regularly brought before them."—*Chap. 8.*

‡ "The General Synod consists of deputies from the several Synods, who have joined themselves thereunto, and have been duly acknowledged as members. All regularly constituted Lutheran Synods, holding the fundamental doctrines of the Bible, as taught in our church, may at any

This body acts as a general convention representing all the district Synods and churches, constituting a bond of union, for promoting the interests and prosperity of the whole church. It reviews the proceedings of the district Synods, and gives direction and advice in all cases of appeal from district Synods, ministers, or churches. It exercises a general supervision over all the churches that are represented in it, for preserving sound doctrine, and uniform order and discipline among them. The principal duty of the General Synod is, to endeavor by advisory and conciliatory measures, to heal divisions, correct abuses, aid the cause of evangelical religion, and maintain the doctrines and worship of the church, according to the word of God and our ecclesiastical usages and standards.

Such is our ecclesiastical system. It is a well-ordered, compact system; consistent in all its parts, and efficient in its operation, if faithfully carried out. But as in all systems of government, efficiency and success depend much on the manner in which they are executed, so also the utility of this system can only be tested by practical application.

Without disparaging other forms of ecclesiastical government, we conscientiously believe that this system, when judiciously and faithfully administered, is adapted most effectually to carry out the ends and purposes of Christ's kingdom on earth. We hold, that it is *scriptural*; and on this ground, we claim for it the respect and observance of all our Synods and churches. It is a system fully recognizing that principle, which is regarded as fundamental in the church of Christ, that it must be kept *separate and distinct from the world*. "The true church of Christ is a spiritual body, consisting of members whose qualifications are spiritual, and who are associated for spiritual purposes." Such is the language of our Formula. It lays down a principle, which cannot be too deeply impressed on the minds of all, whose duty it is to administer

time become associated with it, by adopting the constitution, and sending delegates according to the ratio prescribed.

"The General Synod may give their opinion and advice, when complaints shall be brought before them by Synods, Ministeriums, Congregations or individual ministers, concerning doctrine or discipline.

"The General Synod shall apply all their powers, their prayers, and means, towards the prevention of schisms, carefully regard all the circumstances of the times, in order that the blessed opportunities to promote concord and unity, and the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, may not pass by neglected and unavailing."—*Constitution Gen. Synod, Art. 2—3.*

the government and discipline of the church. We need an able and educated ministry. We want men of good understanding and sound judgment, for church officers. Such qualifications are indispensable; and no minister or church officer can expect to become permanently and extensively useful without them. But more than all this; we need *spiritual* men to rule and govern the church, from the lowest to the highest judicatory; men who are sound in the faith; deeply imbued with the spirit of piety; holy men, tried men, men of established religious characters, to be placed at the helm of government, and give a spiritual tone and character to our churches. Wealth is desirable in all churches, as a means of doing good. Money is needed in every congregation, to aid in its operations; but let them not be brought in to *rule* the church. When money rules the church, the Spirit of God can no longer dwell in it. He will be driven out, and the world come in and take possession. And whatever may be the standing of that church with the world—however numerous and respectable her membership, she is shorn of her strength, she is doomed to languish and die, because her *vitality* is gone. The life and power of religion, by which alone she can be sustained, are lost; she has sold herself to the enemy, to accomplish her own degradation and ruin.

Churches sometimes seek to gain influence by admitting worldly and irreligious men into their councils. They try to make friends of the enemies of true religion, by courting their favor, and flattering their prejudices. It is even sometimes thought good policy to bring back wanderers and backsliders, by making them officers. We all know that such shameful abuses have been practiced. Such a course is not only dishonoring to religion, but it is the worst policy a church can pursue. It is folly to think of building up the cause of Christ, by a compromise with its enemies and the world. God will not bless a church which has forsaken the standard of Christ, and gone over to his enemies. It is only when the church is in her right position, when she stands on the ground of true, uncompromising spirituality, separate and distinct from the world, that God will own and bless her. He will then set his seal on the church, and mark it with his glorious presence and blessing; and whether its members be few or many, rich or poor, they will exert an influence which even the enemies of religion, with all their opposition and hatred, cannot withstand.

Another principle which Christ has established in his word, and which must be faithfully applied in the government and discipline of our church; is, that her *unity and harmony be preserved, by excluding unworthy and disorderly members.*

Our form of government is as favorable to christian liberty as any one who regards the true interests of religion could desire. It makes every allowance for human imperfections, and differences of opinion among christian brethren, which do not affect fundamental points; but on the great doctrines of our religion, which are essential to salvation, it requires unity of sentiment and action among the ministers and members of our churches; without which they cannot live in harmony together. It makes it the duty of church councils and Synods, to exercise discipline against all who are guilty of fundamental errors, or disturb the peace of the church by disorderly conduct; and no church can prosper without the exercise of such discipline, when circumstances render it necessary. When persons have offended, and are willing to acknowledge their fault, and return to their duty in the church, they should be treated kindly and tenderly; but incorrigible offenders, who set themselves up against the authority and rules of christian discipline, must be cut off, lest they corrupt the whole church.

And if it be the duty of the church to exclude unworthy members, we ought to be very careful how we admit persons of doubtful character. Synods and church councils are often too easily prevailed upon to receive into their connexion, applicants who are not sufficiently indoctrinated and established in the truth. They are usually admitted without much scrutiny, without that thorough examination, which is necessary to guard the church against the errors and abuses so prevalent in our day. In our ministerial sessions, we usually attend to the examination of candidates near the close, when we are anxious to expedite business, and pass over, in a hurried manner, this, and other subjects, which are most important, and require the greatest deliberation. How can we expect to preserve the order and purity of the church against the corruptions and desecration of the times, unless we are more careful? If we suffer our churches to be overrun with opinions and practices, borrowed from other denominations, unadapted to our condition, and at variance with our constitution and standards, we cannot expect to remain long a united and harmonious body. Such innovations cannot be intro-

duced without producing divisions and contentions in the church.

It is not uncommon, under the practice lately introduced in some of our churches, for persons who profess to have received some religious impressions, to be confirmed without going to the communion; or to be called out from a promiscuous assembly, to make a public profession of religion, without previous instruction or examination. The church gains nothing by such hasty and indiscreet admissions, but lays herself open to difficulties and troubles which ought to be avoided. It seems to the writer, that we are cutting loose from the moorings which have held our ecclesiastical ship safe and sound for many years, and that we are fast driving on the rocks and quicksands, where our vessel is in danger of being stranded. The good old practice of preparing candidates for confirmation, by a regular course of preparatory instruction, was one of the best safeguards of the church, against the defection of unworthy members; and if we would avoid the frequent recurrence of this evil, we must return to this practice, which should never have been suffered to go into disuse.* If we would preserve the church from the bad influences exerted by disaffected and disorderly members, we must go back to the old established order to which ministers and members religiously adhered. It was a part of their religion to love the church; and that feeling of love and veneration for the church and her institutions, which was once

* In our church, it is considered the official duty of every minister to give *catechetical instruction* to the youth of his congregation, with a view of preparing them for the communion of the church: and this duty we consider so necessary and indispensable, that it should never be neglected where it can be performed. We are aware that some denominations of christians differ from us in their views on this subject. We know that there are pious and well disposed people, who have adopted a course in the religious education of youth, different from that which we pursue in our church. We know too, that there are some, who consider it the minister's duty to receive converts into the church, without previous instruction. If they have only experienced what *they* call religion, if their minds have been excited by strong emotions and feelings, no matter how ignorant and inexperienced in the *first principles* of christianity, they consider themselves entitled to church membership. They claim the right of being admitted; and this claim is often sanctioned by ministers, who are too ready to abandon old established principles of order in the church, and fall upon new experiments, which are attended with danger and difficulty. Instances may occur, especially in seasons of revival, when it is proper to receive converts into the church, who have not had much previous instruction. Ministers must exercise their judgment and discretion in this matter; but they should never dispense with catechetical instruction, when it can be given.—*Luth. Mag.*, 1830.

manifested, and is now in a great measure lost, must be restored; that deep-toned religious sentiment, which binds to our origin, our history, our ecclesiastical standards, the faith and customs of our fathers, must be revived. The love of order, and reverence for religious ordinances and church regulations, which Lutherans once cherished, must again be awakened in our hearts, if we would be preserved from the evils and disorders which threaten our Zion.

The last general principle we shall notice in the application of this subject, is, that the government of the church must be faithfully administered, to *defend and maintain the true doctrines of the Gospel against the inroads and assaults of their enemies.*

We ought to be thankful that our lot is cast in a church which is founded on the truth. Our fathers laid this foundation deep and solid, in that revered system of doctrine which is contained in our standards; and we owe it to the truth, to adhere to that system, and resist every attempt to change, misrepresent, or bring it into disrepute.* Let us not coun-

* A pamphlet has lately appeared among us, entitled, "*Definite Platform, doctrinal and disciplinarian, for Lutheran District Synods,*" purporting to give the views of a number of our ministers, who "desire a more specific expression of the General Synod's doctrinal basis." It has been circulated through the church, with a view to its adoption by the churches coconnected with the General Synod, instead of the present basis of that body. It is indeed strange, that an overture on a subject of so much importance as *changing our doctrinal basis*, and introducing a *new standard* into the church, should come to us without any names, or ecclesiastical authority, to recommend it. When changes are proposed "doctrinal and disciplinarian," affecting the interests of the whole church, they are generally recommended by synods or conventions, who are duly authorized so to do; but here is a project, got up by a few individuals in secret conclave, and then thrown out upon the church like a torpedo, to make an explosion, without any one being willing to assume the responsibility. Perhaps it was deemed the wisest course by those who were engaged in the plot; but it looked suspicious on the very face of the platform. It showed that its projectors lacked confidence in the undertaking, and it was regarded by many, perhaps most of the readers of the pamphlet, as *prima facie* evidence that there was something wrong in it. This platform professes to be a review of the Augsburg Confession, to adapt it to the circumstances of the times, and make it more acceptable to the churches; but it looks more like a labored attempt to stigmatize it, and make it odious. It does not treat the subject fairly. It takes isolated passages, separates them from their connexion, and puts constructions on them, which are not warranted by the general sense; and by this *dissecting and mutilating process*, it presents us with a *caricature* to bring that honored and sacred instrument, which has been so long regarded with veneration, into disrepute and contempt. The attempt, however, if such has been the design, has failed, and may

tenance that loose theology which, under the false notion of modern improvements, would *discard* our scriptural and orthodox confession of faith. Let us not suffer the rage for new things to deprive us of all that we deem precious and sacred in the doctrines and institutions of our evangelical church. In all our councils and deliberations for the prosperity of our Zion, let us labor that she may become more firmly established in the truth. Let not her interests be sacrificed or brought in jeopardy, for the sake of gratifying a morbid taste for the novelties of the age. Let us not try to build up her walls with untempered mortar, or burn incense unto the Lord in his holy temple, with unhallowed fire. Let all the ministers and members of our churches, with one accord, seek to carry out the principles which Christ has established and recommended for the government of his church. Let them watch over the interests of the churches committed to their care, and never think of promoting their prosperity by compromising any of those principles which are essential to true spiritual religion. We profess to be protestants, and to adhere to the principles of the Reformation, not with a bigoted and servile submission to human authority. We have not blindly adopted the faith of Luther, or that of any other man. We hold that it is the duty and privilege of all men, to exercise their judgment in matters of religion. We claim this right for ourselves, and are willing that it should be exercised by others; but as protestants, we feel bound to maintain and defend those evangelical doctrines and principles, which the Reformers so nobly asserted and vindicated in our confession of faith. Let us remain true to that confession, and not abandon it for new expedients.*

teach a useful lesson to others, who in future might be disposed to engage in similar attempts to break down the hedges which the wisdom and piety of our fathers have placed round our evangelical Zion.

* Ministers sometimes involve themselves in difficulties, by attempting to introduce new expedients, in the place of established standards, which have been long used and approved in the church. To illustrate this, I will relate the following incident, which occurred not long since, in one of our churches: An honest, conscientious old elder, well instructed in the doctrines of the Lutheran church, and cherishing a high regard for the Augsburg Confession, was one day told by his minister, that he was going to introduce a *new Platform*, which would do away the necessity of adhering any longer to the Augsburg Confession. The elder asked him to explain the new platform, and show wherein it was so much better than their old confession of faith, which it was to supersede. "I cannot now enter into the subject as fully as I wish," said the minister; "but if you will come to my house on the day before our next commu-

Let us *study* it more closely, that we may become better acquainted with it, and feel more deeply the duty of preserving inviolate the great cardinal doctrines which it teaches.

I do not say that our standards and forms are perfect, but I do maintain that they are scriptural and evangelical. No other standards are more so. None comprise more of the doctrines and principles of the Bible, as taught and exemplified in the Reformation. None are better adapted to promote the order and edification of the church of Christ. I venerate the doctrines of our standards, because they are prominent and essential features in that faith which was once delivered to the saints. I love them, because they reveal to us the way of life; they show us the love and sacrifice of Christ; the preciousness of the believer's portion, and the foundation of his hope. I consider them identified with the interests, and necessary for the prosperity of every branch of the Redeemer's kingdom, and especially of our own. Then let us see to it, that these doctrines be preserved among us in their purity; and that our form of government and discipline be administered in conformity to them, and the princi-

nion, I think I shall be able to convince you that we need something different from the Augsburg Confession, and that the proposed change will remove the difficulties under which we have hitherto labored."

On the day appointed, the elder repaired to the house of his minister, who labored hard to persuade him that the Augsburg Confession was an old relic, that had grown out of date, and that in this enlightened age, and advanced state of theological science, we needed something more adapted to the spirit of the times, to keep pace with the improvements that were going on all around us. The elder listened attentively to all this, and then asked, "what is this new platform you are speaking of, and how will it *work* in our congregation?" "O," replied the minister, "it points out all the errors of the Augsburg Confession, and it will have a good effect in relieving us from the imputation of holding to those errors. Besides, it will show us what parts of the confession we reject, and what we believe." "I consider the Augsburg Confession," said the elder, "correct in all fundamental points of doctrine. I always regarded it as *scriptural* and *evangelical*. Under this impression I was received into the church. I believe so still. Such is the belief of the body of our church. You were called to be our pastor with this belief, and if you are going to introduce a new platform, and throw away the Augsburg Confession, I must frankly tell you, though it grieves me to say so, that you had better throw up your call, and leave us." "I did not know," said the minister, "that you were such a strong old Lutheran. I am sorry now, that I said anything to you about the matter. But let us leave it where it is, and prepare to go to the communion to-morrow without having our minds disturbed by it; for on the day of Judgment, it will not be asked of us whether we have stood on the *old* or *new* platform."

ples which Christ has established and recommended to us in his word.

The ministers and members of the Lutheran church, at this particular crisis, have a high trust committed to their hands, and they labor under weighty responsibilities. From the divisions and dissensions which have distracted other denominations, the changes and revolutions which they have undergone, we have been mercifully preserved, until recently, when we have been threatened with similar indications. Attempts are making to introduce changes among us, which strike at the *foundation* of the present order and institutions of the church. We are in a transition state. What the issue of this state of things may be, is known only to him who, in his wise providence can overrule all things for the glory of his name, and the interests and prosperity of his church. If our beloved church is to be agitated by fierce contentions, if she is to be split into hostile parties, if she is to be stopped in her prosperous career, and all the fond hopes with which so many of her friends regard her future prospects, are to be blasted; a dreadful responsibility must rest somewhere. It cannot rest on those who stand on the old orthodox platform. They have not been the aggressors, however severely they may have been censured. They have provoked no controversies. They have introduced no new platforms. They have held no secret consultations, to change our doctrinal basis, and undermine our whole ecclesiastical system. With the charges of ultra Lutheranism, Puseyism, and Romish errors and superstitions constantly ringing in their ears, they have acted only on the *defensive*. They have steadily adhered to their principles, and honestly and faithfully discharged their duty—a duty which they owe to themselves and the church—they love and venerate. They hold a position, for which posterity will honor them. When the agitation and excitement of the day shall have passed away, their fidelity to the truth will be remembered, and gratefully acknowledged by those who shall share in the results of their present labors.

Let the friends of our Zion ask God for wisdom and grace to direct in this important crisis. Let us “buy the truth and sell it not.” Let us hold fast the form of sound words, delivered unto us in the sacred scriptures, and the venerable standards, which the founders of our church transmitted to us, as a *sacred legacy* for those who shall come after us. When we are called to stand in the holy places of the sanctuary, or fill the responsible offices of professors and teachers

in our Seminaries for the education of ministers, or occupy seats in our ecclesiastical councils, to exercise the government and discipline of God's house, let us do it in the fear of God, and with a conscientious regard to the great interests of truth and righteousness. Let us remember that the Great Master Builder of his spiritual temple, has prescribed to us our work, given us his orders, laid down the rules, and furnished us with the materials for carrying on his work. Let us follow his directions, and never substitute our own wisdom for the wisdom and truth of God. Let us labor diligently, that the kingdom of God may be more fully established in our own hearts, that it may be built up in our churches, and throughout the world; and when our day of labor shall have ended, we shall be admitted to the full fruition of the joys of the church in heaven, where all our troubles and cares shall be swallowed up in praise.

ARTICLE V.

The Rise of the Dutch Republic. A History. By John Lothrop Motley. In three volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers, 329 & 331, Pearl Street.—1856.

THE revolution, of which the development and progress, down to the death of its great leader, are related in these three large volumes, must ever possess a peculiar interest for us Americans. Of the three revolutions belonging to modern history, which, forced upon a freedom-loving people by a foreign oppressor, led to a satisfactory result in the actual establishment of a republic, it is the second: that of the Swiss Confederacy being the first, and our own the last. All others that we know of, either differ essentially from these in their principles and character, or ended in failure, terminating either in the establishment of monarchy, or in the perpetuation of a smothered anarchy, which ever and anon finds vent in convulsive throes and fearful spasms. Whatever may have been the political condition of the United Netherlands in more recent times, the revolution of which the narrative is here before us, was one of those great efforts of an intelligent, an enterprising and high-spirited people to shake off a foreign yoke, the motives and processes of which deserve our

careful study: one of those brilliant successes, the stirring scenes and incidents of which must ever have a deep interest and resistless charm for those who believe in the rights of the human being, and of civil society, as distinct from the claims of privileged classes, and independent of the despotic will of crowned rulers.

The only really important and interesting monographs which have hitherto served to make us familiar with the successful revolt of the United Netherlands from the crown of Spain, are Schiller's brilliant work, in German, and in English, Watson's carefully and copiously narrated *Life of Philip II.* But the work of the calmly deliberate and acutely observant Watson, and the gorgeous narrative of Schiller, in which philosophic speculation and poetic coloring add dignity to the historic details, breadth and animation to the delineations, splendor to the diction, and dramatic effect to the spirited tableaux and dioramic succession of imposing scenes, and startling transactions; neither is free from defects and mistakes, both leave a good deal to be desired by the curious and reflecting student of history. Between the revolution which made the Netherlands independent of the Spanish crown, and our own, there are, while in many respects they essentially differ from each other, yet very strong points of resemblance. Among the most prominent of the latter is this, that, under Providence, both revolutions revolved and unfolded themselves respectively around one great personage, as the centre of union, counsel and action; and that each, having in one such great individual its very life and soul, under his guidance worked itself out to its grand results. And these two illustrious leaders—how like each other in ardent patriotism and some other respects, how widely different in other particulars, especially in the later scenes of their career. But we cannot here follow up these resemblances and contrasts, which would furnish the rhetorician ample scope and abundant materials for comparison and antithesis. But to trace and unfold all these points of agreement and divergence, would be both interesting and instructive, and may claim our attention on some future occasion.

If, as Shakspeare says, "The world's a stage, and all the men and women only players," then are revolutions those brilliant and salient acts in the great world-drama, which, with their quick evolution of stirring scenes and the rapid succession upon the stage, of men strong in thought and word and action, will ever be the favorite themes of those

historians who delight in the accurate portraiture and nice discrimination of characters; in the skilful unfolding and minute exhibition of incidents, of events and deeds far-reaching and deep-searching in their influence and operation; in pursuing the tortuous course of latent causes to their final, often startling effects; in dramatically grouping personages and philosophically classifying actions and results, and working up the whole, with the outlining, filling up, and coloring of a master hand, into one great picture, in which all the various and discordant elements blend and harmonize in producing a grand whole, of which the several parts, however antagonistic, stand in necessary and complementary relations to each other. And such is the work which our distinguished countryman has here undertaken and produced.

This history of the "Rise of the Dutch Republic" has some strong claims to be considered the greatest historical work yet produced in our country. While it displays neither the impetuous but generous partizanship of Bancroft, nor the frigid, almost indifferent impartiality of Hildreth, it judges persons and weighs actions with the utmost candor, and though frank in the expression of opinions and sympathies, metes out equal justice to men, to parties, and their doings. The style is not as elegant and mellifluous as Irving's, or as correct and splendid as Prescott's: it is occasionally inaccurate, and sometimes exhibits asperities and irregularities, which, however, are readily forgiven in consideration of its excellencies; for it is perspicuous, manly, nervous: like a broad, majestic stream, it carries the reader along, on a rapid but steady current, through the most brilliant scenery, and anon, amidst the most sombre surroundings, often appalling in their dismal shadows. Apart from any minutiae of style, as a historical work, it is, whether viewed as a whole or in its details, deserving of the highest praise. Mr. Motley has here shown, that he possesses some of the highest qualities of a first-rate historian: an eye to take in, with comprehensive view, the great historic field stretched out before it, with the great masses of its antagonistic elements heaving in Titanic conflict, that involves the fate of nations—of great masses of human beings; but capable, at the same time, of minute analysis; of dissecting those great masses, and pointing out distinctly the separate constituents, whether of political, civil and social relations, or of private or general human interests, secular or eternal, which go to make them up: an

acute discrimination as respects the relations of these several elements to each other, and collectively to their combined, or separately to their respective effects: a deep interest in the men and scenes which he describes, so that he does not give us his account of them as a mere, indifferent spectator, but as a man feeling for human rights and wrongs, as a judge passing sentence, with all due candor and equity, in accordance with the eternal principles of justice announced in God's word, upon the doings of all who pass in review before him: a great power of delineation, with bold outlines and masterly touches, and a happy talent for effective grouping, often of vividly dramatic arrangements and combinations of actors and actions, and a keenly piercing glance to detect the real character of these, however concealed or varnished by plausible pretensions and external seemings: add to all this an earnest manner of expression, a vigorous, manly, straightforward style, in which the immense mass of information, laboriously collected from all accessible, authentic sources, is copiously poured forth in a clear and majestic current, and we have everything that we can reasonably ask of the historian, who undertakes to instruct and interest us in respect of one of the darkest and yet, at the same time, brightest acts in the great historic drama of this world. In fact, the work is, as it could not fail to be, a complete success: while its reception here has been enthusiastic, the British critics are lavish in the bestowment of the highest encomiums, characterizing it as "history as complete as genius and industry can make it," and representing Mr. Motley as "far more careful in his researches, and more scrupulous in the selection of authorities than Mr. Macaulay:" &c. We have no doubt that not only judicious and discriminating criticism, but also the sound judgment and correct taste of the reading public generally, will at once place Mr. Motley in the foremost rank of historians.

We have said, that whilst our author is perfectly candid in his judgments, and fair in his representations, he is not merely a cold, unconcerned narrator of events, and we think that to demand of any historian that he should be so, is unreasonable. To us, indeed, the writer who relates to us the most startling and affecting destinies of nations and communities, and distinguished persons, and recounts the most thrilling incidents, and describes the most dreadful scenes, in the apathetic manner of a perfectly indifferent spectator, in the tone of one who is advertising an auction of second-hand furni-

ture, is quite intolerable. But Mr. Motley has thrown himself into the great work of writing this most important history, not only with all the necessary love of truth, and all the earnest and patient inquiry and sifting of evidence requisite to its ascertainment and just exhibition, but with all the purer and higher sympathies of humanity in constant and healthful action. He has made this grand section of modern history the study of his life, and he writes with all the decision, the clearness and the ample detail of one who has made himself thoroughly acquainted with his subject; but, at the same time, he shows upon every page, that he has not only weighed the character, conduct and career, both of Philip and all his minions, from Granvella and Alva down to the most brutal soldiers in the Spanish army, and of William of Orange and all his coadjutors and dependents, in the equal balance of justice, but that he has tested them by the great law of love, the great obligations of charity and kindness which every man owes his brother; and the result is his unqualified condemnation and utter detestation of the former, and his high admiration of Orange, and his deep sympathy with a nation subjected to cruelties and atrocities almost unparalleled in history. Entering with warm feelings of profound disgust into the exhibition of the Spanish treachery, bigotry and misrule, and of deep commiseration and lively fellow-feeling into the detailed account of the unexampled sufferings, continued during so many years, of the provinces, he sets before us a picture well fitted to provoke our intense indignation and aversion, and to call into action our deepest and most ardent sympathies. Those disposed to be hypercritical might cavil at the somewhat romance-like titles with which he designates the prominent scenes and transactions of this extraordinary narrative: but the truth is, that, in comparison with this awfully serious and most appallingly solemn history, the most romantic novel, abounding in the most thrilling incidents, and the most startling adventures, sinks into tameness and pales into insignificance.

Mr. Motley may truly be said to be the first HISTORIAN of this great event, the revolt of the United Netherlands from the Spanish crown; for Watson's *Life of Philip II* is more properly a history of Spain, in which the theme of these volumes finds its place among other important events of the same reign: Schiller's brilliant and philosophic work is not really a continuous historic narrative, but a succession of grand tableaux, accompanied with the author's ingenious and pro-

foundly interesting observations upon them. Neither of these two writers did or could make the extensive and profound researches of Mr. Motley, who not only devoted much more time and labor and careful investigation to his task, but most ably availed himself of materials which have only recently come to light, records, documents, and above all, correspondences of Philip and others, of the utmost importance and value. And the results of his inquiries, exhibited in these three large volumes, are full of warning and instruction to other nations, but especially to republics like ours, which, like that whose fearful struggles and awful sufferings are here described, consists of a number of confederated sovereign States. From this narrative we may learn, in the present fearful juncture in our affairs, what countless and immeasurable evils grow out of disunion. In the case of the Netherlands it was, in reality, only the absence of united action which made them the easy prey of a ruthless tyrant; Heaven alone can know into what calamities we should rush, were the insane and suicidal demonstrations which at present distract our country, to divide us into hostile hosts and plunge us into civil war.

But apart from the many political lessons to be learnt from this sad history, there is another which we can never cease to con and to turn to practical account, and that is, the true character of popery, which, according to its own boast, can never change, and therefore ever remains the same in the insatiable bloodthirstiness of its intolerant bigotry, in the ferocity of its ruthless fanaticism. And if ever our legislative assemblies should begin to lend a willing ear to the blandishments and seductive beguilements of that hideous heresy, that foulest and most persistent enemy of the prerogatives of human reason, of human rights and liberty, of the happiness of individual and social man, and of true religion, the recollection and thoughtful contemplation of the desolation and woe, the unutterable miseries which this infernal and hateful power brought upon the Netherlands, always rich in the luxuriant fruits of nature, and until that awful visitation, for a long time the most prosperous country on the globe, may serve to warn us of the fate which would await us, if we should be tempted to surrender ourselves to the tender mercies of this emanation from the bottomless pit.

It had been our intention to extend our observations much farther, and to present a variety of extracts from our author's pages; but we frankly acknowledge that, when we ought to

have been assiduously employed in writing our review, we were completely wrapped up in the perusal of the book, irresistibly carried away by the absorbing interest of the narrative. There is some comfort in knowing that others have fallen a prey to the same fascination, while we envy those upon whom the spell has not yet been riveted, seeing they still have an extraordinary pleasure in expectance. And now this, we trust, excusable delinquency, aided by a multiplicity of imperative engagements, has delayed the extended review which we had intended, to so late an hour, that we are obliged to conclude by earnestly recommending our readers to procure for themselves this truly great and admirable work, by the production of which the author has conferred no less honor upon his country, than he has won praise and fame for himself, and than which, we can assure them, they can find nothing more instructive or interesting within the compass of modern literature.

ARTICLE VI.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Epistle to the Ephesians, in Greek and English, with an Analysis and Exegetical Commentary. By Samuel H. Turner, D. D., Professor of Biblical Learning and Interpretation of Scripture in the General Theological Seminary, and of the Hebrew Language and Literature in Columbia College, New York. New York: Dana & Co., 381 Broadway.—1856.

We are glad to see that Dr. Turner has added a commentary on this very important, and in some respects difficult, epistle, to his many other works either directly exegetical, or furnishing aids for the correct interpretation of Scripture. Among Biblical critics who write in the English language, he occupies a very distinguished rank. The Doctor is familiar with the works of the most eminent German theologians and commentators, and he makes good use of them, as his frequent references show. He cites them, sometimes, only to differ from them and to record his good reasons for rejecting their views. He is by no means a copyist who retails other men's opinions, and repeats, in an altered form, what others have said before him. All his works bear the strongest evidence

of his own profound erudition, and show that he investigates, thinks and decides for himself. Whilst there is no ostentatious parade of learning, its satisfactory results, exhibited on every page, afford the student constant evidence of its presence. Dr. Turner has none of the pedantry of the mere scholastic critic, who knows nothing but rules of syntax and the axioms that govern the routine of the professional rhetorician; but, whilst he duly honors and observes the established principles of criticism, he no less habitually exhibits the important qualities of candid but independent examination, great conscientiousness in endeavoring to give a correct interpretation of the written word, and good, sound common sense, which is not embarrassed by mere technicalities and quibbles. Although a loyal son of his own church, he does not carry its peculiar dogmas, or his own views and theories into the sacred text, or make its inspired words confirm any foregone conclusions of his own. While we differ entirely from some of his views, expressed in some of his other works, we regard him as rigidly honest and candid in his interpretations, and perfectly fair in his manner of dealing with passages about the meaning of which men differ and dispute. We know of no critic, whose works we would more readily recommend to students of the Scriptures; for, though we may not always agree with him, we know that he always gives what, after thorough study and profound reflection, and comparing scripture with scripture, he honestly regards as the true sense of the text, without torturing the words of the original, or treating with contempt those from whom he differs: to those, therefore, who will imitate his example, by inquiring and considering for themselves, he will ever be a safe guide. The work before us is among the most valuable recent contributions to Biblical criticism in our language, and as such we commend it to the attention and study of our readers.

Prophecy viewed in respect to its distinctive nature, its special function and proper interpretation. By Patrick Fairbairn, D. D., Professor of Theology in the Free Church College, Aberdeen. Author of "Typology of Scripture," "Ezekiel and the Book of his Prophecy," &c. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George St. Philadelphia: Smith and English.

A sterling work, very much to our taste, of which we hope to be able to say more at a future time.

The Inquirer directed to the work of the Holy Spirit. By the Rev. Octavius Winslow, D. D. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston.

Several editions of this volume have appeared, and its character is such as to commend it favorably to the seeker for truth in regard to the operations of the Holy Ghost.

Reformers before the Reformation, principally in Germany and the Netherlands. Depicted by Dr. C. Ullmann, the translation by the Rev. Robert Menzies. Vol. II. Philadelphia: Smith & English.

Having noticed volume first of this admirable work, we deem it unnecessary to add anything further in praise of it. It is of the highest value.

The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations of St. John, viewed in their mutual relation. With an exposition of the principal passages. By Carl August Auberlen, Dr. Phil., Licentiate and Professor Extraordinarius of Theology in Basil. Translated by the Rev. Adolph Saphio.—Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George St. Philadelphia: Smith and English.

Subjects are brought to view and discussed in this volume with learning and moderation, of the highest interest. Without according our assent to all the contents of this volume, we can recommend it to the careful perusal of all who study the prophecies, and seek for additional light in regard to their import.

Internal History of German Protestantism since the middle of the last century. By Ch. Fred. Aug. Kahnis, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Leipzig. Translated from the German by the Rev. Theodore Meyer, Hebrew Tutor in the New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George St. Philadelphia: Smith & English.

The course of Theology, during the period indicated, from a distinguished divine and professor. It will be welcomed by all who are interested in the history of the German church, whose developments have been so extraordinary.

Memoir of the Life and Times of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, D. D., Patriarch of the Evangelical Luth. Church in America. By M. L. Stoever. Professor in Pennsylvania College. *Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt,* (For the Lutheran Board of Publication.) Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.—1856.

The general favor with which this biography has met, is proof of its excellence. It is deserving of all the praise it has received, and will be eagerly read by thousands, not only of the present, but future generations. It is a memorial of one whose name will be illustrious in all suc-

ceeding time, in the Lutheran church of America. A faithful picture of a true man, an honored servant of God, it will serve to perpetuate a memory which will be undying.

Prepared by the same hand, which has done so much in bringing into notice and recovering the reminiscences of deceased worthies of our Lutheran ministry, with which the pages of our Review have so often been ornamented, it will, in due time, take its place in a volume which will be published, embracing the entire series.

Thoughts and Apothegms from the writings of Archbishop Whateley. Invenies etiam disjecti membra poetæ.—Horace. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston.

Thoughts of a thinker adapted to produce thought, and to lead to action sanctified by grace.

Prayers for Individuals and Families. Published by several Pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio. Columbus.—1856.

A small but comprehensive volume, well gotten up, and adapted to Lutheran views. Constituting an addition creditable to its authors, to our devotional books, properly used it cannot fail to be useful.

Schaeffer and Koradi have furnished us with the first and second number of "Die bedeutendsten Kanzelreden der älteren lutherischen Kirche in Biographien und einer Auswahl ihrer Predigten dargestellt von William Beste." With this we are much pleased, and will notice it more fully.

The books from the house of T. N. Kurtz will receive notice in our October number. Too late for this viz: Sermon on the Mount, a Journey to Rome and back again, and Dr. Schmucker's American Lutheranism vindicated.

Harper's Magazine comes regularly, and sustains itself well. The series for children is increasing monthly—the Engineer, No. 19, and Rambles among the Alps, No. 20—both highly attractive, are in hand.

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THE EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

NO. XXX.

OCTOBER, 1856.

ARTICLE I.

THE INCOMPREHENSIBILITY OF GOD.

By Rev. J. R. Keiser, Schoharie, N. Y.

HIERO, king of Syracuse, once inquired of a heathen philosopher, what is God? The philosopher requested one day to consider the question and prepare his answer; at the expiration of which he requested two days more; and when those were ended, he desired four days additional. The king, surprised at this, demanded an explanation. The philosopher frankly and meekly replied, the more I think of God, the more mysterious and incomprehensible he appears. This answer is as wise as it is unique and wonderful; for on subjects of this kind men are usually self-confident in proportion as they are ignorant.

“Where men of judgment creep, and feel their way,
The positive pronounce without dismay.”

The idea of God is the grand centre and source of theology. In every system of doctrine God should have the pre-eminence; for of him, and through him, and to him are all things. It must emanate from Him as the Father of Lights; must harmonize with his character as the giver of all grace; and conduct to him as the author of eternal life. All speculations which do not begin and end with God, serve only to lead us astray from the fountain of living waters to the broken cisterns of human philosophy. And certainly there is no truth more fully confirmed by the history of all pagan nations, than this; that “the world by wisdom knew not

God." Whilst we neither doubt nor deny that the existence and some of the attributes of God may be learned from the visible creation, it is evident from the experience of the most intelligent heathen, of both ancient and modern times, that their knowledge of God was exceedingly limited in extent, dim and doubtful in its character, and but little calculated to elevate their sentiments or correct their principles. Indeed, it scarcely deserves the name of knowledge: it was rather, as Paul said of the Athenians, a *feeling* after God, if haply they might find him. As they looked to the heavens, they could discern no star to guide them to the infant Redeemer. Augustine happily remarks concerning the writings of Cicero, that they contain many admirable things, but the name of *Christ* is not legible there. To the teachings of the incarnate Son of God are we indebted, for a clearer and fuller knowledge of our Maker, than either Jew or Gentile enjoyed. "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." After Revelation has made known to us the true character of God, his being, attributes and will, then natural theology very properly comes in as a witness and interpreter, bearing an unvarying testimony, and supplying us with thousands of beautiful and striking illustrations.

In approaching the subject proposed for consideration, it may be proper to remark, that whoever would enter this realm of divine knowledge, *must first become as a little child*. If the ancient philosophers required those about to enter their schools and explore their mysteries, to go through a long course of preparatory discipline, in order to calm their perturbed passions, and rectify their moral habits, how much more important is a humble, docile, obedient temper in those who seek right apprehensions of the deep things of God. In God's light alone can we see light. "Divine things," says Pascal, "are infinitely above nature, and God only can place them in the soul. He has ordained that they should enter from the heart into the head, and not from the head into the heart. Hence, while it is necessary to *know* human things in order to love them, *it is necessary to LOVE divine things in order to know them*." And Lord Bacon remarks, that "it was most aptly said by one of Plato's school, that the sense of man carrieth a resemblance with the sun, which, as we see, openeth and revealeth all the terrestrial globe, but then again it obscureth and concealeth the stars and celestial globe: so doth the sense discover natural things, but it dark-

eneth and shutteth up divine.' 'And hence it is true that it hath proceeded, that divers learned men have been heretical, whilst they have sought to fly up to the secrets of the Deity, by the waxen wings of the senses.'" It is, indeed, a cause for devout thankfulness that we do not worship an "*unknown God*;" and it is obviously our duty to press on to a more perfect knowledge of him. At the same time it is well to remember that there are boundaries, which our knowledge cannot pass, secrets which our wisdom cannot penetrate. This truth is beautifully and forcibly expressed by Zophar, the Naamathite, when he thus addresses Job: "Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is high as heaven, what canst thou do? deeper than hell, what canst thou know. The measure thereof is longer than the earth and broader than the sea." Here is an idea which deserves to be well pondered, and which may be turned to good practical account. The idea is this: MAN CANNOT OBTAIN A COMPLETE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD. Though this sentiment is generally acknowledged, and therefore requires no proof, still it may be interesting and useful to illustrate it. We of course assume the existence and conscious personality of an intelligent First Cause, who is the creator, supporter, and governor of the universe, the ever-living and infinite Jehovah. The Bible declares, "there is one God," and pronounces the man a *fool*, who says in his heart there is "*no God*." As it is unnecessary, so it is foreign to our purpose, to notice any of the speculations and cavils of atheists and pantheists. We remark,

I. *That man cannot know what is the essence or interior nature of God.* Much is said in some recent publications of the "light of nature," and it is manifestly the design of the authors, by extolling this light, to disparage divine revelation. But from the accounts which missionaries, travellers, and others give us of the condition of the modern heathen, it is evidently and undeniably as true of them as of their predecessors thousands of years ago, that darkness, "gross darkness covers" them, and that they are "alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their hearts." They see above, beneath, and around them, the glorious works of God, exhibiting by day and by night his wisdom, power, and goodness; but they are dull scholars, and do not learn from this book of nature a single useful and salutary lesson. They are ignorant alike of his spiritual nature, his moral character, his perfect will;

ignorant of his attributes, relations and claims. They have "changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts and creeping things." Among the sages of antiquity were some of giant intellect, who were distinguished teachers of secular science; but who, "concerning the nature of the gods," as Cicero testifies, "have such strange varieties and contradictions of opinion, that it is impossible to classify them." This certainly is not saying much for the light of nature, or unaided reason, and rebukes the proud, self-sufficient notions of those who call in question the necessity and benefits of a divine revelation. The following passage, translated from the writings of the same learned author, is still more striking and to our purpose: "If we had come into the world in such circumstances, as that we could clearly and distinctly have discerned nature herself, and have been able in the course of our lives, to follow her true and uncorrupted directions, this alone might have been sufficient, and there would have been but little need of teaching and instruction; but now nature has given us only some small sparks of right reason, which we so quickly extinguish with depraved opinions and evil practices, that the true light of nature nowhere appears."—(Tusc. Quæes. 3.)

And what has been the experience of those, in modern times, who have rejected the clear light of revelation, to follow the dim light of nature? Whither has this light led them? Into the absurdities and blasphemies of Atheism, into the endless mazes and incongruities of Materialism, into the whimsical paxadoxes and dreamy reveries of Pantheism. Blinded by passion, prejudice and unbelief, they have imitated the dull owl, which

"Sailing on wings obscene athwart the noon,
Drops his blue-fringed lids, and holds them close,
And hooting at the glorious sun in heaven,
Cries out—*Where is it?*"

We have a more reliable guide, "a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts." The Bible has taught us that there is but one God, and that he is a pure spirit, eternal, self-existent, and infinite. But what do we know, even now, of a spirit? We know, indeed, that each one of us has a spirit, a soul, and we know some of its properties. But we cannot comprehend the essence of our own souls; and still

less do we know of the interior nature of the Deity. The difficulty lies not in the object to be discerned, for "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all," but in our own benighted understandings. "The cause of difficulty," said one of the acutest philosophers of antiquity, "lies not in the things, but in ourselves. For as the eyes of a bat are to day-light, so is the human mind often to objects which in their own nature are the clearest of all."* There is a veil spread over our organ of spiritual vision, which will never be entirely removed until we enter the bright world above, and see God as he is. "For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known." We notice,

II. *That man cannot know the MODE of God's existence.*

One very fruitful source of error in regard to God, is to think him like ourselves. The Scriptures have uttered their monitory voice on this point (Ps. 1). Indeed the disparity is so great, that none on earth or in heaven can be compared to God. Man was originally created in the image of his Maker: that is, he resembled him in knowledge and true holiness. Regenerated men now possess some measure of holiness. This is the same in kind as God's, though infinitely different in degree. The one is to the other as a drop to the ocean.

God is entirely unlike all finite beings in respect to his absolute, independent existence. All creatures, from the feeblest to the strongest, from the lowest to the highest, are dependent, not only for the commencement, but for the continuance of their existence. This is alike true of the infant and the arch-angel; true of all their springs of being, all their sources of enjoyment, and the exercise of all their faculties; true of them now, and it will be equally true of them after millions of ages have rolled away. Admirable and unequalled as is the human body, viewed simply as a piece of mechanism, it has no power of self-existence. Like a watch, it is continually running down, and requires to be daily wound up. The divine hand fashioned it and put it in motion, and continually keeps it going. We are so constantly subject to the pressure of physical wants and infirmities, so feeble is the grasp and penetration of our intellectual faculties, so countless are the ungratified longings of our hearts, that we find it exceedingly difficult, even to conceive of an absolutely independent and self-existent being. Yet one such being there

* Coleridge's Biog. Lit. Vol. I., p. 80.

is, and only one. God exists in and of himself. He "hath life in himself." He is an inexhaustible fountain of life, ever flowing, yet ever full; his power is constantly exercised in creating and preserving and governing myriads of beings, yet without effort, diminution or exhaustion. His happiness, no less than his being, is entirely independent of his creatures. There was a period when neither men nor angels had an existence. God gave exercise and scope to his benevolent energy in their creation; but he was infinitely happy then, and doubtless would continue so forever, were they all completely annihilated. How utterly incompetent are we to comprehend the being of such a God.

There is another respect in which the mode of the divine existence is a profound mystery to us. We refer to the distinction of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in the Godhead—the *trinitatis unitas*. Dr. Twesten* of the University of Berlin, after subjecting the doctrine of the Trinity to an original and thorough investigation, gives the following result as the scriptural basis of the doctrine: 1. That not only the Father, but also the Son and the Spirit have not a created but a divine nature; 2. That the divinity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit is not merely that of the Father, but that the Son is different from the Father, and the Holy Ghost from both; but yet, 3. That there is and remains only one God. Thus it appears that while the living and true God is essentially one, in some inexplicable and incomprehensible manner, he is three-fold. This is purely a doctrine of Revelation, and, as has been remarked, neither can nor ought to be proved *a priori* by natural reason; yet there is in it nothing irrational, nothing contradictory. It is thoroughly interwoven into the whole texture of christian doctrine, and is strongly corroborated by christian experience.

What then, you doubtless will ask, is that distinction in the Godhead which the word *person* is meant to designate? I answer, without hesitation, that I do not know. The *fact* that a distinction exists, is what we aver; the definition of that distinction is what I shall by no means attempt. By what shall I, or can I define it? What simile drawn from created objects, which are necessarily derived and dependant, can illustrate the mode of existence in that being who is undervived, independent, unchangeable, infinite, eternal? I confess myself unable to advance a single step here in ex-

* As translated in Bibliotheca Sacra, Aug. 1846.

plaining what the distinction is. *I receive the FACT that it exists, simply because I believe the scriptures reveal the FACT.* And if the scriptures do reveal the fact, that there are three persons in the Godhead (in the sense explained), that there is a distinction which affords ground for the appellation of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; which lays the foundation for the application of the personal pronouns, *I, thou, he*; which renders it proper to speak of *sending and being sent*, of *Christ being with God, being in his bosom*, and other things of the like nature; and yet that the divine nature belongs to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; then it is, like every other fact revealed, to be received simply on the credit of divine revelation. Is there any more difficulty in understanding the fact that there is a distinction in the Godhead, than there is in understanding that God possesses an underived existence? With what shall we compare such existence? All other beings are *derived*; and of course, there is no object in the universe with whose existence it can be compared. To define it, then, is beyond our reach. We can approximate toward a conception of it, merely by negatives. We deny that the divine existence has any author or cause; and, when we have done this, we have not defined it, but simply said that a certain thing *does not* belong to it. Here we must rest. The boundaries of human knowledge can never be extended beyond this.

The distinction in the Godhead, which I have now mentioned, I ought to say here, we do not, and cannot consider as a mere subject of speculation, which has little or no concern with ardent piety, or the best hopes of the christian. We believe that some of the most interesting and endearing exhibitions of the divine character are founded upon it, and connected with it; and that corresponding duties are urged upon us, and peculiar hopes excited, and consolations administered by it.* Melancthon admirably observes, that when we find ourselves laid hold of by the word of the Gospel, we thus come to know the Word who was in the beginning; thereby, too, we know the Father, who sends this word, not once, but constantly, into the world; and we are at the same time filled with an assurance and joy, which are the work of the Holy Ghost. We observe,

* See Prof. Stuart's Letters to Dr. Channing on the Divinity of Christ. Letter II.

III. *That man cannot obtain a complete knowledge of God's Attributes.* The Bible nowhere gives us a list of the divine attributes, nor does it furnish a full description of those to which it incidentally alludes. Theologians are not agreed as to their number. Some would admit of no attribute but *love*. It is obvious that the qualities of a substance are as numerous as the different kinds of effects it produces. So God's attributes must be as numerous as the different kinds of operations he performs. The attribute of *mercy* so very dear to us, was unknown before the fall; for there was no occasion for its exercise. But in regard to those attributes with which we are acquainted, our knowledge is limited and defective. Who, for instance, can comprehend the *eternity* of God? Who can properly conceive of his *Omniscience*, seeing the end from the beginning, and so shaping all his complicated plans as to work out the highest good of his moral universe? Who can grasp the idea of his *Omnipresence*? "The heaven of heavens cannot contain him." "The thunder of his *power* who can understand?" Who measure the length and breadth of his *love*? And who can fathom the depths of his *wisdom*? "It is high as heaven, what canst thou do? deeper than hell, what canst thou know? The measure thereof is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea." It is no valid objection to this view, that we cannot worship God aright unless we know his attributes perfectly. We know enough for practical purposes. The intelligent Sabbath-school scholar may worship God as sincerely and acceptably as the devout christian philosopher. "The idea of the Supreme Being," says the eloquent Robert Hall, "has this peculiar property: that as it admits of no substitute, so from the first moment it is formed, it is capable of continual growth and enlargement. God himself is immutable; but our conception of his character is continually receiving fresh accessions, is continually growing more extended and refulgent, by having transferred to it new elements of beauty and goodness; by attracting to itself, as a centre, whatever bears the impress of dignity, order, or happiness. It borrows splendor from all that is fair, subordinates to itself all that is great, and sits enthroned on the riches of the universe."

IV. *Man cannot obtain a complete knowledge of the works of God.* He is not only "wonderful in counsel," but "excellent in working." "The works of the Lord," says the Psalmist, "are great, sought of all them that have pleasure

therein." We boast of this as the age in which the prediction is fulfilled, "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." And certainly our advantages are many and great. We ought to rejoice in the progress of science and the diffusion of useful knowledge. But the best educated and best furnished minds, are limited in their range of thought and inquiry, and verify the sentiment of the poet, "Much learning shows *how little* mortals know."

The works of God may be comprised in creation, providence and redemption, and in each of these departments there is much that to us is inexplicable, and still more that lies entirely beyond the boundaries of our knowledge. The account of the creation given us in the Bible is very concise; only a summary view. There are many things pertaining to the history of our own planet and its inhabitants, of which we are ignorant. Some portions of its surface, as, for instance, the interior of Africa, are almost wholly unknown. Still less do we know of the internal structure of our earth. We know not but that it may be a liquid mass of fire. Perpetual fires may be rolling beneath our feet. Else whence those numerous volcanoes in every quarter of the globe, ever active, surging, thundering, pouring forth rivers of fire and clouds of smoke? "There is a path which no fowl knoweth, and which the vulture's eye hath not seen: the lion's whelps have not trodden it, nor the fierce lion passed by it." The ingenuity and intrepidity of the miner have penetrated into regions where the vulture's keen eye cannot pierce, and from which the daring lion is debarred; yet who can conceive what undiscovered treasures still lie buried in the bowels of the earth? What the ancient philosophers considered as the four elements, have been dissolved by modern chemists. Botanists have discovered and described over fifty thousand different species of plants; yet not one of them can tell so simple a thing (apparently) as how a plant grows. Naturalists have done much to extend our acquaintance with natural history; but still there are, doubtless, many species of birds, beasts, fishes, reptiles and insects, entirely unknown. And then, if we turn our attention to our own structure, we are a mystery to ourselves. Truly we are fearfully and wonderfully made. We know no more how the bones do grow, than the wise man did thousands of years ago, nor can we tell how animal heat is communicated to the body, nor where the seat of life is, whether in the blood, the brain, or somewhere else, nor how

a volition moves the arm, nor how a brain-fever deprives the mind of reason. But our earth is but a speck, compared with the immensity of the Creator's works. Notwithstanding the immense and marvellous developments of Astronomy, perhaps the most intelligent philosopher on earth has no adequate idea of the extent of creation. Millions of worlds have already been discovered. New discoveries are made every year, and as the facilities for the purpose are multiplied, probably thousands of worlds now unknown, will be brought within the range of human observation, and probably thousands more will never be known to the dwellers on "this dull planet." Take a single fact in illustration and confirmation of this remark. The renowned astronomer, Sir William Herschel, while exploring the region of the heavens called the milky-way, states that "in one quarter of an hour's time, there passed no less than *one hundred and sixteen thousand stars* through the field of view of his telescope." It is generally understood among astronomers that "the milky way derives its brightness from the diffused light of bodies each of which may be equal to that of Lyra" (which has a diameter that would nearly fill the orbit of Uranus.) "Twenty-five hundred nebulae and clusters of stars have been observed by Sir John Herschel; and an unknown number more remain to be observed. In some of those which he has examined, 'ten or twenty thousand stars appear compacted or wedged together in a space not larger than a tenth part of that covered by the moon, and presenting in its centre one blaze of light.' The number of the distinguishable telescopic stars of the milky way, has been estimated at eighteen millions. But beyond the milky way of stars, and almost at right angles with it, there is a milky way of nebulae. A nearer approach might resolve these into clustered myriads of stars, and reveal another milky way beyond. Let us try to imagine the distance of one of the star-clusters in the nearer milky way. The earth is ninety-five millions of miles from the sun. Uranus is nineteen times further. The great comet of 1680 recedes about forty times further than Uranus, or about twenty times beyond the orbit of Neptune, and requires, according to Encke, eighty-eight hundred years for its revolution. The nearest fixed star is supposed to be two hundred and fifty times farther from the sun than this comet at its greatest distance, while the star ^aCentauri is eleven thousand times, the star sixty-one Cygni is thirty-one thousand times, and the star ^aLyrae is forty-one thousand six

hundred times more distant than Uranus ; so that light travelling at the rate of about one hundred and seventy thousand miles a second, would be three years, nine months and a quarter, and twelve years, in reaching us from these bodies, respectively. But if each of the stars in a nebulous cluster be a sun, and if they be separated by intervals equal to that which separates our sun from the nearest fixed star, light would require thousands of years in order to reach us from such a distance. The rays of light of the remotest nebulae must have been about two millions of years on their way. They are, therefore, as Humboldt remarks, "the voices of the past which reach us. It has been well said, that with our mighty telescopes we penetrate at once into space and into time. Much has long disappeared from those distant regions before it vanishes from our view, and much has been newly arranged before it becomes visible to us." But were the means of vision which enable us to behold that remote point to be doubled, who can imagine that we should not see other clusters burning at as great a distance beyond it, as it is beyond us ; and that were we to be transported to that remoter system, we should not behold similar untermiated collections of suns and systems as far beyond?"* Amid these sublime revelations of the telescope, who can help looking up and exclaiming :

"These are thy glorious works, Parent of good—
Almighty! Thine this universal frame,
Thus wondrous fair: Thyself how wondrous then!"

The age, connections, and movements of these countless bodies, together with the changes that have taken place in them in the lapse of ages, are matters wholly unknown to us. Nor can we tell certainly whether they are inhabited or not, much less what sort of beings, if any, dwell there.

And then there are those interesting and mysterious bodies, the comets, about five hundred of which have appeared since the commencement of the Christian Era, what do we know about them? Of what kind of material are they composed? What is the object of their visit to us? Whither do they go when they pass beyond the limits of our solar system? What purposes do they subserve in the providential government of God? What relation do they sustain to other worlds and systems of worlds? Tell if thou canst, and show that thou art wiser than either Newton, Halley or Herschel. Suffice

* Harris' Pre-Adamite Earth, pp. 122, 123.

it to say, that all that has ever been offered on these topics, is mere conjecture.

We next advert to Divine *Providence*: this embraces all that God does in preserving and governing the world; and to have a complete knowledge of this subject, we must know, 1) All the *events* of providence. This is impossible. Man cannot find out all the works that are done under the sun. 2) Then we must know all the *means* and *instruments* which God employs in accomplishing his purposes, which is another impossibility. 3) And further, we must know the *designs* with which all events are ordered. On all these points scripture, history and science shed some light; but there is much our finite minds cannot comprehend, especially in God's manner of dealing with moral evils, and we can only exclaim with the apostle, "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!"

And what shall we say of *Redemption*? This, in some respects, is perhaps the most unsearchable of all God's works, embracing as it does, a series of dispensations, extending through four thousand years. The plan itself, and the means used for its accomplishment, are entirely different from what man's wisdom would or could have devised. And who can trace out its results in this world and that which is to come? Who is authorixed to say that the benefits of Christ's death are confined to this world and to the human race? Does not the apostle Paul intimate that other worlds are interested, when he says, "To the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God?" The following observations of an English Prelate* on this point, are as pertinent and sensible as they are eloquent. "It is, I believe, generally taken for granted, that it was for the human race alone that Christ suffered and died; and we are then asked, with an air of triumph, whether it is conceivable, or in any degree credible, that the eternal Son of God should submit to so much indignity, and so much misery, for the fallen, the wicked, the wretched inhabitants of this small globe of earth, which is as a grain of sand to a mountain; a mere speck in the universe, when compared with the immensity of worlds and systems of worlds, which the sagacity of a great modern astronomer has discovered in the boundless regions of space.

* Bishop Porteus' Sermons, Vol. II., Ser. 3.

“But on what ground is it concluded that the benefits of Christ’s death extend no further than to ourselves? As well might we suppose that the sun was placed in the firmament merely to illuminate and warm this earth that we inhabit. To the vulgar and illiterate this actually appears to be the case. But philosophy teaches us better things: it enlarges our contracted views of the divine beneficence, and makes us acquainted with other planets, and other worlds, which share with us the cheering influence, and the vivifying warmth of that glorious luminary. Is it not, then, a fair analogy to conclude, that the great spiritual light of the world, the fountain of life and health and joy to the soul, does not scatter his blessings over the creation with a more sparing hand? And that the Sun of Righteousness rises with healing in its wings to *other orders of beings* besides ourselves? Nor does this conclusion rest on analogy alone. It is evident from scripture itself, that we are by no means the only creatures in the universe, interested in the sacrifice of our Redeemer. —Ephes. 1: 10; Col. 1: 16–20.

“From intimations such as these, it is highly probable that in the great work of redemption, as well as of creation, there is a vast stupendous plan of wisdom, of which we cannot at present so much as conceive the whole compass and extent; and if we could assist and improve the mental, as we can the corporal sight; if we could magnify and bring nearer to us, by the help of instruments, the great component parts of the spiritual, as we do the vast bodies of the material world, there can be no doubt, that the resemblance and analogy would hold between them in this, as it does in many other well-known instances; and that a scene of wonders would burst in upon us from the one, at least equal, if not superior, to those which the united powers of astronomy and optics disclose to us in the other.”

V. *Man cannot obtain a complete knowledge of God’s purposes.* “For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts.” (Isai. 55: 8, 9.) God’s “thoughts” in this passage are doubtless identical with his purposes or plans of government, and his “ways” with the manner of their execution. God’s plans are not only different from ours, but from what we should expect his plans to be. Our profoundest, sublimest, most extensive plans are exceedingly contracted, when compared with the divine plans.

They embrace but a few objects, individuals and events, and are necessarily limited to a few years. God's plan, on the contrary, comprehends not only all things and all events, but all his creatures and all their actions, and extends from everlasting to everlasting.

Reasoning from what we know of the holy and benevolent character of God, we should naturally suppose that his plans would exclude everything inconsistent with perfect holiness and unmingled felicity. But we find that God has adopted a system which includes a vast amount of physical and moral evil, and when asked why he has done so, we can only reply, "Even so, Father, for it seemed good in thy sight."

"Shall little, haughty ignorance pronounce
His works unwise, the smallest part of which
Exceeds the narrow vision of her mind?
As if upon a full proportioned dome,
A critic fly, whose feeble ray scarce spreads
An inch around, with blind presumption bold,
Should dare to tax the structure of the whole!"

We should rest satisfied with the system, not because we comprehend it, but because it is *God's* system. It is the product of infinite wisdom and goodness, and we have every reason to believe that it will prove in the end, the very best possible.

If we cannot comprehend the plans of God as they have already been executed in our world, still less can we know what he *intends* to do hereafter. And yet this is necessary to a complete knowledge of God. We naturally anticipate future events, particularly such as affect our own character and happiness, with some degree of interest and solicitude. We would like to tear away the dark curtain, which hides the future from our view, and penetrate into the secret counsels of the divine mind. But "he giveth no account of any of his matters." In this respect the tallest archangel and the humblest peasant occupy the same level; neither knows "what shall be on the morrow." What Christ says of the day of Judgment, may be applied to any other future event, not specially revealed. "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only." It is enough for us to know that "the Judge of all the earth will do right," and that "though clouds and darkness are round about him, justice and judgment are the habitation of his throne."

And now, having finished the discussion of our subject, to what practical uses shall we apply it?

I. *It shows how idle are the fancies of those who would exclude all mystery from religion.* "A religion without its mysteries," says Robert Hall, "is like a temple without its God." Why object to mystery in the Bible rather than in nature and in science? Did the Bible contain nothing inexplicable, nothing above the ordinary apprehension of men, this might be used as an argument against it; for it would not be in accordance with the analogy of nature. To believe any doctrine merely because it is mysterious, is weakness; to reject it for a similar reason, is irrational; while to cast a veil of mystery over things sufficiently plain in themselves, is naught but superstition.

The following remarks of a living author, are so just and true, and apposite, that the candid reader will require no apology for the length of the quotation. Speaking of the Incarnation, he says: "The difficulty to the intellect is not greater than is found in a thousand things beside; things, too, which all men instantly admit. Indeed, there are no subjects, whether in the science of matter or of mind, which are not environed with difficulties. Inquiries can be started upon all matters of abstract and philosophical speculation, beyond the grasp of the finite intellect; nay, more, a child may ask questions about himself, or about the world around him, which baffle the profoundest thinkers. 'A grain of sand,' says the philosophical Vinet, 'is an abyss.' Everything, indeed, in the whole range of animate and inanimate nature, is associated directly or indirectly with mysteries; every question in philosophy and morals can be run up to some insuperable difficulty, where the intellect must stop and confess its ignorance. Light and darkness, knowledge and mystery are associated in all the speculations of the finite mind. The day rests in the bosom of night. The stars are set in a firmament of gloom.

"Our knowledge, so far as it goes, may be definite, and the language in which it is expressed, clear and intelligible; yet that knowledge, like the segment of an infinite circle, links itself, at all points, to mysteries. Facts may be ascertained, and constantly recognized, in the ordinary avocations of life; but, as to their origin and mode of existence, we may be plunged into the deepest ignorance. Furthermore, some of these facts may appear to involve contradictions, and give rise to inquiries, before which the mightiest intellects fall prostrate. The science of mathematics, even, involves the infinite, and, in some cases, the impossible! It recognizes

this sublime contradiction, that there may be two lines which ever approach, but never meet, and, finally, loses itself in the boundless depths of the 'infinitesimal calculus.' If chemistry does not involve, it certainly suggests the infinite. It has its agents imponderable and universal; its permanent basis, or substance (*id quod stat per se*) in which all physical qualities adhere; its infinite divisibility of body, with its definite and immutable atoms. What is matter? what its essence and mode of existence? what its origin and its end? How does it link itself to spirit, and how can it give and receive impressions and motions? It seems essentially diverse from spirit, and yet they act and react upon each other. Matter, as it exists in space and time, the product of an infinite mind, 'from whom are all things,' is one of the profoundest mysteries that ever engaged the attention of thoughtful men. What, moreover, is mind-spirit, especially as uncreated and eternal? What is our own mind, that mysterious something, which thinks, and feels, and wills, and suffers, and rejoices? What are its nature and essence, its mode of existence, its ineffable relation to God, and the creation around it? What, even, is the union of body and soul? How are they linked, and what strange power causes them to act in harmony? . . .

But if these things occur in human science, what may we not expect in divine? If man is a mystery, what is God? If the life that now is, presents enigmas and secrets the most profound and awful, what shall we find in the life to come? If with propriety we can say, great is the mystery of nature, *mind* is manifest in *matter*, may we not, with still greater propriety exclaim, *Great is the mystery of godliness, God was manifest in the flesh!*

Had christianity been a system without a mystery, no thoughtful man could believe it. Every such man, hungering after the perfect and the eternal, must rejoice that faith and adoration can advance, where science and philosophy are compelled to pause. Sometimes, nay, during his whole life, he may walk in darkness, but the stars are overhead, and the dawn of everlasting day is yet to break upon his vision. In the Gospel there are mysteries; but how magnificent and thrilling! Shadows, but shadows from the infinite, shadows gloriously penetrated with light supernal. How profound the secret of the Godhead, especially of the Godhead incarnate; but how august, how beautiful! Dark, indeed, but dark from excess of light; and it is only in lowliness and adoration we can see it, or feel it, in its all-transforming power. The high-

est intellects have adored it! Millions upon millions have trembled with joy under its influence. In the night of time, these voyagers, storm-driven upon the ocean of life, have looked upon the infinite depths above them, and beheld 'that glory-beaming star,' radiant as at the first, when it was hymned by the angels on the plains of Bethlehem, and under its guidance have passed on, through tempest and darkness, to the haven of everlasting rest."*

II. *Our subject should inspire us with profound reverence and humility.* "Vain man would be wise, though man be born like a wild ass's colt." It was by pride our first parents lost their original innocence, and with it the joys of Paradise. Aspiring to be like God in knowledge, they dared to violate his positive command. God has set bounds to the human understanding; yet there are some men who "dare to rush in where angels fear to tread." An individual of this class once asked John Calvin "*what God was doing before he created the world?*" "Building a hell for the over-curious," was the prompt reply of the stern reformer.

"We have much inquiry," says Cudworth, "concerning knowledge in these latter times. The sons of Adam are as busy now as ever himself was about the tree of knowledge of good and evil, shaking the boughs of it, and scrambling for the fruit; whilst, I fear, many are too unmindful of the tree of life. And there be now no cherubims, with their flaming swords, to fright men off from it, yet the way that leads to it seems to be solitary and untrodden, as if there were but few that had any mind to taste the fruit of it. There be many that speak of new glimpses and discoveries of truth, of dawnings of gospel light, and no question, but God hath reserved much of this very evening and sunset, for in the latter days knowledge shall be increased. But yet I wish we could, in the meantime, see that day to dawn, which the apostle speaks of, and that day-star to arise in men's souls." We would not say a word in disparagement of the human intellect; nor are we indifferent to the progress of science. We rejoice in the spread of useful knowledge, and would do every thing in our power to encourage a spirit of legitimate inquiry; confident that the tendency of true science will always be to support true religion. God has commanded us

* Theophany, or the Manifestation of God in Jesus Christ, with a supplement touching the Theories of the Rev. Dr. Bushnell. By Rev. Robert Turnbull, D. D.

to *grow in knowledge*, as well as in grace. A correct knowledge of divine things is adapted to produce profound veneration and humility. Such is the effect it had upon holy men of old. "I have heard of thee," said Job, "by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eye *seeth* thee; wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes." Said David, "When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and stars, which thou hast ordained, what is man that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that thou visitest him?" And some of the greatest philosophers of modern times, have evinced a similar spirit. Among the devotional writings of Lord Bacon, are some which breathe a very humble, reverent and devout spirit. In the latter part of his life, after some bitter experiences of misfortune, he wrote "a Prayer or Psalm," which for beauty, fervor, pathos, deep penitence, strong confidence in God, and cheerful submission to his will, may be compared with the penitential psalms of David. In this psalm he says, "Thy creatures have been my books, but thy scriptures much more; I have sought thee in the courts, fields and groves, but I have found thee in thy temples."

Sir Isaac Newton was remarkable for his modesty and humility. Whilst thousands were eulogizing his wonderful discoveries and inventions, and enjoying the fruits of his labors, he observed, near the close of his useful and brilliant career, "I do not know what I may appear to the world, but to myself I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the seashore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, whilst the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me."

The Honorable Robert Boyle, says Bishop Burnet, "had the profoundest veneration for the great God of heaven and earth, that I ever observed in any person. The very *name* of God was never mentioned by him without a pause, and a visible stop in his discourse; and the tenor of his philosophical and theological writings is in complete unison with these traits of character."

"I envy," says Sir Humphrey Davy, "no quality of the mind or intellect in others; not genius, power, wit or fancy; but if I could choose what would be most delightful, and I believe most useful to me, I should prefer a firm religious belief to every other blessing; for it makes life a discipline of goodness, creates new hopes when all earthly hopes vanish, and throws over the decay, the destruction of existence,

the most gorgeous of all lights; awakens life even in death, and from corruption and decay calls up beauty and divinity; makes an instrument of torture and of shame the ladder of ascent to Paradise; and, far above all combinations of earthly hopes, calls up the most delightful visions of palms and amaranths, the gardens of the blessed; the security of everlasting joys, where the sensualist and the sceptic view only gloom, decay and annihilation." Thus whilst the tendency of superficial knowledge is to puff up, a more thorough study of God's character and works, yields as its legitimate fruits, veneration, charity and humility, "the richest pearl in the christian's crown of graces." To appropriate the beautiful and truthful lines of Montgomery:

"The bird that soars on highest wing,
Builds on the ground her lowly nest;
And she that does most sweetly sing,
Sings in the shade, when all things rest!
In Lark and Nightingale we see
What honor hath humility.

The saint that wears heaven's brightest crown,
In deepest adoration bends;
The weight of glory bows him down
The most, when most his soul ascends;
Nearest the throne itself must be
The footstool of humility."

ARTICLE II.

THE FALL OF THE ANGELS.

*An Exegetical Examination of Jude v. 6, and 2 Pet. ii. 4.
By Dr. C. F. Keil.*

Translated from Rudelbach and Guericke's Zeitschrift, by Prof. F. A. Muhlenberg, Jr.

IN my article in the second number of the sixteenth year of this magazine, upon the marriages of the sons of God with the daughters of men, I endeavored to show that the opinion maintained by several theologians, believers in revelation, of the present age, of a sexual intercourse of fallen angels with the daughters of men, was derived from the spurious book of Enoch, was a product of Gentile Judaism, and found no exegetical confirmation in the narrative Gen 6: 1-4. Besides, I admitted as possible, and even as probable, that this legend

of Enoch about the *πῑπρεῖα* of the angels, and the punishment they met with, was presupposed in the book of Jude to be known, and there cited, together with other divine retributions, as a fearful warning, that even exalted sinners cannot escape the righteous judgments of God.

As Jude, in his brief epistle, not only cites (v. 14) a prophecy of Enoch, which is found in the spurious book of Enoch, and therefore, in any case, was acquainted with this book, or the traditionary truths contained in it, but also in v. 9, communicates a tradition which can only be found in apocryphal narratives, the supposition is very natural, that he was also acquainted with the legendary narrative of Enoch of the fall of the angels, and their marriages with the daughters of men, and inasmuch as this legend was probably regarded in the circle of his first readers as established truth, made use of it in a hortatory way, as a warning against sins of impurity. But upon a closer examination of the epistle of Jude, I must also remove from this hypothesis about the angels, the support which it claims to derive from this testimony of an apostle. For though this supposition may, from the outset, appear to be very natural and easy, it can lay claim to probability and certainty only then, when the words in which Jude describes the sin of the angels, furnish a distinct reference to that legendary narrative from Enoch. If such a reference cannot be shown to exist in his words, we are not allowed arbitrarily to introduce it, unless we wish to make ourselves guilty of changing interpretation into interpolation. For even though there should be no doubt of the acquaintance of Jude with that tradition from Enoch, still it is very questionable whether he received it as true, and in accordance with scripture, or made use of it *per accommodationem*, as an *argumentum ex concessis*, for hortatory instruction. This question, however, can only be brought to a satisfactory decision, by an unprejudiced exegetical elucidation of the passage in Jude having reference to it, and the kindred one in 2 Pet. 2: 4.

Both passages read as follows:—"For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgment."—2 Pet. 2: 4. "And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains, under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day."—Jude v. 6. That both passages treat of the same fall of the angels, is so generally admitted, as to require

no further proof. The christian church has always, with almost entire unanimity, understood them of the fall of the angels in general, or of the revolt of Satan and his angels from God. Hugo Grotius was the first who cited the fragmentary traditions contained in the book of Enoch as parallels, and interpreted the verses in question as having reference to the sin of the angels mentioned in this apocryphal narrative, who left heaven and descended to earth, for the purpose of lying with the daughters of men. But it is only recently that this interpretation has received more favor, as Hofmann* and others have stated it as positive truth, and maintained with great confidence, that the expressions of Peter and Jude, both in reference to the sin, and also the punishment of the angels, did not at all suit for Satan and his angels. Both points we will now examine.

I. The ἀγγέλων ἀμαρτησάντων of Peter does not state anything as to the character of the transgression, which would strike us as singular, in reference to so peculiar a sin as that mentioned in the book of Enoch: besides, the very general mode of expression made use of, compels us positively to assume, that Peter speaks of the sin of the angels in general, and that he had not any acquaintance with a particular kind of sin by a small number of angels.†

Jude speaks more plainly of this sin in the words: μὴ τερήσαντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, in which the second positive clause defines more accurately the first negative one. By ἀρχή we do not understand their original condition, but "principality," that eminent position in authority and power in heaven, which was assigned them by

*Scriptural Proof, I. p. 374 sq.

†Even Dietlein observes upon 2 Pet. 2: 4, (p. 149) "Peter speaks not as though he thought only of some angels who had fallen at the end of the ἀρχαῖος κόσμος, but as though he knew, with the exception of those who sinned at that time, of no others who had fallen. The absence of the article proves nothing to the contrary. If we translate on this account, "fallen angels," we would be obliged also to translate, "an ancient world." Much more can be said: the very absence of the article shows that Peter had in his mind the angels who had fallen then, as the sum total of the fallen angels in general." But when this learned man maintains, notwithstanding, in another passage, "that Peter joins together as one and the same occurrence, the judicial imprisonment of the angels, with the deluge of Noah," he himself gives up this opinion, incorrectly deduced from v. 9, whilst p. 155 he says: "As to the relation of the judgments mentioned in v. 4 & 5, Peter does not decide whether they belong together, or whether the first belongs to a still more ancient world."

their Creator. As they did not keep their own eminent position, assigned them at their creation, they left, at the same time, their ἴδιον οἰκητήριον.* So likewise man, as he did not keep or maintain his superiority on earth, in consequence of a violation of the divine command, lost his ἴδιον οἰκητήριον i. e. not only Paradise, but also the holy body of innocence, so that he needed a covering for his person, and will continue to need it, until he shall, at some future time, be clothed upon with οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. As we have no other passages of scripture upon the fall of the angels, which can be of any service to us, and as even the revolt of Satan from God, is nowhere in the scriptures recounted, but only assumed, (1 John 3: 8. John 8: 44.) we are, of course, not able to determine anything certain concerning the ἀρχὴ and the ἴδιον οἰκητήριον of the angels: but this much is, notwithstanding, clear, that we are not authorized, by the traditions of the book of Enoch, to interpret the expression ἀπολιπεῖν τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, of a descent of the angels to earth, for the purpose of defiling themselves with women. When, therefore, Hofmann (p. 377) remarks: "it suits well to say of those angels that they deserted their own habitation, *exchanged for another, the natural mode of existence peculiar to them as spirits*; but would not at all suit as a representation of the fall of Satan," we must reject this interpretation as gratuitous interpolation. For the desertion of their ἴδιον οἰκητήριον does not include within it "a change into a different kind of creature," as Hofmann paraphrases the words quoted.

It is thought that authority is found for this assumption in the seventh verse of Jude: "even as Sodom and Gomorrha, and the cities about them, in like manner, (τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον τούτοις) giving themselves over to fornication, and going after strange flesh, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire." Here, according to Hofmann (p. 376) Jude says, "that the Sodomites, like them, indulged in fornication, and went after strange flesh. But as to the comparison of the Sodomites with these angels, it can be found only to exist, if the words τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον τούτοις have reference, not to those degenerate christians whom Jude subsequently

* According to 2 Pet. 2: 4; Jude 6, angels sinned inasmuch as (from inflated self-exaltation and restless ambition, cf. 1 Tim. 3: 6. Jas. 4: 6. Matt. 4: 9.) faithlessly trifling with the dignity of their original position, they withdrew from the sphere of life and official position properly belonging to them. J. T. Beck, Die Christl. Lehr-Wissenschaft. Th. I. (1841) p. 252.

describes, but to the angels before mentioned. But scarcely any individual will be found to doubt that this is the natural, nay, as the author adds, ὁμοίως μέντοι καὶ οὗτοι, the only possible reference of τούτοις. The Sodomites changed the natural sexual intercourse, for that which was against nature, just like these angels, who perverted the relation between spirits and men, into an unnatural relationship, and had intercourse with that flesh for which they had not been created." But even though τούτοις cannot be correctly referred to degenerate christians, it does not at all follow, therefore, that this *pronomen* must necessarily have reference to the angels mentioned in v. 6, as though no other were conceivable. For Calvin thus interprets: *quum dicit, vicinas urbes in similem cum illis modum scortatos esse, hoc non ad Israelitas et angelos, sed mutuo ad Sodomam et Gomorrham refero. Nec obstat, quod pronomen τούτοις masculinum: nam ad incolas potius quam ad loca Judas respexit.** Huther also quite impartially observes: "τούτοις can be referred quite grammatically to Sodom or Gomorrha, (or per synesin to the inhabitants of those cities, so: Krebs, Calv., Hornej., Vorst, and others.") "But with this construction," he adds, "the sin of Sodom and Gomorrha would be only alluded to indirectly." A thought perfectly inconclusive, which may be used with much greater propriety against the reference of τούτοις to the angels. For with this construction, the sin of the angels would also be given only indirectly. If we inquire, however, which is the more probable, whether Jude had indirect reference to the sin of Sodom and Gomorrha, or the transgression of the angels, a decision in favor of the first, and against the second, will without doubt be made, when we consider that the sin of the angels is nowhere described in any part of the Old or New Testament, whilst on the other hand, that of Sodom is so explicitly stated for all subsequent times, in Gen. 19: 4, sq., that this sin of the flesh has received the name of sodomy, and the same kind of transgression must be assumed for the other cities of the vale of Siddim, (Gomorrha, Admah and Zeboim, Deut. 29: 22.) not only because they were destroyed by the same judgment, but can be taken for granted of Gomorrha, according to Gen. 18: 20, and must be also of the two others, in accordance with Lev. 18: 22-24. If Jude had had the πόρνεα of the angels, mentioned in the traditions

* Cf. The entirely similar construction, Luke 10: 13; and Winer's Gram. of N. T. Idioms, § 47, p. 416, 5th ed.

of Enoch, in his mind, he would have expressed himself more definitely, as he has done in v. 9, concerning the traditionary statement of the contest of Michael with the devil, and in v. 11, about the predictions of Enoch.

From this consideration alone, we are compelled to refer τὸν ὁμοιον τρόπον τούτοις to Sodom and Gomorrha, and to think that Jude knows nothing about the sodomitic impurity of the angels, but only asserts that the neighboring cities (viz, Admah and Zeboim,) committed whoredom in the same way with Sodom and Gomorrha. This view of the passage in question is also required by the context, and thus shown to be the only admissible one. Three instances of transgression which brought destruction with them, are held up before christians: *a*) The unbelief of the Israelites, which brought upon them the judgment of death in the wilderness, *b*) The transgression of the angels, for which they are confined in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the day of judgment, *c*) The sin of Sodom, Gomorrha, and the neighboring cities, which were destroyed by fire from heaven. These three cases Jude has arranged neither in the order of time, nor in simple juxtaposition with each other, but he has appended the second case (the sin of the angels) to the first (the unbelief of the Israelites) by the particle τε, corresponding to the Latin *que*, denoting something additional;* on the other hand, he has placed the sin of Sodom, &c., by the introduction of the particle ὡς in v. 7, as correlative to the ὅτι of v. 5, as a second principal case, in coördinate position with the transgression of Israel and the angels as the first great instance.† From this logical connection of the three cases, it is clear that Jude made choice of his examples with reference to the sins of the false teachers he was opposing, and he arranged them in such a way, that the two prominent sins of the false teachers should be designated, on the one side, the τὸν μόνον δεσπότην καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀρνεῖσθαι (v. 4) or the κυρίοτητα ἀθετεῖν δόξας δὲ βλασφημεῖν (v. 8) on the other side, the τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν χάριν μετατιθέναι εἰς ἀσελγείαν (v. 4) and the σάρκα μιαίνειν (v. 8), and the judgments of God against both be exhibited. The reason

* Cf. Winer's Grammar, p. 516.

† Huther upon v. 7, says: ὡς is here not to be explained with Semler, Arnaud, and others, by *similiter*, (or with Luther by "as also") nor to be united with ὁμοίως of v. 8; it is much more dependent upon ὑπόμνησαι βούλομαι of v. 5, and put in coördinate relationship with the ὅτι immediately following: it corresponds with the German *wie* as synonymous with *dass*.

for the citation by the author of two cases, (the people of Israel and the angels) to represent the first kind of transgression, may be found in the fact, that the false teachers denied both God as *μόνον δεσπότην*, and also Christ as *κύριον*, and by this denial made themselves guilty of a double sin, inasmuch as they, like the Israelites, committed sin against *τὸν κύριον* (cf. *ὁ κύριος* = *יהוה* v. 5), and like the angels against *μόνον δεσπότην*, God the Father. If this be the relation of these instances of the divine judgments, thus explained, it will be impossible to refer *τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον τούτοις* back to the angels, and ever to charge them with Sodomitic impurity.

The expressions also of our epistles, as to the punishment of the angels who transgressed, do not compel us to adopt such an opinion. The defenders of that view, it is true, bring forward as conclusive, "the difference between the expressions concerning the condition of Satan and his angels, and those in reference to that of the spirits intended by Peter and Jude." Of the angels who sinned it is said: "God did not spare them, but placed them below in the profoundest abyss in chains of darkness, where they are confined until the ultimate determination of their destiny." This "is far different from that which is said of Satan, who loves darkness, and holds it as his domain (Col. 1: 13), or of the *πνευματικοὶς τῆς πονηρίας*, who are *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*. (Eph. 6: 12)."* There is manifestly a difference in these expressions, inasmuch as the passages cited in reference to Satan and evil spirits, treat of their position as regards the present world of mankind, of the sway they exercise upon the earth; on the contrary, Peter and Jude speak of the transgression of the angels, and of the state of punishment into which they have in consequence fallen. But this difference would have the conclusiveness as a proof which is claimed for it, only in case the destined punishment of the angels involved a condition or such a mode of existence for them, as would exclude them from exerting any agency among men: if the strong assertion of Hofmann, that "history has reference to this present world, he who is confined beneath in chains, has no part in it—is separated from it," were unquestionable truth. But against this, very weighty considerations present themselves. That the chains of darkness (*σεῖραι ζόφου*) and confinement in everlasting chains under darkness (*δεσμοῖς αἰδίους ὑπὸ ζόφου τηρεῖσθαι*) are not to be

* Hofmann Scriptural Proof, I., 375, 376.

taken so strictly in a material and local sense, can be seen even from Sap. 17: 2, 17. Even Dietlein, who thinks we must understand the chains of darkness in a local, corporeal sense, and who speaks of chains "lying prepared in that place (Tartarus) and correspondent with its nature," still considers it necessary to add: "not of such a locality and of such a confinement in this place, as would require an exclusion from or inability of motion through the space occupied by us." This limitation, therefore, which the interpretation of these words in a local and corporeal sense requires, if we do not wish to fall into inconsistent and unscriptural suppositions, itself satisfactorily shows, that these subjects and states cannot be explained in accordance with the ideas of space and matter we have on this earth, but by the chains of darkness, we are to understand only chains or bonds which the darkness (ὁ ζόφος) imposes upon those who have it as their abode. Even the word *ταρταρώσας* used by Peter, does not at all imply a removal to a place, which would prevent all active agency upon earth. *Ταρταρώω* can indeed mean, to cast into Tartarus, or "to make an inmate of Tartarus," but also merely to remove into the condition of Tartarus. The scriptures frequently make mention of heaven and hell (ἁδης, ἄβυσσος—for *τάρταρος* is not found in the New Testament, but only in Job 41: 24) *localiter*, so that heaven is represented as being above and hell as beneath the earth, but not unfrequently they use both ideas figuratively to designate those places of existence, or spheres of life, between which, existence and life upon earth forms an intermediate place, so that by the word heaven is expressed the realms of divine, godlike, glorious and happy life, (e. g. Eph. 2: 6; Phil. 3: 20.) and by hell, a state of existence without God, deprived of all divine influences. (1 Sam. 2: 6; Ps. 18: 6; Matt. 18: 9 et al.)

Heaven is not only the kingdom of light, but the sphere of divine life and happiness; hell not only the kingdom of darkness, but also the condition of misery and condemnation. By this twofold mode of expression, a one-sided idealism, which volatilizes all reality, is as much prevented, as a no less one-sided materialism and gross realism. By the use of the words heaven and hell in a local sense, space is fixed as a reality, which exists not only for our earth, or indeed only for our thought trammelled by connection with the body, but for the whole world, for all the creatures of heaven and earth, yes, so far as space has been created with the world as something necessary to it, also for God, as Creator and Governor

of the world. By the metaphorical use of both ideas, on the contrary, the misconception is avoided, as though the material limits of space which exist for this earth and its creatures, also subsisted for the world of spirits, as though heaven and hell were material spaces, which encompass and enclose the spiritual world, in the same way in which the inhabitants of the earth are encompassed and enclosed by space here upon the earth. Whosoever therefore does not desire to extend to the whole universe the idea of a material substance, confining everything to its mass, which holds good only in reference to this earth; whoever, with Hofmann, understands by heaven the condition of supramundane life and activity, or more correctly expressed, a life and agency extending beyond the limits of time and space, as known on earth, becomes guilty of a logical inconsistency, when he conceives of hell as "a beneath," from which no connection with our earth, nor agency upon its creatures by the spirits there found is possible. It is true, Hofmann does not say "whoever is beneath," but "whoever is beneath in chains," has no part in this earth's history. But as even material fetters and earthly bonds, by and of themselves, do not exclude the idea of all motion and activity, but only imply an obstruction of perfectly free motion, and a limitation of voluntary activity, what justification can be found for a representation so grossly material, as is the case in that conception of hell, as though it were a castle enclosed by stone walls, iron gates and bolts, and provided with fetters, to which the sinning angels were linked for eternity. Certainly not thus the scriptures. For when they speak of the gates of hell (*πύλαι τοῦ ᾗδου*), they mean only diabolical powers, who shall exhibit their enmity against, but not triumph over the church of Christ (Matt. 16: 18.) And as, notwithstanding, in the visions of the Apocalypse, the key to the bottomless pit is given to Satan, as a star already fallen from heaven to earth, and the pit itself is opened, so that the infernal army, with their king, the *ἄγγελος τῆς ἀβύσσου*, who is called in Hebrew Abaddon, in Greek Apollyon, i. e., destroyer, ascends to the earth to torment those men who have not the seal of God on their foreheads.—Rev. 9: 1–11. Even these testimonies satisfactorily prove, that the infernal spirits have great influence in the history of the kingdom of God, which exists upon the earth.

As a general matter, we should not make the opposite localities of heaven and hell an impassable gulf for wicked angels, so long as it is a disputed point, where, in accordance

with the Scriptures, we are to assume the place of their abode to be, for even in very recent times, some place them in the region of the air immediately surrounding the earth, others in hell, and again, others in heaven.* And in fact, each of these views can be sustained by passages from Scripture; the first by Eph. 2: 2, where the domain of Satan is called ἐξουσία τοῦ ἁέρος, and the interpretation of Hahn, (p. 328) "the airy," i. e. "the power like the air," by which individual wicked spirits might be designated as not purely spiritual, but aeri-form beings, i. e. those similar to spirits, will find approval with difficulty: the second, with less probability, by Luke 8: 31, and Matt. 8: 29, as these passages only prove that the Abyssus is the destined place of punishment for the wicked angels; with more, by Rev. 9: 11, in accordance with which the king of the infernal hosts, Abaddon, dwells in the Abyssus: the third, finally, by Job 1: 6, and particularly Rev. 12: 7, according to which, Satan with his angels, in consequence of a contest with the archangel Michael, is excluded from heaven. In accordance with these passages, each one of these views must contain a portion of truth, but no one of them alone can be defended as the doctrine of Scripture. The scriptural doctrine can be attained, only by uniting these separate, though connected and supplemental statements, into a complete and consistent whole.

As the scriptures merely take for granted the fall of the wicked spirits by transgression, and that of Satan as having occurred ἀπ' ἀρχῆς *from the beginning* (1 John 3: 8.) so they also give no further revelations concerning the immediate consequences of their rebellion against God, and the state of punishment into which they were thereby brought, but they treat mostly of the agency of the devil upon the human race. And even in reference to this latter point, the Old Testament, in accordance with the paedagogical character of this preparatory scheme of revelation, gives only isolated hints. Satan himself appears first in the book of Job (1: 6; 2: 1), which had its origin in the time of Solomon, as accuser of the good before God, and subsequently in Zachariah 3: 1, as the accuser of the high priest, Joshua, before the angel of the Lord, when he draws upon himself the curse of God. It is only after the appearance of the Son of God upon earth, that the kingdom and power of Satan are more clearly revealed to us. After having in vain tempted and endeavored to mislead

* Cf. G. L. Hahn. *The Theology of the N. T.* 1854. I. p. 332.

Christ, upon his death, which was the triumph over sin death and hell, judgment is passed upon the world, with which the casting out of Satan begins.* After the victorious exaltation of Christ to the right hand of the Father, a war arises in heaven between Michael and his angels, against the dragon and his angels, in which these latter are defeated, and the great dragon, the old serpent, who is called the devil and Satan, is cast down to the earth with his angels, and "their places are found no more in heaven."—Rev. 12: 7–9. But being driven out of heaven, Satan descends to earth in great wrath, and persecutes the church of Christ with all the powers and resources of darkness, because he knows that but a short time is allowed him.—Rev. 12: 12. For upon the appearance of the Lord in his glory, for the completion of his church upon earth, the dragon, the old serpent, is bound by an angel and closely confined in the bottomless pit for a thousand years, and only after the termination of this period, he is released from his prison for a short time, for the purpose of filling up the measure of his sins, by seducing all the heathen, Gog and Magog, into a final contest against the saints, and of bringing upon himself a complete overthrow, and everlasting punishment in the lake of fire and brimstone.—Rev. 20: 1–3, 7–10.

From this brief summary of the expressions of Scripture, it is at once clear, that the death of Christ, as the completion of the work of redemption, forms a turning point in the position of evil spirits with reference to God, and the divine government. Until Christ, Satan's power is victorious, after the death and resurrection of Christ, it is successfully opposed and continually limited in an increasing degree, until its final and complete overthrow. This contest, however, which John contemplates as a war of Michael with the dragon, is not to be looked at as limited to a particular point of time, but continues as long as the completion of the work of redemption in the *ecclesia militans*. It commences at that moment when Christ on the cross uttered that word *τετέλεσται*, "it is finished,"

* Cf. John 12: 31; *νῦν ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἐκβληθήσεται ἔξω*, where the future should be noted. Cf. also with this, John 16: 11, and Luke 10: 18, where Jesus, whilst the seventy disciples were casting out devils, saw Satan falling as lightning from heaven, i. e., saw in spirit the speedy overthrow of Satan's extended sway. The opposite interpretation of Hahn (342) "I saw Satan coming down with the rapidity of lightning from heaven to earth, to further your work," finds no confirmation for this signification of *πίπτειν* in Rev. 9: 1, and besides, is in evident opposition to the context.

and ends with the visible return of Christ in the clouds of heaven, when his church, with her redemption completed, shall have fought the contest of her Lord (Col. 1: 24), and shall be removed, with her head, into the kingdom of glory. Then will Satan, with his infernal auxiliaries, be confined in the bottomless pit (ἄβυσσος), and his place in heaven no more be found, then his authority and power in heaven and on earth will have reached its termination, until the period of the final judgment, when he will undertake yet one last contest against the church triumphant of Christ, but meet with a total overthrow, and be consigned to eternal punishment in the fires of hell. It follows also, in the next place, from this, that the devil with his angels will continue in heaven until shortly before the commencement of the millenium; therefore, christians are obliged to fight πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις (Eph. 6: 12).^{*} Notwithstanding, however, that heaven is the domain, whence they exert their power over the earth, still they belong already to hell, and in spite of their power, they are already bound with the chains of darkness, so that there is no discrepancy between 2 Pet. 2: 4; Jude 6, and the passages having reference to Satan and his angels. For the kingdom of Satan and his associates is the region of darkness, ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους (Col. 1: 13), and the πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις are only κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τούτου (Eph. 6: 12) but darkness has no communion with light. The kingdom of God, as the kingdom of light, stands in exclusive contrast with the kingdom of the devil as the kingdom of darkness. To this darkness, evil spirits since their rebellion against God, the source of light, have been consigned, and confined in it with everlasting fetters, because they continue their hostility against God and everything good. That their exclusion from the kingdom of light, and personal intercourse with God, does not first take place at the end of the world, but had its commencement immediately after their revolt from God, follows not only from our scriptural ideas of the divine holiness and justice, but may also be inferred, *per analogiam*, from the consequences which are revealed to us in Scripture, as consequent upon the fall of Adam.

Just as our first parents, immediately after their violation

^{*} τὰ ἐπουράνια can mean here only *heaven*, as Eph. 1: 3, 20; 2: 6; 3: 10; not merely the region of the air, but in consequence of the indefiniteness and many meanings of the word heaven, chap. 2: 2, where the wicked one is called ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ ἄερος "the prince of the power of the air," is readily united with it.

of God's command, were punished with death, and all men are confined forever in the bonds of death, if they do not allow themselves to be delivered by Christ: so likewise the sinning angels, with their chief, fell, immediately after their transgression, into darkness, (τὸ σκότος, ὁ ζόφος) and with it into hell (ἡ ἄβυσσος, ὁ τάρταρος), only with this difference, that they have no redemption to expect, but only the judgment of everlasting condemnation.* But just as men, after their fall, did not immediately die, and were not at once buried in Scheol, but only excluded from personal intercourse with God in Paradise, and continued to live upon the earth to have time for repentance; so Satan and his angels were not at once thrust out of heaven and confined in the bottomless pit, but time and space were allowed them to fill up the measure of their sins, and to become ripe for destruction. The punishment of the wicked begins with Christ, with whom, in general, the κρίσις of the whole world, the complete separation of light and darkness begins, and continues throughout the whole period, between the first and second advent of Christ, until the great day of judgment, on which the κατάκρισις will be completed and closed for all eternity. The more, however, in this gradual progressing κρίσις, the light triumphs over the darkness, the more the accusers of men before God, are overcome by the blood of the Lamb, the more the salvation, and the power, and the kingdom of our God, and the dominion of his Christ is increased, (Rev. 12: 10) in the same degree is the authority and power of Satan limited, the more is he excluded from heaven, so that at last, he has power only to attack and persecute, but not to destroy the church of Christ on earth, because concealed from his persecutions in the wilderness (i. e. the heathen world) and there "nourished from the face of the serpent," unable to accomplish anything against those who hold fast the word and testimony of God.—Rev. 12: 12–17. When, therefore, Satan is represented (Rev. 20) as bound only at the second coming of the Lord, it does not in any degree stand in opposition to the "everlasting chains" of the wicked angels, for the simple reason that here the language has not only reference to his being bound and cast into the bottomless pit, but to such a confinement in it, as will entirely

* Nowhere do the scriptures, even in the most distant way, intimate, that God has had compassion upon, and instituted means of grace for the fallen angels, as he has done for men. Christ does not receive angels, but the descendants of Abraham.—(Heb. 2: 16.) Twisten Dog. I. p. 336.

prevent him, during the continuance of his imprisonment, from deceiving men. For the angel does not limit himself to the mere binding and casting of him into the bottomless pit, but it is also said, "and he shut him up and set a seal upon him." (Rev. 20: 3.) This confinement, depriving him totally of his power, is only the completion of his imprisonment in darkness, the chains of which he has carried since the time of his revolt from God; only the most acute stage of that imprisoned condition, in which he has been, and ever will be confined, until the final judgment.

The consequences of the fall of the angels have been summarily stated, in a very conclusive manner by J. T. Beck, as follows: "Therefore, in consequence of their voluntary revolt from God, they have been given up to the imprisoning power of a limitless darkness, to the indissoluble bonds of an ever increasing alienation from God, where the life-dispensing, holy power of God is ever far removed, and where, therefore, desolation and uncleanness dwell, so that they, never occupying *as their home* the kingdom of light, shall never be freed from the profound night within them, the heavy weight of sin ever sinking them deeper, and only have their influence and sphere of action, in the realms of darkness as their habitation, therefore also especially in the darkness of sin in this world, and in individual men (1 Pet. v. 8) until the decisive and final judgment shall consign them to a burning lake of torment.—(Rev. 20: 10, 14; Matth. 8: 29; 25: 41.) As, therefore, the sway and agency of wicked spiritual powers in this sinful world, as a part of the region of darkness, follows quite naturally, from the fact that these beings, by a voluntary fall from their originally exalted state, *have been banished, by a necessity of their nature, into darkness as their peculiar sphere of life and province of influence, until the day of judgment*: so also, it follows that their activity is concentrated in the contest between light and darkness upon this sinful earth, in which the duration of their own existence, and the limits of their own territory are at stake, and finally it results as a further consequence, that upon the earth, in accordance with the entire desolation and impurity of their lives, deserted and unclean places are their appropriate haunts. Matth. 12: 43, 45; 8: 28, 31; Luke 8: 27; Rev. 18: 2; cf. Isaiah 13: 21; 34: 14; Jer. 50: 39. Twisten has also explained clearly and strikingly the condition of darkness and misery, into which the wicked angels have fallen by their revolt from God. p. 338–40. He says: "Of this condition of

darkness and misery already commenced, joined with such a limitation of their power, that they are prevented from frustrating the divine purposes, and from escaping from that impending total exclusion from all approach to the kingdom of light and grace, evangelical theologians understand also, what is said in 2 Pet. 2: 4, and Jude 6, of the chains of darkness, and their being cast into hell (Tartarus) in which they are confined until the day of judgment.*

Entirely gratuitous, however, is the charge of artfulness which Huther brings against these explanations, with this further remark: "They are so much the more unsatisfactory as no explanation is given how it happens, that with the exception of these two epistles, which can only lay claim to a deuterocanonical character, there is no reference to any such punishment of the angels.† The explanation of this circumstance is found simply in this, that the Scriptures, in general, do not design to give us more information about the world of spirits than is necessary for the working out of our salvation. For this the statement is sufficient, that the wicked in heaven and upon earth have received punishment from God, that for the devil and his angels everlasting fire is also prepared.

* How the older theologians correctly interpreted the chains of darkness, is best seen in the explanation of Ode, commentar. de Angelis. Traj. ad Rhen. 1755, p. 668: "Sunt itaque 1. *catenae peccatorum*, quibus ita ligati sunt, ut, cum ab initio peccaverint et in congenita veritate non perstiterint, postea, quoniam in iis non est veritas, cupiditate cujuslibet malitiae, desiderio perdendi homines, amore loquendi mendacium et peccato operam dandi, veluti vinculis captivi teneantur constricti: vid. Joh. 8, 44; 1 Petr. 5, 8, et 1 Joh. 3, 8; 2. *catenae pravae conscientiae*, quae, vicem Dei Judicis scelerumque Vindicis sustinens atque agens, eos ob peccata jugiter accusat, crimina exprobrat et poenas minatur graves. Ad eas autem accusationes, exprobationes minasque horrescunt, et ab iis sese cogitationibus veluti vinculis exsolvere sese atque liberare nequeunt Jac. 2, 19. coll. cum Jud. vs. 6; 3. *catenae divinae potentiae*, quae ab una parte daemones velut captivos in tenebroso carcere detinet servatque ad supplicium aeternae condemnationis 2 Petr. 2, 4, et ab altera parte eos ita ad obsequium adstrictos habet, ut pro arbitrio et desiderio suo, absque Dei permissione, nil quidpiam in terris moliri et in homines aut animalia efficere valeant: vid. Job. 1 et 2. 1 Reg. 22, 21. 22. et Mat. 8, 31. 32.; 4. *catenae judicii divini*, quibus constricti a beata Dei communione sunt seclusi, separati a consortio bonorum angelorum, traditi propriae malitiae, nec unquam restituendi in gratiam Domini sui, a quo turpiter et malitiose defecerunt: ut adeo condemnati nil nisi amarissimos cruciatus saevissimosque animi dolores habeant exspectandos in illo aeterno, in quod in fine seculorum conjicientur, ignis atque sulphuris stagno sec. Apoc. xx: 10. coll. cum Mat. 25, 41."

† Crit. Com. upon the Ep. of Peter and Jude, Gött. 1852, p. 206.

Matt. xxv. 41. But the passages quoted do not, by any means, stand in an isolated manner in Scripture, so that we would be justified in getting rid of the doctrine they teach, by a reference to the deuterocanonical character of the two epistles. They have, on the contrary, a firm canonical basis even in the Old Testament in the grand prophecy of Isaiah, proclaiming in comprehensive universality the day of judgment and redemption 24: 21 where it is expressly stated: "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord will punish the host of the high ones that are on high (*i. e.* the spiritual powers of heaven,) and the kings of the earth upon the earth, and they shall be gathered together as prisoners are gathered in the pit, and shall be shut up in the prison, and after many days shall they be visited." Here we find the grand outlines in reference to the binding and punishment of the wicked angels, which Peter and Jude in the New Testament have expressed more clearly and definitely. It is not necessary, therefore, for the explanation of these apostolical exhortations to introduce expressions of similar import from the book of Enoch, as these themselves had their origin in that prophecy of Isaiah, and cannot elucidate the apostolical statements, but being clouded by the mixture of the false with the true can only divert the mind from the clear perception of the simple and unadulterated truth of Scripture.

ARTICLE III.

BEMINISCENCES OF LUTHERAN CLERGYMEN.

XXV.

JOHN PETER GOERTNER.

"Whatever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might, for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave, whither thou goest."

WHEN death summons the aged there is, in their departure, however deplored, a certain acquiescence. We feel that life's purposes have been accomplished, its mission fulfilled, its trials are over, its journey ended! But when the young, just entering upon active duty, or in the vigor of manhood,

are stricken down, there is no consolation but that of submission. There would be no alleviation to the pain that is experienced, no drop of sweetness mingled in the bitter cup of the bereaved, did we not, as Christians, realize that every occurrence of life shares in the superintendence of the Most High, an infinitely wise and good Being, the righteous Governor of the universe, who seeth not as man seeth, and who has promised to cause all things to work for good to those who love him. In his empire nothing is overlooked, nothing is forgotten. The blessed Redeemer has told us that not a sparrow falls to the ground without his notice, and that even the hairs of the head are all numbered. We cannot always tell the meaning of God's dark dispensations, but what we know not now, we shall know hereafter. Such was the feeling produced by the premature removal of this devoted and faithful watchman from the walls of Zion. In the midst of his usefulness, at the commencement of his career, when his services were so much needed, when his prospects for doing good were so promising, he was taken. God saw that his young servant's labors on earth were done, and he called him away to another sphere of action! He who gave and who took away, has men in reserve for all the work that is yet to be done.

Thirty-four years ago, the subject of our sketch was graduated at one of our Northern Colleges, with more than ordinary promise. Endowed with a fine intellect, which had been improved by culture, he was also distinguished for his noble nature, a kind heart and an upright character. By all, his abilities were acknowledged. The pride and hope of fond parents, beloved by a large circle of devoted friends, the rewards of life beckoned him onward! Whose prospects appeared more unclouded, whose aspirations for the future more brilliant? He was surrounded by everything that seemed to render life desirable! But infinitely brighter were the hopes he cherished, and better far than all the world could offer, was the course of life he had marked out for himself. For already in the unsullied freshness of youth, he had consecrated himself to the service of his Creator, and the work of the ministry was that in which he felt himself called to labor. With an unquenchable ardor, he commenced the necessary preparations, and was, in due time, invested with the sacred office. Full of devotion and zeal, he entered upon his duties, but his career was soon terminated, his labors were speedily brought

to a close. He was licensed to preach the gospel in 1824; in 1829 he had joined the congregation of the dead!

We are not surprised that the church mourned with unfeigned sorrow the early departure of this champion of the truth, who possessed a combination of qualities which admirably fitted him for usefulness. If his life had been spared, he would have left his mark upon the church. He was a man of eminent piety, excellent sense, of trained mind, refined manners, and of a gentle and affectionate disposition. We have been told that his ability in the pulpit was very great. He was considered by his cotemporaries, in this respect, unusually gifted. He had the power of persuasion, and this is eloquence. He carried his audience with him by the enchantment of his winning words, and the force of his honest truth. Whenever he preached he made a deep and an abiding impression. Dr. Schaeffer, whose pupil he had for a season been, says "that he was a sound and instructive preacher, whose sermons were indicative of a strong and disciplined mind, and a theology, pure, familiar and effectual. He sought not to entertain, but to edify. The tendency of his matter and manner, was to interest the understanding, and to engage the heart." Of his love for the work to which he had devoted himself, his regular pulpit performances, and his intercourse with the people, gave constant proof. How he

"Watched them night and day,
And reared and nourished them, till fit to be
Transplanted to the Paradise above!"

His concern for the spiritual welfare of his fellow-men was continually manifested. He was anxious to do good, to make others acquainted with that religion, by whose principles he was guided, and which he had found by experience, were adapted to every circumstance of life. An inspiring influence he everywhere excited. It needed no effort to make his character felt. It commanded respect by the unaffected dignity of his personal appearance, and by the untarnished integrity of his life. All recognized in him the sincere and devoted christian. Love was the grand characteristic of his piety.

"Burning with love to souls
Unquenchable, and mindful still of his
Great charge and vast responsibility."

he labored with humble perseverance in that important station assigned him by Providence, with the object ever in view, to which, in his youth, he had consecrated his energies, his ef-

forts, his talents, his all. A letter, now lying on our table from one who was brought into frequent intercourse with him, says "that he was one of the best specimens of a *man* and a *Christian*, and gave promise of great usefulness. He was universally respected and beloved by all who knew him."

John Peter Goertner was born at Canajoharie, N. Y., on the 26th of April, 1797. The following month he was solemnly dedicated to God in baptism, the Rev. Dr. Gross, a man of great learning and piety, officiating upon the occasion, who earnestly implored heaven's richest benediction upon the young immortal. Under the care of his worthy parents, he early acquired, not only habits of industry, but was trained up also in that which is of the utmost moment, deeply affecting our temporal careers and everlasting interests—the principles of a sound faith. His early life was characterized by a love of virtue, a detestation of vice, and a serious deportment, which subsequently influenced him to adopt the ministry of reconciliation as his profession. From his childhood he seems to have been the subject of religious impressions.

Although the immediate neighborhood in which he lived at the time furnished few opportunities for mental culture, yet, by his assiduity and careful application of every occurring advantage, his strong and expanding mind overcame many difficulties, and afforded him numerous refined enjoyments to which others, in a similar position, do not often aspire. Engaged in the laborious pursuits of agriculture, and, for a time, in the more varied transactions of a mercantile life, he still cherished a laudable desire for gaining knowledge, and was diligent in the improvement of his time. As he experienced more and more in his own heart the value of religion, and saw the spiritual destitution that prevailed in the land, his convictions became stronger that it was his duty to prepare himself for the gospel ministry. His arrangements were accordingly made for this purpose, and renouncing many worldly advantages which offered, he left his father's abode the day he reached his twentieth year for Schenectady. He entered the Grammar School of Union College, then under the care of Rev. D. H. Barnes, who says, "I soon found that Mr. Goertner was a young man of unusual strength of character; ere long he was the pattern of my school and the admiration of all his acquaintances." In this new relation, he seemed to lose none of his interest in the subject of religion. The word of God was his study and delight. Every circumstance around him, rendered him more

thoughtful, and caused him to rejoice with increasing joy that he had been enabled to seek and to find the Saviour.

In fifteen months after his admission to the Preparatory Department, he entered the Freshmen Class of Union College; and during his whole collegiate course, it is said, he was distinguished for "his diligence, his progress in study, his excellent conduct and Christian integrity."

He was graduated in the autumn of 1822, with Drs. Spencer, Fuller, Woods, Savage, Cannon, and others, who have since exercised an influence in Church and State. The subject of his oration at the public commencement, was the Reformation of Luther.

In October, 1822, he entered, as a theological student, Hartwick Seminary, of which the Rev. Dr. Hazelius was at the time Principal. Here he remained one year, when he removed to the city of New York, with the view of completing his studies under the direction of F. C. Schaeffer, D. D., whom he likewise aided in his official duties. The written testimony of his friend and preceptor is, "that he declared with all the fervor of pious eloquence, the counsel of God, and gave the most edifying manifestations of his improvement and promise as a minister of the gospel. Justly did he excite warm expectations in the hearts of many zealous laborers in our Lutheran Zion."

At the close of the winter, the dangerous illness of a younger brother called him home. He arrived in time to minister to him the consolations of the gospel, and to witness his peaceful departure. Only a short time before, he had also followed to the grave two beloved sisters, who in less than the space of one month had exchanged this world for a better. The chastening power of the Lord was preparing his thoughts and fitting him more fully for "the inheritance of the saints in light." He was about this period visited with some admonitory symptoms, which strengthened him in the conviction that pulmonary disease had invaded his system, and would shorten his days. But he said, "as the Lord will; may I be diligent while it is day."

He was received as a licentiate of the N. Y. Ministerium, at its meeting in 1824. The report on his application enumerates the important branches in which he was examined, and declares the result of "a close examination to have been highly satisfactory." The destitute portions of our church in many interesting sections of the country, had made a deep impression upon his mind, and prompted him to make a labo-

rious missionary tour within the bounds of the New York Ministerium. He immediately entered upon the work, visiting parts of New Jersey, and many of the western and northern counties of the State of New York, and also our brethren of the faith scattered over the territory of the British Provinces in Canada. He was engaged in this work for one year, and the fruits were rich. He had abundant reason to rejoice that his labors in the Lord were not in vain. The report of the missionary committee, detailing some of the results of his efforts, and often perilous labors and the prosperous congregations, which bless him as their best friend on earth, indicate the value of his pious service.

Having now received and accepted an earnest invitation from the congregation at Johnstown, Montgomery County, N. Y., Mr. Goertner was installed as pastor of the church, January 3, 1827, Rev. Drs. Hazelius and Lintner performing the services on the occasion. Thus called to a portion of the Lord's vineyard where the waste places required the hand of a prudent and diligent cultivator, he entered upon his duties with the qualifications and disposition of one who considered it his duty, as an evangelical messenger, to give himself wholly to the work, that his profiting might appear to all; that of him it was required to take heed unto himself and his doctrine, that in doing this he might save himself and the souls whom God had given him in charge. "Appointed," says one who was well acquainted with the condition of things, "to superintend a congregation literally crumbling into ruins, he collected the loose fragments of which it was composed, and though his short ministration did not permit him to complete the work which he had undertaken to perform, yet it obtained a degree of consistency which was astonishing, if not unparalleled. Impressed with a knowledge of the immense responsibility which was connected with his office as a minister of the gospel, he left no means unemployed which might produce a change in the unpropitious affairs of the church which had been entrusted to his care. Admired, respected and beloved, he obtained an ascendancy over the hearts of his hearers, which could only be effected by a sincere desire to promote their eternal interest. He fearlessly presented to them the solemn and important truths of the gospel he was commissioned to preach." The inspiring themes which engaged his attention in the pulpit, were those cardinal doctrines of our holy religion, in which the most momentous interests are involved. He acted as if he felt that

great issues were at stake, as if he thought the blood of souls would be found on his skirts, if he failed to declare the whole counsel of God. His prospects in this field of labor were most promising. A change in the congregation was soon apparent, and a marked interest manifested in the subject of religion. His pastorate was one of constantly increasing delight to him. His mild and genial temper qualified him for usefulness, and his active and social character gave him influence in every circle in which he moved. "Not only among the members of his own congregation," says a competent witness, "was he loved and venerated, but all who witnessed his judicious exertions, and became acquainted with his amiable virtues, and saw the effects of his labors, *now* bore testimony to the valuable character, the excellent standing and salutary influence of a *Lutheran* pastor."

But his career was a brief one. His health soon began to fail. In a few months it was readily seen that a disease generally fatal in its effects, was preying upon his vitals. Often was he interrupted in his ministerial engagements, to which he was so fondly devoted. In obedience, therefore, to the best medical advice, he was induced to withdraw for a season from his official labors, and to try the effects of foreign travel for the resuscitation of his impaired constitution. Sensible of his true condition, and apprehensive that he might never be able to resume his pastoral duties, on the eve of his departure for distant lands, he delivered to the people of his charge a most impressive discourse from the words: "Only let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel of Christ: that whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the gospel." This was a most affecting scene, a most trying occasion. There stood the youthful pastor, in that sacred desk, from which as God's ambassador, he had so often presented the divine message, bidding those adieu who were connected with him by dearest ties, and for whose souls he yearned with a most tender love. When he had spoken of the fond hopes which animated their hearts at the reflection of again being permitted to assemble in the earthly sanctuary, and to raise their united songs of prayer and praise to Jehovah, he continued, "still whilst a *doubt* of such an event remains upon our minds, I would improve the opportunity whilst it is enjoyed; and whilst, *perhaps*, I am standing upon the utmost limits of my official ministrations in this temple of the Lord, to tread back the

course, over which I have travelled with you; to review the character of those doctrines which I have been permitted to inculcate and once more enforce them upon your *hearts*, and under God recommend them to your practical consideration in your future walk and conduct in life." Having again urged their christian obligations, and described "that august scene, when the pastor and the congregation should appear at the call of the Great Head of the church he employs, in giving expression to his own melancholy feelings, the following significant language: "And now my friends, in all human probability, my ministerial labors with you are ended; our seasons of worship finished." The gloom that pervaded the assembly, bore ample testimony to the estimation in which the preacher was held by his flock. The discourse itself was plain, simple and eloquent. It was received as the dying injunction of a spiritual father, whom they would perhaps see no more. So strong a hold had his congregation upon the pastor's affections, and so deep was his solicitude for their highest interests, that on his arrival in the city of N. York, prior to his embarkation, he addresses to them a most affectionate epistle, in which he again briefly presents their christian duties, and offers that counsel which, in their peculiar condition, they so much required, earnestly imploring them to be faithful, and to place their confidence in that God who had hitherto sustained and abundantly blessed them.

In accordance with his arrangements, he sailed in the ship *Josephine*, bound for Belfast, and although during the voyage his health was precarious, and he was exposed to the perils of the deep, he seemed to feel no danger. He was calm and composed. His strong faith in God, his ardent piety and filial resignation to the will of his Redeemer, are constantly apparent. He knew that the same watchful care, which he had ever experienced, would still be extended to him, that the same kind hand which had upheld him in the past, would again exercise its protection, and shelter him from evil. From his diary, written during the voyage, there is a constant recognition of God's providences in every occurrence of life, together with deep devotional feeling, pure philanthropy, warm affection, and strong attachment to his kindred and his home. The following beautiful picture of a *Moonlight Night at Sea*, tinctured with the colors of a fond and devoted feeling, will be read with interest, and may aid us in forming an idea of his character: "The day," says he, "has been so

calm, and the sky and sea so serene, that my mind partakes of that delightful tranquility which seems this evening to pervade universal creation. Nothing can surpass, in tranquil beauty, a moonlight evening at sea. There, if ever, the evil passions are hushed to rest. A natural sense of religion, of the goodness and benevolence of the Creator, steals into the heart of the most abandoned and ungrateful sinner. He feels a desire to be good, and to learn what is good. He looks abroad upon the unbounded prospect, smiling beneath the radiant influence of that light which, in obedience to its Master's will, 'shineth by night,' and his bosom swells with grateful emotions, and with unfeigned admiration. In the contemplation of such a scene, too, memory is engaged. Other days and past scenes recur in all the witchery of their influence, and we are borne back to the hallowed spot where first we drew the breath of life—where first we felt the holiest affections of our nature, and recognized the endearing caresses of kindred love. Again we behold our long-loved parents. Again a father's gentle admonitions inspire to deeds of virtue. Again a mother's tenderness awakens grateful emotions, and calls into exercise sacred feelings. Assembled around the parental fireside, or sporting o'er the paternal domain, each little remembrancer of childhood and youth is vividly drawn upon the tablets of the heart. Oh! how does the exile from country, from kindred and home, tracing the lonely deck of the onward bound *bark*, on such an evening, with pleasing yet melancholy emotions, mentally return to the scenes of his childhood, to the home of his youth, to the land that holds all near and dear to him. *Early* and oft-times, unalterable friendships are recalled. Sacred and inviolate affection for a moment spurns control, and in imaginary flight returns to the object loving and beloved. But the feasts of memory cannot last. The pale queen of night resigns her empire, and sinks into the western waves. A deep black gloom rests upon the waters. The beauty, if not the tranquility of the scene has passed away, and the sound of the ship-bell arouses the mind to a sense of duty, perhaps of danger, and the charm is broken."

After having visited the principal countries of Europe, he determined to spend the winter at Rome. During the whole course of his travels his health was fluctuating. There were no evidences of permanent improvement. Whilst he sojourned at Rome, a spot consecrated in classic story, and rendered illustrious by the wonderful scenes it witnessed in the history

of human events, he was constantly and actively engaged; and notwithstanding his general physical debility, he made many interesting investigations, which his published correspondence, under the title of "A traveller's Manuscript," during his absence, in the "New York Commercial Advertiser," abundantly testifies. These letters took a high rank, and were eagerly sought for by the reading public. They are enriched with many reflections, and frequently furnish a transcript of the feelings which he so exhibited in the practical part of his life. For instance, in his interesting account of the Foundling Hospital, established at Rome, he thus speaks: "Upon an institution like this, the eye of the philanthropist rests with pleasure, amid the moral waste which *here* surrounds him. It is a redeeming trait in the human character, that the heart of man, however seared by sin and iniquity, is not quite insensible to the misery of others. Ascribe it to selfishness, or ascribe it to what we will, the principle is implanted in the human breast by the benevolent Creator, to pity the wretched condition, and attempt the relief of our species. And if any picture of human misery can make an appeal to the feelings of man, it must be that of infancy, abandoned to the world friendless and speechless, with no father to shield it from destruction, with no mother to cherish it in her warm bosom." Again, in speaking of the monuments which adorn the transept of St. Paul's Cathedral, and which usually awaken so deep and novel an interest, he says: "There are some which excite a more than ordinary degree of feeling in the beholder. It is because they commemorate character, whose names and whose virtues have long been consecrated in the heart of the christian and the philanthropist. First upon the catalogue, and occupying a distinguished place, is the monument erected to the memory of *John Howard, the practical christian, the active philanthropist*; who, after he had visited, and by his influence, reformed and improved the condition of prisons in his native country, traversed the continent in search of, and for the purpose of alleviating human misery, and finally fell a victim to his zeal, in his attempt to alleviate the condition of mankind in distant Tartary, with no friend to smooth his pillow of death, but a *nation, aye, a christian world* to commemorate his virtues."

The following extract from his diary, will also be read with interest, as it assists in giving us an insight into his charac-

ter, and serves to show how willing he was to embrace every opportunity afforded him for doing good :

SUNDAY, JUNE 17.—This morning when we arose we found ourselves quite motionless upon the waters. A smooth sea spread itself around us, upon which the morning sunbeams played with a cheerful radiance, as if ushering in the day of rest with joy and gladness. This is indeed a day of rest. Even the watery element is hushed into calm repose, and the winds seem to have hidden themselves in the deepest recess of the fabled cavern. May the souls of the children of men also find rest from the wild passions and lusts of the world, and refresh themselves in the contemplation of that *rest* which remaineth for the people of God. All objections to public worship on board, are overcome. Some have been waived and others disregarded. We purpose, therefore, God willing, to have public service on deck; although my Catholic *brother* has entered his *veto*, and declared if we disregard it, he will shut himself up in his state-room during service. I have proposed that *he* should officiate and I would cheerfully attend. I *urged* him to this, inasmuch as almost all the steerage passengers are Catholics; but he refuses, and is unwilling that I should preach, saying: ‘A ship is like an inn, where each one is at liberty to enjoy his own opinion and is not to be *forced* to listen to the opinions or the creeds of others!’ In consequence of this remark I have requested that it might merely be announced that divine service would be held on the quarter deck; and that no one should be urged to attend contrary to his free inclination. I feel no desire to *force* my religious opinions, or creed, upon the conscience of any moral and responsible being.

Evening.—About 10 o’clock we assembled on deck, and contrary to my expectation, every soul on board, with the exception of the *Priest*, was seated in readiness to commence worship. The day was so fine and the air so serene, that Heaven seemed to smile upon us thus assembled in the way of duty. When the hymn was given out, and several voices mingled their tones in familiar strains of harmony in this temple of the Lord, whose foundations were the deep, and whose covering was the outstretched heavens, I felt more deeply than ever before the *omnipresence* of God; for the same notes of praise, which we now offered up, were also ascending from many a consecrated altar in our native land, surrounded by our friends and relatives. The thought, that we might be addressing the same Being at the same hour,

was grateful to our hearts. My little audience was very attentive, and it afforded me much satisfaction to preach *Jesus Christ and him crucified*, under such circumstances, to persons of *every* profession, of *different* countries and *different* creeds. After sermon, and after prayer by Dr. M., who kindly assisted me, I was requested by the captain to read, for the benefit of the sailors, a narrative of a young seaman, who, like too many of his profession, had become abandoned in principle and practice; had spent several years in a course of profligacy, and, in consequence, had nearly broken the hearts of his aged parents, and rendered himself miserable and wretched; but who in the providence of God, and by the hitherto latent efficacy of an early religious education, was reclaimed from vice, restored to virtue and religion, and became the staff and consolation of his now happy parents. The narrative was affecting to all, but especially so to those for whom it was intended. They drew their rough hands over their storm-beaten faces, and wiped away the tear which betrayed the emotions of their hearts. That it may have an abiding and happy influence upon some of these generous, but deluded creatures, is the sincere wish and prayer of one who commiserates their lot, and would gladly promote their happiness.

A valuable manuscript, containing an account of the most interesting cities in Europe, and a journal of a six month's residence at Rome, is in the hands of his family. "Of all the volumes of modern travellers which have appeared in this country," said a learned Doctor in the city of New York, "none, in my view, is superior in interest to the unpublished book of Mr. Goertner."

He remained at Rome several months, and was apparently much improved in health. Having also received assurances from the most celebrated physicians of his convalescence, the desire of returning to his native land and his friends, from day to day, strengthened. He left Rome on the 28th of April, 1828, on his journey homeward. Soon unfavorable symptoms appeared, and all expectation of recovery was dissipated. On his arrival in France, being told that his increased prostration was only the result of fatigue, he expressed a hope that he might have sufficient strength to return to his native land to die among his kindred. This desire was granted—his wish realized. Having embarked for the United States, he arrived at New York on the 5th of August, after a protracted and irksome passage, in which he suffered many

privations and was brought to the borders of the grave. He was immediately taken to the home of his former instructor, Dr. Schaeffer, in whose family, having been favored with the most assiduous attention, he so far recovered his health, in a few weeks, as to be enabled to accompany his parents to the paternal mansion and the scenes of his youth, whither, in distant lands, his thoughts had often turned. He seemed, for a time, so much to revive, that the hearts of his friends were gladdened; the hope was cherished that his strength might once more be restored. He was well enough that fall to attend the meeting of Synod. "But many of us," writes a member of the Ministerium, "looked upon him with indescribable emotion, for it was evident to those who knew him well, that the noble spirit which animated his manly, though now emaciated, form would soon leave its earthly tenement. What he said came to us as from a dying witness of Jesus, even from the tomb and the portals of an eternal world." This was, however, the last time he ventured to go any distance from home. He rapidly declined in health, and all were convinced that his stay upon earth would be short. His emaciated form and changed appearance—*quantum mutatus ab illo*—soon showed the ravaging inroads disease was making upon his system. There he lay upon his couch as helpless as an infant which requires its mother's constant attention and watchful care. He felt that death was approaching; but he was not comfortless. Resignation and an unshaken faith characterized this season of his severe affliction. He had been no careless pupil in the school of Christ. Those lessons so hard to be learned, patience under suffering, cheerful submission to the will of God in every circumstance of life, he had mastered.

His peace was made with God. As kind friends, with warm emotions, stood beside him, gazing upon the object of their love, his lips uttered sentiments the most noble and exalted. That covenant keeping God, whom he had so often on similar occasions commended to others, was present to keep and strengthen him in this trying hour, to conduct him safely "through the valley of the shadow of death." The consolations of that religion he found now most precious to his own heart. Those blessed truths which he had preached, and the comfort he had so often imparted to others, was confirmed to his own soul. Proving to all around that his faith was genuine, and the hope of the believer forsaketh not, he relied solely upon the Redeemer, with the same firm confidence which he professed and declared in his public ministrations

and private walk. "Thy will be done," was his frequent prayer. He said whether he lived or died, he was resigned. If it were God's will to restore him to health, he would be glad to resume his work, and preach the glad tidings of salvation through Jesus Christ; if not, there was no essential tie to bind him to the earth, and to live or die was to him the same. He knew that "to live is Christ, and to die is gain;" that "to depart and to be with Christ is far better;" "to be absent from the body is to be present with the Lord." He looked forward to the hour of his departure with serene composure and with humble joy. His faith had triumphed over the last of his foes. The smile that illumined his face as he departed, told of the heavenly visions that greeted his sight, and gave assurance that his rest was glorious. The grave was to him the pathway to heaven, the entrance to a blissful immortality. As we almost see the coronation of the christian soldier upon the very spot where he labored for the cause of Christ, hope, submission, love and grief, veneration and awe mingling, gather around the scene, and we are led to utter the prayer, Let me live the life of the christian, that I may die his death, "and let my last end be like his." The faith he possessed was the shield of his youth, the strength of his years, his comfort in sorrow, his joy in death.

Goertner died young. At an early period his conflict was over. He had not completed his thirty-second year when his Master, for whose bidding he was ready, called him to a better life. But he had not lived in vain. His name is remembered, and his works do live. There are those now usefully engaged in the ministry, who trace their first religious impressions to his holy influence. Says one of these, in referring to his death, "Should we indulge our own peculiar sensations, we might, perhaps, lament the occurrence of a circumstance so afflicting in its results; but gratitude demands a nobler tribute; and whilst we reflect on the glorious transition which our friend has experienced, we involuntarily commingle our joy with that of the angels of heaven who rejoice over one sinner that repenteth." He was also the efficient means of the conversion of a beloved brother, who still lives to do good in the service of the Redeemer. Although sleeping in the dust, he survives in the living. The impress of his life and efforts, is left indelible on many minds, and in the sanctified numbers of believing and loving hearts, it descends to children and to children's children.

XXVI.

FREDERICK CHRISTIAN SCHAEFFER, D. D.

“How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace: that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth.”

Christian Schaeffer was born on the 12th of November, 1792. His father, Frederick D. Schaeffer, D. D., was, at the time, pastor of the Lutheran Church at Germantown, Pennsylvania, a man of sterling piety, whose faithful and successful labors in the ministry for nearly half a century, have rendered his name precious to the Church. His mother, Rosina, a daughter of Lewis Rosenmiller, of York Co., Pennsylvania, was a woman of solid understanding, with great energy of character, a sincere and humble Christian, whose religious principles were beautifully exemplified in her daily life and practice. She united all her influence with that of her husband in training her family in the way best calculated to promote their welfare in both the present and the future life. In youth the foundations of character are usually laid. Education begins with existence. Influences exerted upon the mind during our first years, in a great measure guide our destinies for time and eternity. What we see and feel when we are young, abides with us as long as we live. Ideas acquired and habits formed, become so completely a part of our nature, that they can never be shaken off. The glaring defects of character, so often witnessed in the world, are generally just as much the result of neglected education, as the dwarfed tree is the result of a dry soil or too much shade.

The subject of our sketch was taught from infancy in a most faithful and affectionate manner, and it is probable that the gentle influences of the Holy Spirit renewed his heart in early life, so that he could not recall the time when he did not love God. Many persons who have enjoyed the advantages of a religious education, who have never thrown off the restraints of religious influence, and with whom conscience and correct principle have never lost their power, became truly the children of God, without any of those sudden and great changes in feeling and action, which are often seen in those differently reared. Christian Schaeffer always sustained an amiable and upright character, and in the morning

of life, in the days of his early youth, gave himself to the service of his Creator, and to the work of the gospel ministry, as that to which he felt himself called to devote his powers. Hopefully renewed, he was received into the church as a member in full communion, and at once commenced his preparations for the sacred office. His classical studies he attended to at the Academy in his native place, and under the direction of his father, with whom, also, he principally pursued his theological course. He was licensed to preach the gospel in 1812, by the Synod of Pennsylvania, then in session at Carlisle, J. D. Kurtz, D. D., being, at the time, the President of the Ministerium. Among those who were, on the same occasion, invested with ministerial authority, we find the names of J. C. Baker, D. D., and Abram Reck, both of whom have been prominent and useful in the church.

Mr. Schaeffer having received a call to the Harrisburg charge, entered upon his labors November 12th, 1812. Although a young man, and an inexperienced pastor, he was found equal to the duties the position required. He possessed a combination of good qualities, which eminently fitted him for his work. All his talents and energies were enlisted in the service of his congregation. His connexion with the church at Harrisburg is said to have been one of action and encouragement, with a corresponding advance in the spiritual interests of the people. It was during his ministry here, that the English language was successfully introduced into the worship of the sanctuary, a measure invariably attended with difficulty, and in some of our churches, fraught with the most serious consequences.

Having labored in this field for nearly three years, he resigned the charge, and accepted an invitation to the city of New York. The call is dated April 24th, 1815, and is from the congregation of Christ's Church, "to preach German and English." This church was built in 1773, and was known by the name of the Old Swamp Church. It is the congregation to whom Rev. F. A. Muhlenberg, a son of the Patriarch, for several years preached. When the revolutionary war broke out in 1775, in consequence of his devotion to the principles involved in the issue, he found it necessary for his personal safety, to take his departure from the city. He accordingly repaired to Pennsylvania. During the war, in the unsettled state of affairs that prevailed, there were temporary supplies. Rev. Dr. Kunze commenced his labors in this

church in 1784. They were continued during a period of twenty-three years, when they were terminated by his death. Rev. Dr. Geissenhainer was chosen as successor, who remained pastor until the election of Dr. Schaeffer, in 1815.

Dr. Schaeffer officiated here in German and English, until the erection, in 1823, of St. Matthew's church, which was designed exclusively for English services. On the completion of this edifice, Dr. Schaeffer took charge of the English congregation, and Dr. Geissenhainer was recalled to the Swamp church, with the understanding that the exercises were to be conducted altogether in the German language. Difficulties, however, arose between the conflicting interests in connexion with the two churches, until St. Matthew's was finally sold to the Germans. Dr. Schaeffer and his people removed to the edifice known as St. James' church, presented to the congregation by a christian friend, Mr. Lorillard, who desired to be, and was for a long time unknown as the generous benefactor.

Dr. Schaeffer continued to labor faithfully and efficiently as the pastor of this church, enjoying the confidence and affection of his flock, until death closed his career, in the midst of the most promising prospects that lay before him. He died on the 26th of March, 1831, of pulmonary disease, from which he had, for many years, suffered, and which gradually wasted his strength and finished his labors upon earth. His last days, though spent under severe and protracted suffering, were marked by fortitude and submission to the Divine will. His death-bed was a triumphant exhibition of the power of religion to sustain the christian in the most trying hour, and the scene will not soon be forgotten by those who were privileged to witness it. A short time before his departure, he expressed the apprehension, that as his end approached, he would be too weak to give such manifestations of his faith as he wished; but after having continued for some hours in a state in which he was unable to speak, and apparently unconscious, he suddenly revived, and distinctly and strongly exclaimed, *Victory! Victory!* "Thanks be to God who giveth *me* the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ." Without a groan, with scarcely a struggle, he breathed out his happy spirit into the hands of his Redeemer.

Dr. Schaeffer's funeral was attended by a large number of devoted friends, who sorrowed that they should see his face no more. In the procession were many ministers of the gospel, with whom he had been on terms of the most intimate

intercourse. As the mournful requiem was uttered over his grave, many tears were shed in reverence to his memory. An address, appropriate to the solemn occasion, was delivered by Rev. Dr. Milnor, of the Episcopal church, to whom he had, for many years, been tenderly attached, and who had administered to him, during his illness, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Subsequently a discourse was prepared and delivered to the bereaved congregation, by Rev. Dr. Mayer, of Philadelphia.

The remains of Dr. Schaeffer were interred in the Lutheran burying ground, whence they have since been removed to Greenwood Cemetery. In the church in which he so long ministered, on the right of the pulpit, there is placed in the wall a neat and beautiful tablet with the following inscription:

IN MEMORY

OF OUR LATE BELOVED PASTOR,

THE REV. F. C. SCHAEFFER, D. D.,

Born Nov. 12, 1792—Died March 26, 1831.

He was a bright and shining light.

Although Dr. Schaeffer was cut down by the hand of death before he had reached his fortieth year, he has left a name fragrant with the highest honor attainable in this life—that of a good man, a christian sincere in his profession and upright in his conduct, and a citizen generally esteemed, and greatly beloved for his enlarged views and philanthropic efforts for the good of his fellow men.

An obituary notice published in New York, at the time of his death, says: "By this providential dispensation, our church in this State has been deprived of one of her most distinguished and devoted ministers. In his profession he was a bright and shining light. His talents and success in the cause to which he so faithfully devoted himself, and for which he sacrificed his life, will long be held in grateful remembrance by the church. His zeal was ardent, his devotion entire, and as long as God gave him strength, he was constant and unwearied in his labors for the glory of his divine Master, and the salvation of souls. His loss will be universally felt, and deeply lamented through the church. All who love our Evangelical Zion have reason to mourn the fall of a main

pillar of her strength." The New York Ministerium, of which he was President at the time of his death, unanimously adopted the following minute:

"*Resolved*, That we appreciate the purity of his motives, and the magnitude of his capacities, and that his friends and family be desired to accept from this body, collectively and individually, our sincere condolence."

Dr. Schaeffer had the reputation of being a man of decided talent and considerable learning. He was honored with the Doctorate from Columbia College, in 1830. He was also, in the same institution, appointed Professor of German Language and Literature, but he had scarcely entered upon the discharge of his duties, when they were interrupted by the illness which ultimately led to his death. The study of Natural history was one of his favorite pursuits. The King of Prussia presented him with a large gold medal, as an acknowledgment for his services in extending among his subjects the knowledge of the natural history of this country. He had sent specimens of birds, insects and minerals to several scientific men of Prussia, with whom he maintained a regular correspondence, and by whom his own large and valuable collection was in turn enriched. Dr. Schaeffer was connected with many literary, scientific and philanthropic institutions of his day. He was a prominent member of the German Society, still in existence, and was likewise one of the Governors of the present New York Hospital. He seemed always willing to identify himself with any enterprise, which had for its object the amelioration of the social, intellectual, and moral condition of his race. He was very fond of music, and was distinguished for his attainments in this direction. He played skilfully on a variety of instruments.

Dr. Schaeffer did very little in the way of authorship. Occasionally he committed a production to the press. We have now before us two of his published discourses; the one is an address delivered at the laying of the corner-stone of St. Matthew's church, N. Y.; the other is a discourse pronounced on the 31st of October, 1817, on the occasion of the third centennial jubilee in commemoration of the Reformation commenced by Dr. Martin Luther, on the 31st of October, 1517. A copy of this discourse was solicited for publication, by his vestry, as well as by the New York Historical Society. It is quite an interesting discourse, based on the words, "I believed, therefore have I spoken," in the discussion of which are presented the motives by which Luther was influenced,

and the principles by which he was prompted to speak and to act, when he commenced the blessed Reformation.

The services connected with this celebration attracted considerable attention. Christians generally seemed to take a lively interest in an occasion eminently calculated to perpetuate the remembrance of so eventful a period. In the morning the exercises were held in the Lutheran church, in the German language; and in the afternoon, that Christians of different religious denominations might have an opportunity to attend, Bishop Hobart, in compliance with a request made, granted the use of St. Paul's church for the purpose. There was a very large attendance. It is supposed that five thousand persons were in the edifice, whilst as many more were disappointed, in finding it impossible to gain admission.

Dr. Milnor, and Mr. Feltus, of the Protestant Episcopal church, Mr. Labagh, of the German Reformed, and Mr. Mortimer of the Moravian church, participated in the exercises, which are said to have been of an exceedingly interesting character.

Dr. Schaeffer was an active, energetic man. He never shrank from any toil while he had strength to endure it. No labor appalled him. Nothing could deter him from what he believed to be the line of duty. He was compelled to encounter a series of adverse circumstances, in his efforts to build up an English Lutheran church in the city of New York, but he sustained himself through them all, and had many warm friends who stood by him until the end. But for his feeble health and premature death, he would doubtless have succeeded in establishing a large congregation. He was greatly beloved by his people. Those who yet remain, speak of him in the highest terms of praise. He possessed the faculty of making friends. To a natural gentleness and kindness of temper, he united an urbanity and a refinement of manner, and an undisguised frankness and sincerity, that rendered intercourse with him pleasant. He was intimate with the leading ministers in the city. He seemed to have strong affinities with Episcopalians, although his relations with clergymen of different denominations, were of a most friendly character. He loved his own church, and would never listen to any proposition to withdraw from the church of his fathers, and to change his ecclesiastical connexion, yet he was liberal in his views, and very tolerant towards those who differed from him. Persecution in matters of faith, he

totally condemned ; for freedom of opinion and expression on all such questions, he regarded as the inalienable right of man. In the discourse delivered at the laying of the corner stone of St. Matthew's church, he uses the following language: "God knows that every worthy member of our church rejoices in the prosperity of all christian congregations, and delights in the evidences of their increasing numbers and piety. Christian love and tolerance are essential principles of our faith ; and though as natives or citizens of this happy country, we may fully claim our precious and protected right of using 'liberty of conscience,' in 'the free exercise of religious profession and worship,' and though in some points we may differ from our fellow citizens, still we love them, and extending the right hand of fraternal affection, we call them *brethren*. The true members of our community are charitable toward all men, whether of their own household of faith, or the supporters of another denomination. They are obligated to give the most decisive proof of their devotion to Jesus Christ, and to bear the most unquestionable testimony, that they are the followers of *him who loved us and gave himself for us*. If we prefer our own, we do not condemn any other religious society. Grateful for the abundant evidence of the excellency of our organization, we deem it justifiable to declare our conviction, that the advantages which are afforded in our church are exceeded by none, however extensive or admired. And while we are far from unchurching any religious sect, we aver that no one has a right to say that our church is not an evangelical and apostolical church."

Dr. Schaeffer's reverence for the sacred Scriptures, was a marked feature in his character. The Word of God was to him a precious book. It was his rule of faith, his standard of right on all questions. He loved to study its holy precepts, to cherish its heavenly hopes, and he sought to experience in his own heart, and to illustrate in his life, its purifying and saving influence. It was to him no sealed book. In his pulpit discourses he showed great familiarity with its contents, and his quotations from the sacred volume were most felicitous. He always seemed most grateful to Heaven for this noble treasure, and often congratulated our church on the influence which the Word of God held in it. The following interesting passage we take from his address, delivered at the laying of the corner stone of St. Matthew's church, New York: "We thank God for all the means which we enjoy in our church, by which we may learn, understand, and practi-

cally declare his holy will ! And we rejoice with thanksgiving before the Lord, because he has given us our great 'symbolical' book—the Bible. This is preferable to all the 'books' and 'confessions' of men. According to a fundamental principle of Lutherans, we depend not merely on the irrigating streamlets that originate in the fountain, to which we have access, but we rather drink from that fountain itself. The study and proper interpretation of the sacred writings, accompanied by the use of all outward helps which God's providence has furnished, and aided by fervent prayer in the acceptable name of Jesus Christ, the Mediator, is mainly inculcated in the Evangelical Lutheran church."

He again remarks: "We disclaim the very idea of being the partisans of a man, or that we are associated merely for the perpetuation of Luther's name. While his memory is dear to us, and we profess our veneration for his character, our gratitude for his services, and our adherence to the grand Evangelical principles which he, by the help of the Mighty God, dared to urge upon the attention of the world, at a time when *all flesh seemed to have corrupted its way, and the earth was filled with violence*; while we glory in the good way to which he directed erring nations, we do not acknowledge his opinions as our only authority, but we are influenced by that inspired volume, and guided by that pure word which was *a lamp unto his feet and a light unto his path*."

In his Jubilee discourse we find the following sentiments: "Not human authority, but the Holy Scriptures, from which nothing can be detracted by free inquiry and enlightened investigation, are considered as the standard of the christian faith. The Bible is the religion of the protestants. To substitute anything in place of this, was decidedly and evidently foreign to Luther's thoughts. That it might be separated from the false traditions of men; that it might be liberated from unhallowed, from human and pernicious ordinances; that it might go forth unencumbered, and be the test of men's principles and actions; that the abuses which were so studiously tolerated might be removed; that the church might be *reformed*; that christianity—precious gift of heaven!—might rise in all her native beauty; this was his heart's desire, and ever present to his fervent imagination."

Dr. Schaeffer seemed to value most highly what are regarded as the distinctive features of the Lutheran church. In reference to our system of introducing members into the church, he expresses himself thus: "It can be fearlessly as-

served that to the early and judicious lessons, to the careful instruction in the fundamental principles of religion, and to the series of lectures which the youth of our church receive, previous to the ratification of their baptismal covenant, and their voluntary, public and solemn profession of Christ, and their approach to the sacred ordinance, by which we commemorate the Redeemer's dying love, commune with him, strengthen our love to God and man, and refresh our souls with meat and drink from heaven ; to the course preparatory to the apostolical and impressive solemnity of laying on hands by the ordained pastor of his own congregation, and to the holy impulse, which confirmation is calculated to produce, may be attributed some of the most eminent instances of piety, some of the most blessed effects that have been witnessed in the christian church of modern times." Speaking of the Lutheran Catechism, he says it "shows according to what manner we explain the word of God, and set forth the fundamentals of religion. It is an evidence of the great attention which is paid in our church to the instruction and edification of youth. With this all true members of our church must be acquainted, and bear testimony to their salutary knowledge, when they solemnly ratify their baptismal covenant, receive the right of confirmation and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."

Dr. Schaeffer was a great admirer of a liturgical service in connexion with the public exercises on the Lord's day. He regarded these forms, as well as the hymns, as "an aid to devotion, and calculated to promote faith, hope and charity." He felt in the same way in reference to the festivals of the church, the observance of which has, from the beginning, been a characteristic of our ecclesiastical system. We cannot, however, find anything in his writings, which would lead us to suppose that he wished to impose any burdens upon the brethren, or oppress their conscience. He was, from all that we can gather, a model of christian liberality, and yet he never, on any occasion, compromised christian principle.

His views on the subject of the German language in the services of the sanctuary, will be read with interest, particularly as he lived at a time, when our church, in this country, was in something of a transition state, and the introduction of the English was an occasion of great difficulty and discord in many of the churches: "We make the concession, that in this country too much importance has been attached to the difficulty concerning the original language of our

church. But no man in his sober senses could ever have seriously argued that our doctrines are confined to the German language, any more than the pure gospel of Jesus is restricted to any language, nation or country. Every one who is acquainted with church history, and with the state of religion, knows that there are worthy Lutherans among many nations, and that their religious exercises are conducted in various tongues. Yet it ought not to be forgotten that a *German* raised the standard of the *blessed Reformation*. Had not the principles of sound religion and christian freedom been fostered by means of the German language; had it not been used in the temples and schools of our ancestors, and in the publications which the spirit of protestantism produced, what would have been the religious and political state of Europe and the world? It is just and proper, therefore, that in this country and city, where Germans and their descendants have cause to prefer its use in their devotional acts, they should enjoy it; and no reflecting man will harbor a desire to expel or prevent the necessary use of a language to which, under God, the world is so greatly indebted. But things are certainly in an extreme condition, where it is suffered to encroach on the vernacular tongue. Where circumstances are well considered and rightly understood, and this should be the case among conscientious Lutherans, an arrangement is always practicable by which *the word of the Lord may have free course and be glorified.*"

On all subjects connected with our holy religion, he was most evangelical. His position was unequivocal and decided. An interesting incident, illustrative of this fact, is given during the first stages of his ministry in New York. There was, at the time, no Unitarian congregation in the city, and the members of that persuasion, from some cause or other, generally attended worship at his church, in consequence of which, it began to be whispered that Dr. Schaeffer was not sound on the supreme divinity of Christ. This rumor reaching his ears, he took the very first opportunity to define his position on this vital doctrine of our faith, and he did it so clearly and so decidedly, that ever afterwards he had no Unitarians among his hearers.

Dr. Schaeffer was a good man. He had the confidence of those who were brought in contact with him. None doubted his christian integrity. Diligent in business, fervent in spirit, he endeavored to serve the Lord with humility and a firm re-

liance on the perfect righteousness of Christ. Religion in him was an abiding principle, manifested in his daily walk and conversation, in all the relations of life. Fortified by those principles he had garnered in his youth, through good and evil report he faithfully sustained and propagated them by word and by deed.

The subject of our sketch was a man of ordinary height, florid complexion, expressive countenance, and handsome personal appearance. He was often spoken of as the finest looking man in the city of New York. His portrait, painted by Peale for his own gratification, for a long time occupied a place in the Museum. It is now to be seen in the City Hall, among other distinguished citizens, who are regarded as worthy of affectionate remembrance, and whose influence still lives in the good they effected during life.

XXVII.

JACOB BERGER.

“For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.”

THE death of Mr. Berger was the occasion, throughout our church, of deep and tender grief, which was shared by those who took an interest in the spread of Christ's kingdom. All who knew him felt that a good man had fallen in Israel, that a light in Zion had been extinguished, that a vacancy in the ranks of the ministry had been created, which could not be easily supplied. His ability, his zeal, his devotion to the cause in which he was enlisted, his faithful and efficient labors in winning souls to his Divine Master, had endeared him to his people, and made his name a praise in the churches. “The death of this devoted and successful minister,” says a cotemporary, in a communication written at the time, “is a severe stroke to us all. He was indeed a burning and a shining light, and his loss will be long and severely felt.” One of our church papers, in announcing the sad event, remarks: “As a pastor, he was laborious and indefatigable, as a preacher he had few superiors in any church, in the discharge of his ministerial duties, he was zealous almost to a fault, yet so prudent, so conscientious, so self-denying, so gentle and patient, that even his enemies were constrained to be at peace

with him. We know of few men who are so entirely and enthusiastically devoted to the sacred obligations of the ministry, and whose whole soul is so completely absorbed in the work of converting sinners and edifying believers, as he was." An official proclamation, signed by Rev. Dr. Pohlman, as President of the New York Ministerium, and Rev. Dr. Strobel, as Principal of Hartwick Seminary, uses the following language: "The wise providence of God has been pleased to remove, in the midst of his usefulness, our much beloved friend and brother, the Rev. Jacob Berger. We do not approve of outward demonstrations of sorrow, under ordinary bereavements, but when the announcement of one so dear to our hearts, meets the eye of any of those who were associated with him in the councils of the church, they will naturally anticipate the request which a regard to his many virtues constrains us to make. The brethren of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of the State of New York, and the Alumni of Hartwick Seminary, are requested to wear the usual badge of mourning for the space of three months." It is proper that this faithful man of God, who had so strong a hold upon the affections of the church, should occupy a place in our series of departed worthies.

Jacob Berger was born in the year 1799, in Westerloo, Albany Co., N. Y. His father was a farmer, and a member of the Evangelical Lutheran church; his mother was a communicant of the Reformed Dutch church. They were exemplary christians, and to the hallowed influences which surrounded his early years, the son in after life ascribed his first religious impressions. He is represented as having been a steady, yet cheerful and pleasant boy, combining in his character, sprightliness and seriousness. He received the rudiments of his education at the district school, and at this early period evinced a fondness for reading, and a more than ordinary talent for music, to which he was in the habit of devoting much of his leisure time. When quite young, he was deeply interested in the great question of life, and early put forth efforts for the salvation of his soul. Although there was never a period in his history, when he was an unbeliever, or neglected prayer, yet when he attained his sixteenth year, the exercises of his mind were deep and pungent. He went and disclosed his feelings to the Reformed Dutch minister of the place, but the only direction he received was to go home and apply himself diligently to business—that he should not permit these thoughts to trouble him unduly, as the Lord

would work in his own good time. But this advice did not satisfy our young friend. He was convinced that there was an agency which he must exert in the salvation of his soul. He felt that God's time was always; that whilst we are commanded to "work out" our "own salvation with fear and with trembling," He is ever graciously ready to work in us, "both to will and to do of his own good pleasure." He soon became the subject of renewing grace, and rejoiced in the possession of the christian's hope and the christian's peace.

It was about this time that his attention was first turned to the ministry. Influenced by a conviction of imperative duty, wrought, as he supposed, by the power of God, he deliberately resolved to devote himself to this arduous work. For a long time he had the matter under consideration, before he made known his intentions to any human being.

In his seventeenth year he took charge of a school in Middleburg, Schoharie Co. As a teacher he gave great satisfaction, and was highly commended for his success. He continued to teach for a couple of years, in the winter season, whilst he engaged in labor on the farm during the summer months. In his twentieth year he became a student of Hartwick Seminary, at the time under the care of Rev. Dr. Hazelius. During his connexion with this institution, he made a public profession of his faith in Christ, and united with the Lutheran church. He also now occasionally preached. He continued at Hartwick until the year 1822, when he entered the Junior class of Union College, at Schenectady, N. Y. Of an ardent and vigorous mind, he had a great facility in acquiring knowledge, and an equal readiness in using it. He was graduated at the commencement in 1824. The year preceding, however, he suffered from a severe attack of fever. He was brought to the verge of the grave. Before he had entirely recovered his strength, he ventured to resume his duties at college. Confining himself very closely to study, and exerting his powers with too severe application, his health suffered materially, and the consequences were most sad. Reason lost its sway, and, for a season, there were the most distressing mental aberrations. In the spring of 1824, he was brought, in this condition, to his father's house, and although the most unpleasant apprehensions were entertained in reference to the result, yet under skilful treatment he was speedily restored, his mind returned, and he gained his wonted cheerfulness. He often referred to this period in his life, and expressed the belief that a kind providence had sent the

affliction as a blessing, for the purpose of humbling him and preparing him for greater usefulness in the world.

In the spring of 1825 he went to reside with Rev. Dr. Wackerhagen. During this period he often visited his home, and his visits, it is said, were always comforting and encouraging, especially to his dear mother, who was now in the decline of life. His theological studies he completed under the direction of Rev. Dr. Quitman, by whom he was proposed as a candidate for licensure at a meeting of the New York Ministerium, held at Rhinebeck, in 1825. The following year he was ordained at the convention of the Ministerium, assembled at Cobleskill.

Mr. Berger's ministerial labors were commenced at Ghent, N. Y. The following year a church was organized by him at Valatie. Whilst attending to these two congregations, he also became an assistant to the venerable Rev. F. J. G. Uhl, and thus Churchtown was added to his charge. He remained in this field of labor until his death, although not pastor of all three congregations during the whole period. His efforts were owned and blessed; they were crowned with eminent success. God gave him seals of his ministry, and crowns of his rejoicing. Numerous accessions were made to the church, and many memorials of his faithfulness are still to be found. Whilst pursuing his appropriate work, engaged in a series of meetings at Churchtown, designed for the spiritual improvement of his people, he was attacked with the same afflicting malady with which he was visited during the last year of his course at college. This was succeeded by Typhus fever, which terminated his active and useful life, March 11, 1842, in the forty-fourth year of his age. Neither the prayer of faith, nor the tears of affection, could detain his spirit from his glorious and happy home. *Deo aliter visum.* He fell in his armor, on the field of battle, in the midst of an extensive revival of religion. In accordance with his request, his remains were deposited in the graveyard at Churchtown, accompanied by hundreds of those who, for years, had listened to his eloquent discourses and heart-stirring appeals. A monument has since been erected to his memory, by the congregation. It consists of a neat marble shaft, about sixteen feet in height, with the simple inscription of his name and age, in connexion with the words, "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever and ever."

The deceased left a wife and four children—three daughters, one of whom is married to the Rev. Thomas Street, pastor of a Presbyterian church, Philadelphia—and a son, who is now engaged in the prosecution of his studies at an Academy in New York. He had accumulated quite a respectable library, a large portion of which has been generously presented, by his widow, to ministerial brethren, with whom he was intimately associated during life.

Mr. Berger was an earnest man. He labored with his whole soul in any work to which he gave his attention. He was earnest in the pulpit, earnest as a pastor, earnest in every thing in which he engaged, earnest in every position which he was called to occupy. He was active and energetic, prompt and zealous in the performance of all his duties. He was a working man, whose presence was felt wherever he was. He exerted an influence over all classes in the community. He always seemed to have some laudable end in view. He himself, in one of his printed discourses, says: "It is only in devising and executing some good plan, that the human soul fully enjoys herself. To be happy, we must be good; actively, increasingly good. Man is not like the soil on which he treads. That expends its power in cherishing vegetation, and requires repose to recruit its wasted strength, and prepare it for new exertion. Not so with the soul of man. Its essential attribute is activity; most of its faculties may be said to exist only while they are exercised. It is not a brook formed by the sudden shower; but a living fountain, 'ever flowing, and yet ever full.' With this view of the human soul, we can readily account for the common observation—None have so little leisure as the habitually idle. None complain so much of the want of time as they who have nothing to do. The fact is, they lack energy of soul, which is requisite, no less to exertion than enjoyment—a habit of activity which performs every duty in its proper season. This useful habit of activity must be acquired by keeping steadily in view some great and good object." Again he remarks: "It is the misfortune of a great part of mankind, that they have no fixed plan of action. They live extemporaneously. They act at random. They are propelled by present impulses: tossed about, and driven to and fro, just as inclination varies. A regular distribution of our hours and duties, is as essential to the improvement of the former, as to the performance of the latter. A due regard to this direction, will afford every

man opportunity, both for mental culture, and for the sublime exercises of devotion."

It is true, that the beginning of his ministerial career was marked by less spirituality, less devotedness of purpose than characterized his subsequent efforts. "I preached," said he, "for many years to the intellect of my people, and endeavored to make them upright and religious by the forms of devotion, and the precepts of morality, but it was not till I preached to the heart, and told the story of the cross, and unfolded the doctrine of justification by faith in the blood which flowed so freely thence, that souls were converted, and I began to make full proof of my ministry." But he seemed, as he advanced in christian knowledge and experience, to grow in holiness, and to realize more and more the great responsibilities of his vocation. Naturally of a buoyant and vivacious disposition, he often lamented that he had not, in his earlier ministry, been more guarded to keep himself separate from the society of such as did not profit him. He thought that he had himself thus sustained an injury, and that his usefulness had been diminished. His views underwent a change. Conscience became very tender. He carefully avoided the very appearance of evil. He shunned the commission of the smallest offence. The great work to which he had consecrated himself, engaged his undivided attention. He labored as one who must give an account of his stewardship.

"Virtue grew daily stronger, sin
Decayed; his enemies repulsed retired;
Till at the stature of a perfect man,
In Christ arrived, and with the Spirit filled,
He gained the harbor of eternal rest."

Fearless of danger, and prodigal of life, he was unwearied in his labors for the salvation of the soul. "What object," says he, "so great as the salvation of the soul? All others are of minor importance. Temporal advantages, all perishable objects, lose their glittering charms the moment we seriously weigh the question—*What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul? Seek first, as the object of supreme interest, the kingdom of God and his righteousness.*" Bold in the defence of the truth, he preached with pointedness and pungency. Those who heard him were impressed with the spirituality, the unction and the fervency of his ministrations. There was a sincerity and an ardor in his whole manner, which touched the heart.

“High in the temple of the living God,
He stood amidst the people, and declared
Aloud the truth, the whole revealed truth,
Ready to seal it with his blood.”

The misery of man and the mercy of God, the sin that condemns and the grace that reclaims us, pardon by the crucified Redeemer, the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit, the necessity of personal conversion, the responsibilities of life, were the doctrines he unfolded from the sacred desk. In a sermon delivered by him, now lying before us, we find the following language: “Religion teaches us, that the present life is a state of probation for the life to come; that according to our actions here, we shall be judged hereafter. As you therefore now sow, so shall you then reap. Every passing moment hurries us towards the judgment seat of Christ. The hours are on the wing that will carry bliss or wo into eternity. In this solemn view of the end, let me exhort you to retrace the past. Call your former days to an account. Ask your departed hours, what report they have borne to heaven? What has distinguished your life from mere existence? What do you discover in that mirror which memory holds up? Is your book of remembrance a fair registry of the fruits of the spirit, works of faith, repentance and obedience? Or is it a page blotted all over with abominations in the sight of God? Have you glorified God in your thoughts, words and actions? Have you, in the exercise of faith and hope, followed the example of Jesus Christ? Have you aimed at the attainment of universal purity of heart and life? Have you redeemed your time by enriching your mind with the treasures of that wisdom which cometh from above, and adorning your soul with the beauties of holiness? Have you laid up treasure in heaven, by deeds of benevolence and charity? Unless you have done these things according to your ability and opportunities, you have done worse than nothing. You have been a barren fig-tree in the moral vineyard. It is high time to wake out of sleep; to awake unto righteousness. God once more calls upon you to redeem the time, and finish the work which he has given you to do. Work while the day lasts. Glory, and honor, and immortality, are set before thee. Indignation and anguish, the avengers of sin, are at thy heels. Flee, O! flee to Jesus as thy refuge. Rest on Jesus as thy rock. And may his grace be sufficient for thee!” In speaking of the duty of self-examination, he remarks: “The constant language of the renewed heart should be, *Lead me, O God!*

Accustom yourselves to inquire, not only at the close of the year, but at the close of every day, *have I redeemed the time, or have I lost a day?* Do you, on such examination, find that you have learned some useful truth, treasure it up in your memory and reduce it to practice when occasion requires. Have you done a good deed? Give thanks to God for the reward of virtue and the testimony of a good conscience. Have you been led astray by temptation, and overtaken in a fault? Repent sincerely of your past transgression; implore the forgiveness of God for the sake of his Son; and resolve, through Divine grace, to walk more circumspectly in future. Oh, brethren, did we thus daily make a holy life our study; were we as much in earnest to improve our souls in the 'fear and love' of God, as we are to furnish our bodies with food and raiment, to what high degrees of moral perfection might we not attain? How pleasant, how consoling would it be, at the end of any period of time, but especially at the close of our earthly pilgrimage, to look back upon a life, no season of which was spent in vain; to review the days, months and years, all marked with good deeds, to behold our youth, our manhood, our age, only as so many stages in our direct journey from earth towards heaven, our eternal home. Life thus spent will make us triumph in death. Time, thus redeemed, will make us rejoice through eternity."

In the performance of pastoral duties Mr. Berger was faithful. How often in his visitations were the feeble strengthened, the drooping spirit cheered, the thoughtless admonished and the wayward reclaimed! His voice smoothed the bed of sickness, mitigated the rigor of death, and furnished comfort to the surviving. He was very tender-hearted, kind and affectionate, ever ready to sympathize with the afflicted, to relieve the suffering, and to do good to the needy. "What employment," says he, "so congenial to the benevolent mind, so accordant with the spirit of christianity, as to assuage the boisterous passions, and to recencile the jarring interests of man; to eradicate the bitter weeds of prejudice, chain down the furious spirit of party, and to unite all our neighbors into one numerous family of love? Does it not yield divine joy to relieve misery and supply want; to wipe the tear of sorrow and change the voice of mourning to notes of cheerful resignation? Thus are we called to coöperate daily with a beneficent Providence, in watching over the welfare of the world. And where is there one, so destitute of the gifts of nature, of

fortune and of grace, as to have no mite to throw into the treasury of human happiness? He who cannot pretend to enlighten and reform the world, may nevertheless instruct his ignorant, or comfort his afflicted neighbor; he who cannot communicate instruction, may *give alms*: if even these are not within your ability, my brother, the throne of grace is ever accessible; the force of good example is never wholly lost; and by your effectual intercession with God, your holy walk and conversation, society may reap more benefit than from the bounty of the opulent or the labors of the learned."

Mr. Berger is said to have been a man of most excellent business talent. He had an aptitude and a tact in this direction, not always found in the clerical profession. He was very particular in keeping the church book, in recording every item of interest that might be useful for reference. Much historical information relative to his congregations, has in this way been preserved. In everything he did, he was very careful and precise. Mild and amiable in disposition, active and social in his habits, his education and knowledge of men made him useful and influential in the councils of the church and in the ecclesiastical boards with which he was connected. As a Trustee of Hartwick Seminary, the Widows' Fund and the Missionary Society, his influence was salutary, his services most valuable. In synodical convention, his keen and quick perceptions often silenced objections and removed obstacles at first apparent. When the wants of the church were presented, he had the faculty of pressing home upon others the claims of the object under consideration, such as few possess. He had a knowledge of men and things unusual.

In every position in which the subject of our sketch was placed, he was found sufficient. Endowed with natural gifts, and possessing a mind well cultivated, he consecrated all to the service of God. His talents were made tributary to the cause which he loved. His influence was employed to rescue souls from perdition, to people new mansions in Heaven, and to awaken new notes in praise of the Redeemer. His faith and patience had their appropriate work, and are now reaping their reward in the celestial world. Whilst the church below mingles the tender emotions, that gush forth from the consciousness of her own bereavement, with admiration for his virtues, he has entered upon his "eternal inheritance" with Christ, in whose "presence is fulness of joy," and at whose "right hand there are pleasures for evermore."

ARTICLE IV.

THE PREPARATION OF PAUL FOR THE APOSTLESHIP.

By Rev. M. Valentine, Middletown, Pa.

WHEN a great man appears, we naturally wish to learn his early history. We want to know whether there was any thing in his parentage, his boyhood, his training, that seemed prophetic of his coming greatness, or that may account for his rise to his extraordinary eminence. We need an acquaintance with these things, in order rightly to understand and estimate his character. His sentiments, actions, his whole life, take their shades of coloring from his original mental structure and the circumstances of his youth. We must see the whole life, fully to appreciate the man. Hence the instinctive curiosity to learn the early history of such men as Luther, Bonaparte, Washington, Webster. The same holds in the case of Paul. His sublime greatness, in the vigorous activity of his advanced moral and intellectual life, presenting one of those unique and wonderful characters, whose appearance, like that of comets, the world is permitted to see only at intervals of ages, makes us desire to know the circumstances in which that life was trained and developed. The magnitude and peculiarity of his apostolic labors, awaken our curiosity to know by what process of preparation he was made competent to his work.

This process can be best appreciated when we divide it into two departments, according to the character of the agencies employed. In this view we shall consider it as involving:—

I. A NATURAL, and II. A SPIRITUAL PREPARATION.

The former will thus embrace the development of his character under the forces of nature and education, and exhibit him as the cultivated and zealous Pharisee. This process will carry forward his preparation to the time of his conversion. The latter will comprise all that was done for him by the immediate agency of grace. It will begin with his miraculous conversion and complete his equipment for apostolic duty.

I. The aspects of his natural preparation are best examined in the several items of his *early history*, *mental endowments* and *moral character*. Each of these will be found to have a

marked and peculiar significance in reference to his subsequent work.

1. We involuntarily regret that no full and connected view of his early life has been given by the sacred writers. The first notice of him presents him rather abruptly and in no enviable position. He is introduced as "a young man whose name was Saul," taking care of the clothes of those who were stoning to death the first christian martyr. The principal facts of his previous biography have been furnished by Paul's own subsequent allusions to himself. These throw much light on the subject before us.

We cannot regard it as being without a beautiful appropriateness that he who was destined to the specific apostleship of the Gentiles should be of *Jewish parentage*.—Phil. 3: 5. As "a Hebrew of Hebrews," a Jew by parentage on both sides, he was directly embraced in the original covenant with the chosen people. And just as to them, as the Jewish church, were committed the oracles of God for preservation and distribution to the whole race, so to a *Jew* was intrusted the office of announcing the finished redemption to the Gentile world. The Savior, who was a Jew in his human nature, allowed no narrow nationality to circumscribe the benevolent designs of his redeeming work. It seems to have been in the same spirit, that a Jew was made the instrument of extending the blessings of the covenant to the entire race. The possession of the gospel, therefore, by the Gentiles, is not the result of a resisted usurpation of exclusively Jewish rights. It is the reception of blessings designed for them; accomplished for them, as well as for the Jews; and freely brought to them by Jewish instrumentality. There was another element of fitness in Paul's nationality. In the contests which he had to wage with those who wished to impose the old ceremonial burden on the Gentile converts, his Jewish birth gave him a power which he could not have wielded, had he been a Gentile. "Being a Jew by nature, and not a sinner of the Gentiles," and "knowing that a man is not justified by the law," Gal. 2: 15, 16, he could plead disinterestedly for the gospel freedom of the Gentile converts. To every insinuation of disrespect for Judaism, he could triumphantly reply: "Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they Israelites? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I."—2 Cor. 11: 22. Thus, while he broke off the shackles of the ceremonial law, he was able to vindicate himself from every charge of want of proper appreciation of that law.

The fact that Tarsus, in Cilicia, was the *birth-place* and early home of Paul, must not be left out of view. This city, according to Strabo, rivaled Athens and Alexandria, in schools of philosophy and literature. Probably it was in allusion to this celebrity in letters, that Paul afterwards spoke of himself as "a citizen of no mean city."—Acts 21 : 39. Augustus constituted it a "free city." Some have supposed that this formed the ground upon which Paul was entitled to the rights of Roman citizenship. The Roman law made it unlawful to scourge a Roman citizen. And on several occasions, Acts 16 : 27, 28, and 22 : 25., Paul arrested the persecuting purposes of his foes, by announcing the fact, which Cicero declares was once a sure defense in all the world, that he was a Roman citizen. To the chief Captain, Lysias, who said to him, "with a great sum of money obtained I this freedom," he replied, "but I was free-born." His citizenship was by right of *birth*. But after all, there is a difficulty in establishing the right as the result of being born in a "*free city*." It is not certain that this alone ever conferred that right on a man. With this view accords the conduct of Lysias. If being born in a free city, conferred Roman citizenship, he might surely be expected to know it; but yet, though he had been informed that Paul was born at Tarsus, he did not seem to be aware that he was entitled to citizenship. It was only after he was expressly told that he was a *Roman*, that he recalled his order to scourge him. Roman rights were, however, often conferred on persons in consideration of some distinguished service to the State. It seems most probable that such had been the case in reference to some of Paul's ancestors; and that Roman citizenship was inherited by him in this way. Thus, though altogether of Jewish blood, he was, by birth, secured in all the immunities of a Roman. And no one that remembers that Judea was then under the power of the Romans, and that this birth-right was the means of saving his life from the sanguinary designs of the Jews, can fail to see in it something very necessary for his full equipment for his apostolic mission.

His *education* bears manifest marks of providential design. We see in it evidences that he had been already set apart in the divine arrangement, and was being led in a way which he knew not. His education was begun in his native city, Tarsus. The extent of his early education in Tarsus has been a subject of much debate. We are safe, however, in concluding that his Grecian culture was very respectable. Surroun-

ded by eminent schools of literature and eloquence, it is almost certain that he was placed under their discipline. But even if he were not put under the actual training of these schools, yet, a vigorous, active and ardent mind, like that of the youthful Saul, could not fail to gain much information, and have its thinking powers quickened into stronger life, by the constant presence of this intellectual atmosphere around him. Strabo tells us that the natives of Tarsus, after having studied in their own schools, in accordance with a custom prevalent in many places, often went abroad to finish their education: and as Saul subsequently went up to Jerusalem to complete his, it is most probable that he had passed through the earlier stages of his schooling at Tarsus. His subsequent quotations from Grecian works, Acts 17: 28; 1 Cor. 15: 33; Tit. 1: 12, undoubtedly show that his connection with this place threw him into contact with Greek literature, and made him acquainted with that system of polytheism and idolatry, against which he afterward wielded so skillful and gigantic a power. God prepared and then employed one that understood both the strength and weakness of the Grecian religion, to accomplish the work of its overthrow. Providence seems to have taken him through the labyrinth of pagan learning, as through a house hung with every kind of armor, whence he might equip himself with weapons for its future destruction. He could thus meet the Gentiles on their own ground, as not a whit behind the chief of their philosophers in the knowledge of their religious system; quote their own authors; expose their absurdities; take what was true in the germ of their belief; and from this vantage position, force their judgment to consent to the high reality and glory of the truth, that there is but "one God over all, blessed forevermore."

But whatever uncertainty there may be as to the extent of his early education in Grecian knowledge, there can be no doubt that, being the son of a Pharisee and probably intended, from the first, for the profession of Doctor of Jewish law, he was carefully taught from his youth in the elements of Rabbinical learning. The beginning was doubtless made by his parents. His young heart was deeply imbued with the spirit of the Hebrew faith. Its hopes and its glory were, without doubt, interwoven with the first and strongest sentiments of his religious nature. Thus trained, he went up to the metropolis of his nation and of sacred learning, to complete his professional education. Under the tuition of Gamaliel, a distinguished teacher of the law, he developed his mind

and filled it with the accumulated stores of Jewish wisdom. He became an educated, self-complacent Pharisee.

Now, the conclusion can scarcely be resisted, that was a mysterious design—with eyes glancing to the future—in all this training through which Providence was leading Saul. At first blush, this education might seem to lift a high barrier to Saul's entrance upon the duties of a christian apostleship. The intellectual pride and development of religious prejudices, naturally flowing from this Grecian and Pharisaic culture, may seem least suited of all possible things, to prepare him for the reception and practice of the humbling and self-renouncing principles of the faith of Jesus. And yet, when his prejudices had been dissipated, and his heart humbled by the miraculous intervention of the power of grace, the divine counsel in his training shone brilliantly out. For it prepared him to see in christianity the needed and predicted complement of the Hebrew faith, as well as the mutely expressed "desire of all" Gentile "nations." By being familiar with the highest sanctity, best principles and most encouraging hopes of Judaism, his great and earnest heart was made to feel the preciousness of that which was higher and better still, and to discover, with instant vision, and demonstrate with unanswerable sureness, how all the symbols and promises of the covenant with his fathers centered in JESUS, and found their true meaning and reality and culminating glory in the mediatorial atonement of the "better covenant, established on better promises." And his knowledge of the nobler truths and features of Grecian philosophy, which rose up before him when he had escaped the thralldom of the restrictive system of Pharisaism, enabled him to form a just conception of the value of the moral verities that underlay Gentile ethics, and to labor with discriminating prudence and success among them whom God had called to be fellow-heirs of the promises. Peter and the other apostles, with none but Jewish culture, it seems, could never rise above their Jewish prejudices enough to labor comfortably among the Gentiles, and cordially admit them to an equality with their own nation in the kingdom of the Messiah. It was in reference to this Jewish trait in the christian Peter, in wishing to impose on the Gentile converts burdens which neither he nor his fathers were able to bear, that Paul, at one time, "withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed."—Gal. 2: 11. But before Paul's enlarged mind, as before none of the rest, there rose up in christianity the idea and hope of a universal reli-

gion—one that would have no limits but the limits of the race—one that would make the earth a temple, arched with the sky, and lighted with the stars, in which all nations might everywhere bow down, and through the one Mediator and Redeemer, worship the universal Father in spirit and truth. This mighty idea of a religion for the world, standing out as a brilliant and energizing attraction before his vision in the widely ranging labors of his apostolic life, was, probably, largely the product of that liberal and comprehensive union, in his education, of both Jewish and Grecian culture. And he is thus made to stand, as a perpetual monument before the church, to show how God can, by ordinary means, train a mind for a peculiar service, and sanctify and employ the most vigorous mental powers, and the most varied attainments of education, and cause them to augment the efficiency of ministerial effort. For, though beginning later than any of the other apostles, as “one born out of due time,” Paul was yet made, “in labors,” and success too, “more abundant than they all.”

Thus far we see only natural agencies concerned in Paul's preparation. They educate him simply as a man, and constitute him what he was just before his conversion. He was then about thirty years of age. Before passing on to the second department of agencies, it will be best to group together, in a connected view, his personal characteristics, both mental and moral, as they appear to have been developed up to this period. From this view we will be better fitted to appreciate the peculiar preparation wrought in him by the higher agencies of grace.

2. *His mental powers* can be estimated only in the light reflected back from his subsequent labors and writings. We must remember that these were his before his conversion. They were original endowments, and had received their proper development under the educational forces already mentioned. It is impossible to read his epistles without feeling that the original powers of the mind that produced them were of no ordinary type. In the synthesis of his intellectual life, he appears to us as a giant. In thinking of him, we are reminded of Luther. Luther has been called a “second Paul.” Both were original thinkers; both uttered thoughts too great for other men. Or, nearer home, the massiveness and grandeur of his intellectual strength may be compared with Daniel Webster's. Paul's was, however, less

methodical, more erratic and rapid. An analysis of his mind exhibits several traits very clearly marked:

One is a strong logical tendency. His reasoning powers were vigorous, discriminating and comprehensive. He naturally threw his thoughts into the argumentative form. In this mental trait of Paul, is found the germ of a systematized theology in the church. The great truths of religion had fallen, scattered, like manna on the ground of revelation. He gathered them up, that they might not be lost. Rather, they were lying, like brilliant diamonds, without order. Paul's mind was trained to collect and string them, each in its proper place, into a chain of theology. His epistles are master pieces. He moves through an argument with grandeur. When he is done, the reasoning is invincible in its logical accuracy. This dialectic character of his mind, probably, furnishes the reason why Longinus places him on a level with the best Greek and Roman orators.

Another trait is a distinctly practical force. This was the natural bent of his character. He not only thought, but acted. It was not his disposition to waste his time in reasoning out theories to no purpose. To him it seemed a childish thing to build castles in the air. He "put away childish things." His logic was always practical: it had its conclusion in action—sublime action. As lightning is followed by thunder, so the gleam of his thought was followed by motion to its execution. See this naturally practical tendency, by placing him beside the apostle John. Meditation was the soul of John's life. He could act too, but he seemed to be always placidly gazing on the eternal forms of divine truth and love. He would take you to lean, with him, on the bosom of the Lord, and have you look up into his eye of kindness, until you would cry out, "God is love." But Paul, with a more active nature, and equally as full of feeling, would say, "the love of Christ constraineth us," and then rush into the field of labor and suffer and fight. This combination of great power of thinking, and great power of acting, is rare. "An astonishing head and an astonishing arm are seldom united." This was a talent of this cultivated Pharisee. When we see him roaming the streets of Jerusalem with hurried step, invading the retirement of christian homes, and dragging thence men and women to prison, and speeding away to distant Damascus to fetter the followers of Jesus, we receive an unequivocal hint of his practical tendency at this stage of his training.

Another feature of Saul's mind was indomitable energy of will. His later life indicates that his educational influences developed his native decision into high resoluteness of character. No vacillation, hesitation, or changeable uncertainty, distorted his course. He held his other powers in stern subjection to the mandates of his will. This prepared him for that brilliant apostolic career, in which we see resolution and perseverance unbroken by toils, sufferings, perils or death.

All these endowments were combined with an ardent temperament. This gave impetuosity to his movements. As a man, his feelings were warm, and he was full of them. Had it been otherwise, we would scarcely be told, that he was "exceedingly *mad*" against the christians, and impelled to "persecute them even unto strange cities."

Such a view of his natural greatness of intellect is apt to suggest some corresponding majesty in his personal appearance. In this, however, we would mistake. The greatest minds are not always in the most imposing bodies. Sometimes the brain seems to be in inverse ratio with the bone and muscle. Of the person of Paul we know but little. Scattered representations picture him as a small man, of stooping carriage, fair complexion and sedate appearance, with aquiline nose, bald forehead, thick beard and expressive eye. Lucian scoffs at him, as "the Galilean with the bald head and hooked nose." Paul himself tells us of some among the Corinthians, who spoke of his bodily presence as weak, and his speech contemptible. But as this was the assertion of his foes, we have no guaranty for its correctness; especially that referring to his talent as an orator, as we know that it is still the case, that people will sometimes say of one they do not like, that his bodily presence and speech are contemptible.

3. *His religious character*, at this point of his preparation was that of a strict, sincere and intolerant Pharisee. His external life was unusually correct. It was probably the best product that his Pharisaic culture could produce. He made advances in the Jew's religion above many of his equals in age, in his own nation, being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of his Fathers.—Gal. 1: 14. From the Pharisaic point of view, his life was irreproachable. His sincerity cannot be doubted. There was no taint of hypocrisy in his character. Hypocrisy is incompatible with so earnest a nature as his was. He afterward affirmed that he had lived in all good conscience toward God. He means that he had been scrupulously conscientious. His errors of heart sprang from

those of the head. The fiercest of his persecutions were meant to do "God service." "I verily thought with myself that I *ought* to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth."—Acts 26: 9. This sincerity is one of the most necessary features in the formation of his apostolic character. But, though he was sincere, his conduct was in melancholy opposition to the will of God; and in his error, he was, to the last degree, intolerant. His impetuous nature made him so. A cold, heartless man could scarcely do wrong as vigorously and sublimely as he did. His natural gifts and cultivation had fitted him for mighty efficiency in something, either in good or evil. Education and great genius always prepare a man to become either a great blessing or a great curse. Saul was now efficient in sin. Amid the agitation of the Jews by the new faith of Jesus, the proud young scholar rose above all his compeers in persecuting the saints. He was indignant that a few ignorant fishermen should throw down the gauntlet to the Doctors of Jewish law, and boldly assert that the Jesus whom they had rejected and crucified, was the expected Messiah, and that he had risen from the dead and ascended to heaven. His mind had been filled with glowing conceptions of the majesty of the looked-for Messiah-king, and he could not endure the thought that he had been found in the person of the despised and executed Nazarene. He probably thought that it involved a degradation of the whole Jewish nation and religion. It was sweeping away too much of what had been their peculiar hope and boast. "He panted to visit retribution on these vilifiers of their national glory, and disturbers of their national religion." With high fury, he flung himself into the contest. He wavered not. There seems to have been no misgivings of his intolerant spirit. His strong and cultivated nature was working out an expression of its true self. We see in him, already, the high energy and zeal that were afterward transfused to the christian cause. Though young in years, he had the nerve of a hoary-headed tyrant, and before his relentless will everything went down. It is impossible to say where he would have stopped, had not God said to him, "Thus far—but here shall thy proud steps be stayed."

II. These features of his personal character mark the extent of its development by natural agencies. The result is, that the whole tide of his nature is against the religion of Jesus. This view prepares us to take the second step in the analytic examination of his preparation for his apostolic of-

fice, and to appreciate the change effected by the higher agencies of grace. The process already seen has developed him as a man; that to be examined will make him a christian and an apostle.

1. The first step in his spiritual preparation was his *conversion*. This occurred at a time when such a thing could be least expected. When he was fiercest against the christians, by a sudden transition he was made one of them. He was persecuting Jesus up to the very hour in which he was made a disciple of Jesus.

We can scarcely imagine that any but marvelous instrumentalities could arrest and change his determined mind. His arrest was not heralded by any note of preparation: it was quick and overpowering. He was journeying on, with his company, toward Damascus, as a persecutor, when, at mid-day, a sudden gleam of "light above the brightness of the sun," encircled him. All were stricken to the ground by its overpowering brightness, and he heard a voice, saying, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" That must have been a moment of ineffable experiences to Saul. A fearful awe must have subdued his strong heart, as the words, "I AM JESUS," assured him that he was in the close presence of that divine personage whom he believed to be dead, and whose name he had blasphemed. All this must have sent a quick conviction to his mind, that he had been in error, and fighting against God.

Some critics who have sought to explain the conversion of Saul on purely psychological grounds, have considered the light and voice on this occasion, as simply a flash of lightning and the accompanying thunder. They suppose that the company may thus have been smitten down; that the agitated, alarmed and guilty *conscience* of the persecutor uttered its silent voice on the inner ear of the soul. They imagine that the sudden danger and narrow escape arrested his attention, and that all the circumstances of being addressed and seeing the glorified Redeemer, took place, not in the outer, but inner world. The wicked are sometimes arrested in this way. The holy Norbert is said to have been converted under the instrumentality of a flash of lightning which darted down before him. Luther, it is well known, determined to devote himself to God, under the feelings produced when his friend Alexius, by his side in the field, was stricken to death. But though it is thus rendered abstractly possible to conceive of a conversion as occurring by such instrumentalities, there are insu-

perable objections to such an interpretation of the narrative before us. In the cases of Norbert and Luther, they *knew* that it was but the natural lightning. But Luke manifestly relates this as a supernatural occurrence. It is equally sure that Paul himself regarded it as more than an ordinary phenomenon of nature. Again and again he repeats it as a miraculous appearance, and, to his mind, an incontestable proof of the divine character of his call to the apostleship. He relates the *minutiae* of the whole scene—the light, the voice, the utterance in the Hebrew tongue. Paul certainly knew what lightning was, but he speaks not of it as such, but as of something he could not explain—"a light above the brightness of the sun." The true explanation seems to be this: The Lord had set him apart, from his birth, for a special purpose; and he here appeared to call and send him to his work. His destined office was one that he could not take upon himself: it required a direct investiture by God. Nothing less, therefore, than a miraculous appearance could satisfy Paul's own mind of his appointment to the apostleship. He also needed this to authenticate his claim with the other apostles and those to whom he was sent. He did ever afterward appeal to it as an evidence that he had been directly invested, by the Redeemer, with his high and peculiar commission. That light, therefore, was the visible glory of the Lord, in which, in former times, he had appeared, as the angel of the covenant, to the patriarchs and prophets. It was the radiance, part of which had before, on the mount of transfiguration, made the face of Jesus shine as the sun, and his garment gleam in the whiteness of light. Rather, indeed, it was the glory of the Redeemer's heavenly home; some of that light inaccessible about the Mediator's throne, of which he spoke in that sublime prayer he uttered just before his crucifixion: "And now Father, glorify thou me with the glory which I had with thee before the world was."—John 17: 5. That glory he had now resumed, and he seems to have, for the promotion of his mediatorial kingdom on earth, come down with all that glory on; and the brightness, as it flashed around the bewildered Saul, when the Savior drew near, was but the streaming effulgence from his garments of light. Saul knew, at once, that that was not a flash of lightning: and when from his prostrate position on the ground, he heard a voice mysteriously and reprovably syllabbling his name from that sublime glory, no wonder the mighty man was subdued and submissive, and ready to say, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to

do?" There was a logic in all that, against which he knew no arguments. There was an eloquence in that oratory of visible glory and divine utterance, that swept over his stern will, and left it lying as prostrate as his unnerved body.

The character of Paul's conversion was, therefore, *doubly miraculous*. It is a truth sustained by the demonstrative power of the whole gospel, that *every* conversion is a miracle. It transcends the powers of nature. The Bible clearly unfolds the truth, that our broken humanity has no ability to reconstruct itself, and that conversion never occurs simply under the operation of forces and laws inherent in human nature. The operative forces in corrupt humanity impel it onward in sin, but have no power to reverse the direction and ascend to God. This demands the intervention of a new energy. The river never turns its course and runs up the mountain. That would be a miracle. The turning of the current of human nature up the mountain of holiness is a miracle. It involves the supernatural. When we see a sinner converted, we behold as clear an intervention of the divine energy as was seen when the Mediator said to the angry waves of the rolling sea, "Be still," and there was "a great calm." When we witness one "dead in sins," rising up and casting from his yet marble-like limbs, the grave-clothes in which his moral life had been wrapped, and appearing after his resurrection, as a saint, we gaze upon a miracle of more marvelous glory, and richer in the tracery of omnipotent energy and love, than we would have seen had we stood by the tomb, and beheld Lazarus, at the bidding of Jesus, come forth from his charnel house of putrefaction, full of life and thought. Every conversion, therefore, involves the intervention of a new force, not only higher than nature, but reversing the natural. In this aspect, Paul's conversion and that of other men coincide.

But Paul's conversion was miraculous, not only in this universally supernatural characteristic of the change, but also as brought about by a miracle of agencies. It was the result, not of the ordinary, but of an extraordinary interposition of divine power. It has no parallel. The Redeemer appeared to him in visible glory; a mysterious light flashed on his pathway, and illumined his mind with convictions of danger and duty; a voice of dread reproof and direction, called him from sin. Such a scene as that through which he passed, occurs but once in the history of a world. A great foe was to be made a great friend, and sent on a mighty

work. An unmistakable miracle was to attest the hand of God in the transaction, and silence every voice of doubt or resistance. It was a "high day" in the annals of grace, when the chief of the enemies of the cross was made—not alone by the ordinary miracle of grace, but also by a miracle of agencies—instantly to take up that cross and glory in it till his voice was hushed in death.

The *completeness* of his moral change was fitted to the entirely new course of life and duty on which he was to enter. His conversion was not partial. It left no moral forces of his nature unconquered. He no longer "conferred with flesh and blood." The great deep was broken up, and a new world of duty and feeling arose from the chaos. His whole nature, with its ardor and might, sweeping onward, like a storm over a prairie, was in an instant completely reversed and, with accumulated force, went up the mountain of the Lord. He was a new creature in Jesus. His *judgment*, before biased by error, was illumined and convinced. This was the initial process in his conversion; "God who commandeth light to shine out of darkness, shined into his heart, to give him the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." We can conceive that, in that hour of ineffable radiance, near Damascus, there flashed through his mind thoughts that he had never known, conceptions that startled him by their strangeness, and conclusions that swept away the conclusions and prejudices and logic of all his past life. And when his judgment was illumined, his *will* was subdued. "He fell to the earth." It is always the sinner's will that gives the signal for the perpetration of sin. He wills to sin; to disregard God; to listen to the voice of the world's allurements and Satan's seductions. The will is the governing power, the general, of all the evil forces in human nature. They go forth, and march up and down in sin, at the bidding or permission of the will. God intended to make the efficiency of Paul's imperious will subservient to christianity. It is scarcely possible to form a sentence more expressive of complete renunciation of self-will, than that uttered by the stricken Saul, "Lord what wilt thou have me to do?" It exhibits total abandonment of himself to the authority of God; and the sentiment with which he enters his service is, "here am I Lord." His will lost none of its essential force, but was turned into harmony with the divine will. Its energy was not broken, but changed in direction. And with this strong nature and submissive spirit, it is easy to see what an effec-

tual laborer God was raising up for himself. The *active powers* follow the volitionary. Actions are the children of the will; good ones, of the will and judgment; bad ones, of the will and depravity. When the internal man has been changed, the external man is also changed. The inward processes embodied in Saul's conversion, at once transferred him from the activities of a persecutor to the position of a disciple of Jesus. The totality of the change shines out in instructive significance and glory in the fact which Luke mentions, that he at once joined himself with the disciples.—Acts 9: 19, 26. The proud scholar unites himself with the illiterate christians. He renounces his place and honor among the Jewish aristocracy, to suffer reproach with the people of God. He makes those whom he intended to fether and kill, his companions and counsellors. He takes the place of the persecuted, to be himself hunted down and imprisoned and slain. The suitableness of his previous preparation appears in the moral heroism that he at once exhibits, on becoming a christian. With a self-renunciation that is marvelous, and a heroism that knew no tremblings, he forsakes all that he had before counted gain, and glories in the cross, and in the friendship of the despised disciples. He fulfilled, toward the people of God, the beautiful promise of Ruth: "Whither thou goest, I will go, and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God." This is an evidence of the completeness of his conversion. The correctness of this assertion is more clearly seen, when it is remembered how this conduct contrasts with that of pretended christians in our times. Now men join themselves with the worldly aristocracy. *Pretended* christians can hardly worship in the same church with the poor or unlearned. They cannot endure a poor man's pew near their's, and socially, they take care never to know him. Even the divine plan of having the rich and the poor meet together in the same sanctuary, becomes too annoying for modern unconverted professors; and some aristocratic church, from which "grace" is pretty well excluded, except in name, must be formed, from which the poor must keep away. This course of modern unconverted men, shows the reality of Paul's conversion in clearer light. Modern aristocratic christianity is not of the Pauline order, and as it bears the stamp of spuriousness on its very face, it answers—as perhaps the only, or best use that can be made of it—as a proof of the genuineness of

the change that made Paul differ from them, and unite himself with the humble and persecuted disciples.

2. Paul was thus made a christian, and the next step is his investiture with apostolic rank. The ultimate design of all that had been done for him, was to give him credentials of office, and send him to the Gentile world with the gospel. Jesus himself performed his ordination rite; "I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee, delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles, unto whom I now send thee, to open their eyes, and turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in me." This was his certificate of apostleship. His commission was now in his hand, signed and sealed with the Redeemer's own royal signet. He "was not disobedient to the heavenly vision," but immediately, at Damascus, showed that Jesus was the Christ.

It was probably the outward expression of an inwardly felt necessity, that Paul, at once, came forward and bore testimony to the change wrought in him by the power of grace. It was the spontaneous outgoing of his new life. It would have tortured him, to have kept his new existence—like a pent up and smouldering fire—unconfessed and unexercised. He began his work with instant promptness. But it must have been a strange work to him; to build up what he had pulled down, to reason against the convictions and arguments to which he had been accustomed all his life. He must have felt strangely as he went about it; and, perhaps, in the beginning of his untried duties, there stole over him a half-consciousness that he was not yet adequately prepared for his sacred task. Probably he felt that his mind, long accustomed to run in other channels, must be specially disciplined to the new course of argument which he would have to employ. At any rate, after publicly witnessing for Christ at Damascus, he is withdrawn from our view, and before he again appears, entering on his labor among the Gentiles, he passes through the experiences of a mysterious residence of nearly three years in Arabia. We have no mention of this, but by Paul himself. Gal. 1: 17; Luke; Acts 9: 23, passes over it in silence, leaving a sort of blank in the sketch, and connects the parts before that visit into Arabia with those subsequent,

by saying, "after many days were fulfilled." There is something interesting in the fact, that the name of the last great apostle of God, by having gone into Arabia, is associated with some of the most hallowed scenes and transactions through which moved Moses and the holy prophets. In Arabia, Moses, when a stranger and a shepherd, saw the burning, but unconsumed bush, out of which came the voice of God. In its wilderness fell the manna and flowed the water from the rock, for the camp of Israel going from bondage to Canaan. Over it moved mysteriously the pillar of fire and cloud. In Arabia Sinai smoked and trembled when the Almighty gave law to the people. In Arabia patient Job suffered and triumphed. Here Elijah found refuge from his foes, by the little brook, where the ravens, like ministering angels, were divinely made to feed him. And at last, when God had called Paul to tell the Gentile world how the gospel of Christ had broken down every wall that once circumscribed the blessings of religion to the Jews, lo! we see him going, not up to Jerusalem to be taught by the twelve, but into Arabia; and then coming forward from communion with God in the desert, to bring back the banished race to Eden. It seems as though it was intended, that from the very scenes that were fullest of desolation and the spirit of stern law, he was to come forth to unfold the freeness and universality of the gospel. But God seems to have intended something more than this in Paul's sojourn in Arabia; something directly connected with his proper equipment for his apostleship. A few considerations will show that this is probable. First, *Christ* included in his own preparation for his public ministry a withdrawal, by direction of the Spirit, into the wilderness for forty days and nights, to undergo a mysterious conflict with the "god of this world." Secondly, the twelve were trained for three years, under the immediate tutorship of Jesus, for their apostolic labors. Paul had at least an equal task to fulfil, and may it not have been equally needful for him to commune with Jesus and study the gospel, before fully embarking in his destined work. Thirdly, Paul himself excludes a "novice" from the ministry. Is it not probable that his own conduct was based on the same principle? May not God have taught him this principle, by the way in which he led him? These considerations make it appear probable that God included this retirement into Arabia as a part of his preparation for his official duties. We can, moreover, trace some features of additional preparedness that it gave him. It af-

forded him time to settle his mind, so that his wonderful zeal might not lie open to the charge of fanaticism. He could review the bewildering transaction of his conversion, and fix himself on a firm basis of truth. There is sometimes strength as well as majesty, in delay. It gave him quiet to deepen and strengthen his inner life, by meditation and communion with God and truth, and thus to accumulate spiritual resources for the incessant and exhausting conflict in which he was ever after to be engaged. He could here attain some degree of manhood in Christ, before he entered the battle-field. And by the review, which it allowed, of the Old Testament prophecies in reference to Christ, it familiarized his mind with the proof of the Messiahship of Jesus, whose claims he was to maintain. It is not improbable, moreover, that during this time, he received, by immediate revelation from Christ, some of those facts and doctrines of the gospel, to which he refers in Gal. 1: 12. In his call, Christ told him that he was to bear witness, not only of the things he had then seen, but also "*of those in the which he would appear to him.*" As these would be immediately needed in preaching to the Gentiles, it is not unlikely that he was made acquainted with them before entering fully on his work. Further, many considerations point to this period as the time of the wonderful vision recorded in the twelfth chapter of Corinthians, when he was caught up into the third heaven. The chronological coincidence of the two events favors this supposition. And if God took Paul through these unutterable experiences at that time, it can scarcely be doubted that they were a part of his needful preparation, and a channel through which he received that knowledge which he afterward declared was not taught him by man. From Arabia he returned to Damascus, and went forth to his apostolic labor.

The second department of Paul's preparation—by supernatural agencies—gives the complete summary of his apostolic equipment:

1. He was converted by a miraculous interposition of grace.

2. He was called to the apostolic office directly by Christ himself; as much so as any of the twelve. His was not an inferior authority. He received it not from the previous college of apostles. They had no agency in his ordination. His commission was sealed "by Jesus Christ and God the Father."—Gal. 1: 1. His appointment was divine, not human.

3. He was made a "witness of the resurrection." If Peter was correct in supposing this to be an essential qualification for apostleship, Acts 1: 21, 22, Paul's preparation met this demand. He saw "that Just One," several times after his resurrection, Acts 22: 14, 18, and could, therefore, bear testimony to the truth that the Lord had risen from the dead.—1 Cor. 9: 1.

4. He was personally taught by the Redeemer. He received his gospel "by revelation of Jesus Christ."—Gal. 1: 12. This seems to have been an essential idea in the true conception of the apostolic office. How far the *minutiae* of gospel history and doctrine were communicated to Paul in this way, it is impossible to tell. He denies having received his gospel from the other apostles; and unquestionably he was not dependent for it on the fallible information of outside rumor. We may, therefore, safely conclude, that all its important facts and doctrines must have been embraced within the communications of the revelations. What he said of the Lord's Supper, "*I have received of the Lord that which I delivered unto you,*" 1 Cor. 11: 23, he could have said of the whole system of truth that he taught.

Thus was Paul prepared; and reviewing the whole discipline through which he had been led, he could only say, "By the grace of God, I am what I am." His equipment was now finished; he held his holy commission in his hand and heart; his great soul was full of pulsations of love and duty; he had none of fear; and he went forth, the apostle of the Gentiles, to live the sublimest life of devotion, and toil, and self-sacrifice, that the world has witnessed since Jesus, as God in human flesh, ceased going about to do good.

ARTICLE V.

ENGLISH HYMNOLOGY.

Collections of hymns for public and private devotion.

A hymn may be defined as a poetical composition, adapted to singing, and designed for christian worship, or devotion. In this are embraced three elements, the poetical, the lyrical, and the religious, and each of these is essential to the existence of a genuine hymn. It is by the neglect of the one or the other of these elements, that so many compositions bearing the name of hymns, and presented to the christian world for this purpose, have failed to command its regard, and though long commended to it as such, have finally been thrown aside as insufficient and unsatisfactory. The idea was long since advanced by Newton, in his preface to the "Olney Hymns," that poetry was rather an injury than an advantage to hymns: "There is a style and manner," says he, "suited to the composition of hymns, which may be more successfully, or at least, more easily attained by a versifier than by a poet. They should be *hymns*, not *odes*, if designed for public worship, and for the use of plain people. Perspicuity, simplicity, and ease should be chiefly attended to: and the imagery and coloring of poetry, if admitted at all, should be indulged very sparingly, and with great judgment." This, like most popular fallacies, contains some truth, along with several fundamental errors. There can be no doubt that all hymns should have the qualities of perspicuity, simplicity, and ease, but it is a very great mistake to suppose that these are opposed to poetical "imagery and coloring," for, on the contrary, it is one design of poetry to confer all the qualities just mentioned. True poetry never consists in obscure, harsh or unnatural language, and it is not the design of its figures and images to take off the mind from the thought, but thus to render the thought more impressive. But it is a still greater mistake to regard the gospel, as Newton here seems to do, as intended only for "plain people," by whom, I suppose, he means the uneducated or ignorant. It is true, that it is one of the characteristic glories of the gospel, that it is "*preached to the poor*," but it is not designed for them exclusively. Although it is "*easier for a camel to go through*

the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven," and "*not many mighty, not many noble,"* in the eyes of the world, "*are called,"* yet does the gospel at once refine and elevate man, purifying not only his heart, but also his taste, and enlightening his understanding as well as his soul. Hence, christianity has a purer literature, as well as a purer morality, than Grecian and Roman antiquity, with all their aesthetic culture could boast. The christian church, therefore, attracts to itself the most intelligent and the most refined minds, as well as the most pure and simple. Its public services are thus to be adapted, not to any one class, but to all classes of society; to the intelligent as well as to the ignorant; yea, it is a part of its mission to make men intelligent, to civilize and refine them, as well as to convict them of sin, and bring them to a knowledge of Christ.

But, in addition to this, genuine poetry, the most elevated and sublime, as well as the most touching and simple, adapts itself to men of every condition in society, as well as to the most diversified intellectual character. The poems of Homer and of Pindar had pleased and soothed, melted and enraptured the minds of the populace of Athens and of Thebes, of the Greeks in Asia, as well as those in the original home of the race, long before Longinus or Quintilian had discovered in them examples of the purest beauty, and of the most elevated sublimity. The songs of Burns, of Campbell and of Bryant, are equally popular with the unlettered multitude, and with the learned critic. Hence, as well as from the facts of the case, we infer, that the highest literary character of a hymn, as well as of any other poetical composition, so far from interfering with its popularity, or general acceptableness, is one of the conditions upon which popularity is dependent. Hence, too, we see the absurdity of the idea that a mere poetaster or versifier is better qualified to write hymns than the genuine poet. Just as reasonable would it be to infer that the apprentice, or the cobbler could make better work, or give a better fit than the fully accomplished workman. Dr. Watts, therefore, labored under a great mistake, when, as Newton informs us, he thought it necessary "to restrain his poetical fire, in order to adapt himself to the capacities of common readers." It is this, doubtless, that has made so many of his hymns so poor and flat that they have not been able to retain their place in any respectable collection of hymns for the purposes of public worship, whilst, on

the contrary, the more they breathe a genuine poetic fire, the more acceptable are they to all classes of christian worshipers, many of them establishing themselves as heirlooms with which no inheritor of the rich treasures of sacred song is willing to part. Whose heart does not glow with the fire of devotion whilst uniting in such a hymn as "Alas! and did my Savior bleed," whilst such a prosaic piece as "Behold how sinners disagree, The publican and pharisee," although from the same pen, is scarcely singable!

So also, if we compare Cowper with Newton, it will be found, as Montgomery well observes (in his preface to the Olney Hymns, p. 31), that Cowper, the genuine poet, in the few pieces which he has furnished for that most interesting collection, as much excels his friend and colleague, Newton, in the "perspicuity, simplicity, and ease" of his hymns, as he does in the higher poetic inspiration, "in grace, elegance, pathos and energy." In fact, Newton is a striking example of the unsoundness of the principle which he lays down for authorship, and of the insufficiency of mere verse, even when combined with the most genuine christian sentiments, to construct hymns which will permanently bear the test of time and use, by an intelligent worshipping assembly. Of nearly three hundred hymns which he prepared for the Olney collection, which was to serve as a memorial of their personal friendship, as well as of their christian faith, very few now commend themselves to intelligent christian worshippers, whilst nearly all of the thirty or forty prepared by Cowper for the same collection (with the exception of the historical ones) are still dear to all who delight to sing the praises of God; be they rich or poor, rude or refined, ignorant or intelligent. In these hymns of Newton, it is simply the poetical element that is wanting. The sentiments of his hymns, except where he interweaves his peculiar views in Calvinism, are evangelical and pure, and the metres which he has selected, simple and long-established in the English language. The contrast between Cowper and Newton, as regards their poetical character, may be seen in two of their hymns upon the same subject (walking with God), and which, in their Olney Hymn Book, stand in immediate succession (Nos. 3 & 4). Cowper's is the well known hymn commencing, "*Oh! for a closer walk with God,*" which although originating in a peculiar frame of mind, and adapted rather to the closet of the individual christian when mourning over the hidings of God's face, is still so deeply pathetic, and so adapted to almost uni-

versal feeling under the circumstances indicated, that it has long held, and will continue to hold its place in our hymn books for general use. Thus we find it alike in the Methodist and the Presbyterian, the Baptist and the Episcopal collections, almost from the time of its first appearance, as well as in the most recent collection of H. W. Beecher. Newton's hymn, on the contrary, although one of the best which he has written, and in the tone of its sentiments, far better adapted to public worship, is scarcely known beyond the volume in which it first appeared. Neither Rippon nor Dobell has copied it, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians, all ignore it, although most of them have copied many hymns by no means superior, but which had commended themselves to them by other considerations. But why is this hymn thus unanimously rejected? Simply because having nothing extraneous to recommend it, it has been *felt* that it was deficient in the true poetical element, and thus the unbiassed taste has very properly condemned it. But if by any chance it had happened to get into any congregational hymn book, it would doubtless be defended by those who had used it, as "a very good hymn, evangelical and sound in faith!" The following are its principal stanzas:

"By faith in Christ I walk with God,
With heaven, my journey's end, in view;
Supported by his staff and rod,
My road is safe and pleasant too.

2 I travel through a desert wide,
Where many round me blindly stray;
But he vouchsafes to be my guide,
And will not let me miss my way.

7 I pity all that worldlings talk
Of pleasures that will quickly end:
Be this my choice, O Lord, to walk
With thee, my guide, my guard, my friend."

This, however, we regard as decidedly superior to the great mass of Newton's hymns, of which the following (No. 25, Bk. 2) is more like an average specimen:

1 "Beneath the tyrant Satan's yoke
Our souls were long oppress;
Till grace our galling fetters broke,
And gave the weary rest.

- 2 Jesus, in that important hour,
 His mighty arm made known;
 He ransom'd us by price and power,
 And claim'd us for his own.
- 3 Now freed from bondage, sin and death,
 We walk in wisdom's ways;
 And wish to spend our every breath
 In wonder, love and praise.
- 4 Ere long we hope with him to dwell,
 In yonder world above;
 And now we only live to tell
 The riches of his love." etc.

Why is not this an acceptable hymn? Why does it not appear in any of our church collections from Dobell to the present time? Why is it that the simplest and most unlettered christian will take, in preference to this, almost any of the compositions of Watts, of Wesley, of Toplady or of Mrs. Steele, to say nothing of Cowper, of Montgomery, or of Heber? The answer is obvious—it is utterly deficient in the poetic element, and that most excellent man, Newton, although well aware, and properly confessing that he had none of the loftier endowments of a poet, overlooked the fact that he was sinning against the well established canon of criticism.

"Mediocribus esse poetis,
 Non di, non homines, non concessere columnae."

Poetry, then, and poetry of a high order, is, evidently, a fundamental requisite to every good hymn, and we are, therefore, compelled to differ entirely from Mr. Beecher,* who, having first defined a hymn as "a lyrical discourse to the feelings," which is correct enough, if he included the poetical under the term "lyrical," proceeds to contradict himself, by saying that "hymns are not to be excluded" from a collection "because they are deficient in lyrical form, or in feeling, if experience shows that they have power to excite pious emotions." Experience also shows that prose, whether read or spoken, or chanted, has power to excite pious emotions, but Mr. B. will not on that account advocate the use of prose in singing, or regard any form of prose as a genuine hymn. In

* Plymouth Coll. Introd. pp. 3, 4.

a collection, which is to be a *selection* of hymns, the question is, we suppose, as to what is *best*, not what is merely tolerable or passable. Before the invention of gunpowder, bows and arrows, battering rams and slings were very necessary weapons of warfare, and might still answer the purpose, if nothing better were at hand. But no intelligent man would now recommend them as equal to our most improved firearms, "*Sharpe's rifles*," or a park of artillery. Prosaic hymns doubtless answered the purposes of worship, when little or nothing better could be obtained, but as the English language and English literature have alike improved, not only since the time of Sternhold and Hopkins, but even of Newton and Cowper, it would be exceedingly unwise to prefer inferior hymns of an older date, to others more modern, more chaste in diction, more genuine in their poetry, and altogether better adapted to the purposes of devotion. Mr. Beecher also truly says that "not many of Newton's hymns can be called poetical;" but we can by no means agree with him, that "there are few hymns in the English language that are more useful." Indeed Mr. B. himself seems to act in opposition to his own declaration, when, out of several hundred of Newton's hymns, he gives place to but forty or fifty, in his collection of nearly fourteen hundred hymns. And even in this small number he has, contrary to his own avowed principle, to make very material changes, in order to adapt them to the well established rules of good taste in such matters. Thus the hymn commencing, "Stop, poor sinner, stop and think," he has not only reduced from five to three verses, but has substituted for the line, "Pale-faced death will quickly come," "Soon relentless death will come." But would it not have been far better to omit this hymn entirely? Is it not intolerable, not only to any one who has a correct ear, and is annoyed by the false metre which clogs every stanza, but does it not utterly fail in making that peculiar impression upon the feelings which Mr. Beecher lays down as one of the essentials of a hymn? Does it not require a "heart of steel," and a "forehead" protected by something like "brass," to stand the language and the singing (generally upon a most piercing key) of the greater part of this hymn, but especially of what Mr. B. makes the last, but which is, in the original, the fourth stanza?

"Though your heart be made of steel,
Your forehead lined with brass,
God at length will make you feel,
He will not let you pass:" etc.

But this, we presume, is an instance of Mr. Beecher's compliance with a very unsound principle, as we are compelled to regard it, in the preparation of his book and selection of his hymns. We refer to his declaration (Plym. Col. p, 4) that "he has carefully avoided a narrow adherence to our own taste in the selection of hymns." Directly contrary to this, we think that our editor (unless trammelled by a committee, in which case his helplessness is a matter for deep commiseration) is bound to follow the dictates of his own taste and judgment; this, we take it, is the very object of his appointment. If the editor's taste is not superior to that of people generally, he is unfit for the work which he has undertaken. It is a part of his business to improve the popular taste; to withhold from it the poor stuff with which it has been content, for want of something better, and to supply the place of that which he rejects, with hymns of a more elevated, as well as edifying character. That Mr. Beecher has not done this more steadily, is the grand defect of his book. Had he constantly followed the dictates of his own correct taste, and not made provision for the gratification of a taste either misled by habit, or corrupted by prejudice, he would have given us a book in all respects superior to those by which it has been preceded.

But we do not mean to say that poetic beauty is the only element that is to be considered in the composition of a hymn. As it is an address to our religious emotions, and designed for our edification, it must also be evangelical in its character. Here we entirely agree with Mr. Beecher,* when he says: "A hymn book is the popular doctrine book. We suspect that it would be found, that even educated and reflective men are more indebted to hymns for their knowledge of scripture truth, than to all the prose writers and commentators upon the Bible. And in regard to the highest truths of scripture, there are no commentators so safe, so full, so identical in spirit and temper, as are the best hymns of Christendom. It is worthy of remark, too, that almost every topic of scripture has been gloriously translated through the heart into the English tongue, by a hymnbirth." This we think, is saying rather too much for *English* hymns, although fully borne out by the character of others, especially our glorious German hymns. But we cannot forbear giving the characterization

* See his admirable answer to the carplings of ignorant criticism in his articles contained in "The Independent," Nov. 22, Dec. 1855-6.

of genuine hymns, which Mr. Beecher immediately afterwards gives, especially as appearing in a fugitive form, we suppose that it has reached the eyes of but few of our readers. He proceeds: "The Bible stands uneclipsed, nor can ever any human effusion supplant it, any more than art can ever dispossess, or overlay and hide the natural world. But hymns may be used in setting the Bible, as pearls are made to hedge in diamonds upon a golden ground. If the Bible should perish out of our language, it could almost be gathered up again, in substance, from out of our hymns, that take wing from the very period of creation, and fold their wings only when they touch the crystal battlements. When birds begin to look from the north southward in autumnal weather—and are heard triumphing through unfrosted orchards, amidst the vines, the olives and the oranges, with such wondrous bursts of song, that, as one lies between sleeping and waking, he might think the advent to be renewed, and God's angels to be in the air. And so it has pleased us often, in thought, to liken the rise, and spread, and flight, and multitude of hymns that have come down from the beginnings of time unto God's pleasant gardens and vineyards, in our days, increasing as they flew. Only there is no bird that can sing like a hymn. There are no meanings in all the mingled sounds of all the singers of the grove, or hedge, or lawn, like the voices of hymns that utter all the mysteries of Christ's love in the human soul."

Mr. Beecher has also reached a conclusion which is perfectly correct in regard to another use of the hymn-book, namely, as a *liturgy* for the congregation, in regard to which, however, we are sorry to find, not only that he does not carry it out to its legitimate consequences, but even endeavors, by reasonings far from satisfactory, to break its force, and avert its inevitable inferences. No one who properly reflects upon the subject, can fail to see that the use of a hymn book fully justifies the use of a liturgy. If prayers and praises may be sung from a book, they may likewise be read—the latter is no more inconsistent with genuine devotional feeling than the former. Of course we do not design to insist upon the prose liturgy as the only method of prayer; that idea is already excluded by our approval of the musical liturgy; and extemporaneous prayer has not only the sanction of scripture example, but it is also a necessary outgrowth of all devotional feeling. If the heart is full of the love of God, and of faith in his dear Son, it will just as naturally give expression to

these emotions in prayer and praise, as the ascending skylark does to song when borne upward towards the sun, upon the balmy breezes of spring. But apart from his argument against the use of a prose liturgy, we fully agree with Mr. Beecher in his view of this use of hymns: "In the sanctuary the Bible must speak, for the most part, through the voice of the pastor and teacher. The congregation may murmur responses of scripture, but cannot read it with those continuous and clear utterances which are required for understanding and edification. The true voice of the congregation must be heard through the hymn book. In our christian congregations the people, for the most part, are only recipients; they are not participators or actors in public worship. The minister prays *for* them; the choir sings *to* them, and the minister again preaches *to* or *at* them. Their duty seems comprised in a respectful sympathy and patient reception of the vicarious worship. This ought not to be. It cannot long continue in any congregation, without drying up the springs of feeling, and leaving public worship arid as a desert, or with only an occasional spot of greenness. It is better to seek some method which shall give the most varied utterance to the congregation, to the same substantial truths, so that the word of God shall always be the life and power, and men's language the leaven and blossoms, that in autumn and spring play death and resurrection in glorious rounds, forever changing, but never altering the truth. *The hymn book is the liturgy of the congregation.* It gives to us history, biography, doctrine, experience. It furnishes to us the essential truths of God, and the essential experiences of man. But so large is its store, so various its expression, that the same truths may be daily repeated, and the same language never twice repeated in the year."

We accept this statement generally in reference to the doctrinal character of hymns, and the importance of congregational singing, in order to keep alive true devotional feeling and life in public worship. But, as we have already intimated, history, biography, &c., must all take a peculiar character, in short, a lyrical and poetical one, in order to be admissible in this part of divine service. Prosaic history, biography, doctrinal statements, and the like, belong either to simple scriptural reading or to the sermon. Mr. Beecher himself has, in another part of the same articles from which we have just quoted, well set forth and illustrated this fact. "There is," says he, "a class of bastard hymns, or those that give an

analysis and philosophical classification of religious facts and truths. Such hymns are false. Poetry is not the language of the mind in an analyzing, philosophizing state. That is not a good doctrinal hymn which carefully and coldly states the distinction between moral and natural depravity, that takes sides in nice questions which theologians always raise and never settle, that is only a syllogism in verse, any more than a chapter of Dugald Stewart on the affections, done into verse is a love-letter, expressing a man's own emotions, or appealing to the emotions of another. Darwin once put Botany into verse, but he never put flowers there; his lines did not smell of roses or violets, and no man ever loved a flower better for all of Darwin's rhymes. Still less would Story's Commentaries, and the controversial speeches of eminent men on disputed points. Now there have been multiplied in the earth a race of hymns which are not the expression of truth just as it lies in scripture, nor of truths, as they are wrought by the spirit of God into human experience. They are mere propositions of philosophizing theologians. They are an inventory of explanations. Such hymns have been put into hymn books, I must think, as a sop to Cerberus; as a mere evidence of orthodoxy. Nobody sings them, and nobody *can*, without choking. Nobody feels them, and nobody believes them until they get into their trance of theory. Such hymns are not inspired but invented; they are built. They are piled up like cords of dead wood, line on line. One might as well put into verse the index to Turretin's Theology, or a synopsis of Calvin's Institutes. We reject such hymns, not because they are doctrinal, but because they are not."

This is undoubtedly a correct view of the subject, and may, at the same time, serve as a corrective of Mr. Beecher's position in the introduction to his "Plymouth Collection," which we have already had occasion to criticise, and where he proposes to dispense with the poetical element of which he here shows the indispensable necessity. Yes, hymns must have a doctrinal character, must be orthodox, sound in the faith, evangelical, drawn from the very heart of christianity, but they must present these subjects in "thoughts that breathe and words that burn." The writer of hymns must have his heart kindled with that live coal from the heavenly altar with which the angel touched the lips of Isaiah, must have the lofty spirit of Miriam, when she sung the triumph of Jehovah at the Red Sea, or the melody of David when he sang to his lyre those soothing strains by which he laid the evil spirit of

Saul, or took a loftier flight, and saw in vision the Holy One, and unfolded the glorious plan for the world's redemption, by the Son of God, who was yet the son of man—David's son and David's Lord. In a word, he must have the genuine spirit of a poet wherewith to give utterance to the emotions of the child of God aspiring to hold communion with his Father in heaven, and here rising above the common thoughts and the ordinary language of earth.

We have named the *lyrical* last, in our enumeration of the fundamental qualities of hymns, but we ought, on some accounts, to have placed it first. By this we mean that a hymn must be suited to singing, that is, it must be in correct metre, or in verse that can be properly expressed in musical notes, and sung by a properly instructed congregation or choir in religious services, whether public or private. It is their adaptation to singing that gives hymns their special character, and you might as well speak of a book that could not be read, as of a hymn that cannot be sung. Simple as this seems, there is no law that is more frequently violated in so called hymns. To adapt them to music, hymns are put into verse, and verse requires a certain arrangement of long and short syllables, as music does of notes of a certain quality of tone, time, &c. And yet there is a constant violation of this simple law, in both writers and collectors of hymns, though our more recent writers display increasing care in this direction, and some of our collections deserve great praise for the pains which they have taken to remedy this evil. The great mass of our English hymns are either iambic or trochaic, and our music is arranged accordingly with the accent upon every second syllable, or the notes which correspond to it, for iambic metre, and upon the first, third and corresponding places in trochaic. So when iambic and trochaic feet are mixed together in the same hymn, both the sense and the sound are necessarily disturbed, and correct singing is impossible. Yet it is rare to find a hymn in which this is not done to a greater or a less extent. In his first Psalm, Watts has not a single stanza free from this fault, and in some instances it is very glaring, making his lines exceedingly harsh, as, for instance, in the sixth stanza, which reads :

“Sinners in judgment shall not stand
Among the sons of grace,” etc.

where the accent placed upon the second syllable of "sinners" renders it unfit for singing.*

Under the same head we might, perhaps, place false rhymes, by which no small part of our hymns are entirely unfitted for devotional purposes, and especially for public worship. What man who has any idea of English pronunciation, or an ear that is not sealed against the harmony of sounds, can listen with any satisfaction to such attempts at rhyme as this:

* Since writing this part of our article, we have got hold of R. S. Willis' recent publication, "Our Church Music," which we most cordially recommend to "Pastors and People." The following extract more fully illustrates and confirms my statement in regard to the importance of correct accent in hymns:

"Another troublesome defect of our church hymns, and one that springs from the fact that their authors are more poets than musicians, is their great irregularity of accent. Musical poetry, and poetry written for music, are two very different things. . . . The occasional interruption of poetic accent is the pleasing dissonance, which, as in music, spices the melody. The stones in the bed of the brook make its music the sweeter. But musical accent, although as facile as that of poetry, cannot be changed where, as in the church hymns, the same music is sung to each stanza. The composer willingly takes the accentuation of the first verse, just where the poet chooses to place it, regular, or irregular, and composes accordingly. But, in the second and following verses, if the same music be sung, no variation from this given accent can be made, without reconstructing the melody. If a hymn be composed *throughout*, the accent, of course, can fall where it will, and the composer can follow. But take, for instance, the following Psalm (fifty-eighth, Prayer Book):

Thine is the cheerful day, O Lord;
Thine the return of night;
Thou hast prepared the glorious sun,
And every feebler light.

By thee the borders of the earth
In perfect order stand;
The summer's warmth and winter's cold
Attend on thy command.

The poet here chooses to place in the first verse, an accent on the first syllable of the first three lines, instead of the second syllable, where the regular accent of the verse would fall. Music has no objection to this: it could be sung as pleasantly as it reads. But music does object, and so does rhetoric, to such an italicised accentuation of words as we see in the second verse, which must inevitably follow when the melody of the first verse is applied thereto. This defect is exceedingly prevalent in our church poetry. One can scarcely sing a hymn in which this conflict of measure does not take place, and in which violence is not done both to the ear and to common sense, by some absurd fall of the accent. Those who write sacred poetry, and those who select it for use, ought surely to understand, that the accent must positively be regular, in verses sung to a repeated musical phrase, like our church hymns."

"The man is ever blessid,
Who shuns the sinners' ways,
Among their councils never stands,
Nor takes the sinners' place."

Here there is not a single correct rhyme in the whole stanza, and the thoughts are almost irresistibly impelled to substitute "*plays*" for "*place*" at its close. So in the third stanza of the same psalm (Watts' Ps. I., S. M.) "*thrive*" is made to rhyme with "*live*" (the verb). Nor are Watts' hymns in this respect, superior to his versions of the Psalms. In his first hymn book I. we find the following :

"Behold the glories of the LAMB,
Amidst his Father's throne ;
Prepare new honors for his NAME,
And songs before unknown."

where "Lamb" and "name" are certainly worse than no rhyme at all. But it is difficult to find one of Watts' hymns free from such inaccuracies.

These false rhymes are, moreover, objectionable, not only as violating the laws of versification, but also as tending seriously to corrupt the pronunciation of the English language, and also as often forcing upon us associations at one time comic, at another disgusting and always inconsistent with that undivided attention to the solemn ideas expressed, demanded by the devotional exercise of singing.

To a large body of persons the Bible and the hymn book are the greatest source of literary instruction and improvement, as well as of religious edification and worship. To such, as well as to their fellow-worshipers, with whom they are thus prevented from meeting upon equal terms, it is a very serious inconvenience, not to say injury, when an incorrect pronunciation and false accent are given them by a book to which they so frequently have recourse, and in which they have, as all uneducated persons naturally have in their hymn book, such unbounded confidence. Thus the uneducated will be confirmed in a false pronunciation of the adorable name of God, by such a false rhyme as this :

"Ere the blue heavens were stretch'd abroad,
From everlasting was the Word ;
With God he was ; the Word was God."

So in the word "again," in the following, which we cannot regard as greatly calculated to promote devotion, even apart from its vulgar pronunciation of the word just mentioned:

"Though greedy worms devour my skin,
And gnaw my wasting flesh,
When God shall build my bones again,
He'll clothe them all afresh."

And how many unlettered but worthy people and simple minded christians, who doubt not that whatever they find in their hymn book is correct, have been misled by such rhymes as these?

"What though the rebels dwell on high,
His arm shall bring them *low*;
Low as the caverns of the grave
Their lofty heads shall *bow*."

We might multiply examples of this kind indefinitely, and are, in fact, inclined to regard the faulty character of our hymns and hymn books, in this respect, as one of the most prolific sources of false pronunciation and its stereotyped errors, in the English language.

This is an evil of which the illiterate, as well as the friends of "English pure and undefiled," have reason to complain. But all who take pleasure in the "many twinkling feet" of English rhyme, have equal reason to complain of such rhymes as these: "Peace" and "Grace;" "Ease" and "Grace;" "Praise" and "Grace;" "Success" and "Grace;" "Away" and "Sea;" "Are" and "Here;" "Wit" and "Light;" "Son" and "Known;" "Ador'd" and "Lord;" "Hope" and "Prop," or even such as are given in this most unmusical and intolerable stanza, which is the third in Watts 15, Bk. I.

"But if the Lord be once withdrawn,
And we attempt the work alone,
When new temptations spring and rise,
We find how great our weakness is."

These are only a few of the multitude of false rhymes with which our hymn books are deformed, a tithe of which would ruin the character of any secular poet or poetical production in the present state of English literature. And why should they be tolerated in our books of devotion? Does a desire to edify the church give any right to the perpetration of such barbarism? Have not christian worshippers ears that can be

offended by discord and harshness, as well as other members of the human family?

But by a hymn that is singable, we do not mean one that is in a metre of the most familiar kind. It is a defect in our English psalmody, that there is so little variety in its metres. The great mass of our hymns are in the three well known metres, the *Long*, the *Common*, and the *Short*, all of which belong to the one class of *iambics*, where short and long syllables succeed each other to the end of the stanza of four lines. There is a moderate supply of the trochaic line of seven syllables (7's), with here and there one of another style. But so rare are the departures from those first mentioned, that the minister is afraid to give out what is called a "*peculiar metre*," without first ascertaining from the leader of the singing that he has a tune for it. This has produced a monotony, both in our hymns and in our singing, that is by no means either pleasing to the ear, or edifying to the church which would worship God in singing.

We know that there is a great prejudice among our ministers and churches generally, against the introduction of new tunes, and also against any considerable variety of tunes, and I am by no means an advocate for the introduction of tunes which the congregation cannot sing. Our idea of church music is, that it is music, or a collection of tunes which the whole congregation can unite in singing. We believe that it is alike the duty and the privilege of the whole congregation to join in praising God with the voice of song. But we do not believe that a half-a-dozen or a dozen tunes is the extent of the music with which God's people can praise him. But aside from all theory, the example of our German churches proves beyond the shadow of a doubt, how familiar a whole congregation may become with a great variety of tunes, not merely in "long" and "common" metres, but in those which, to an English reader, appear the most intricate of "peculiar" metres. Those familiar with the subject are aware how great is the variety of German metres, and that what we call "peculiar" metres are just as common in our German hymn books and in the congregational singing of our German churches, as are "Old Hundred," and "Mear," and "Shirland," and a few other tunes in our Anglo American churches. The number of tunes, or as the Germans term them, "melodies," sung in our German churches generally, must be considerably over a hundred, and yet how familiar is any well ordered congregation with the most difficult of them, as, for instance,

“*Allein Gott in der Höh’ sei Ehr’* ;” “*O dass ich tausend Zungen hätte* ;” “*Wie schön leucht uns der Morgenstern* ;” “*Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren* ;” “*Nun freut euch lieben Christen-G’mein*,” and scores of others. No one who contrasts the style of singing in our German churches, and churches of German descent, with that in purely English or American churches, can for a moment believe that the introduction of a great variety of tunes or even of “peculiar metres,” would necessarily exert an unfavorable influence upon congregational singing; the facts would rather warrant the opposite conclusion.

But we must hasten to the main point for which we have entered upon this discussion of English Hymnology, that is to say, *our collections of English hymns for the purposes of congregational singing or private devotion*. In the protracted discussion through which we have gone, in these articles, the fundamental thought with us has been, what kind of a supply of hymns does the English language afford, and what kind of hymns should our congregations unite in singing? These are evidently perplexing questions, as they have been answered and still are answered in so many different ways. The English churches of Great Britain, as we have already seen, first answered this question by saying, or taking it for granted, that translations of David’s Psalms were alone suitable to be used in divine service, whether performed in church or in conventicle. But from the time of Dr. Watts, a great change was gradually wrought in the English mind. Watts’ imitations of the Psalms, and his hymns were soon followed by numerous efforts in the same direction, until this department of our literature has gradually grown to be one of the most important and prolific in our language. This multiplication of hymns naturally created the necessity of making selections, as it was, of course, impossible to present to a congregation everything that was written. This process is still going on, and it is therefore an important and a pressing question, which every association of worshippers has to answer for itself. How shall we make this selection, or how shall we decide upon the hymns which we are to use in our congregational or social worship?

Practically, this question has generally been answered by each denomination selecting for itself the hymns which it prefers to use in this part of its public service. Thus we have the Presbyterian, the Congregationalist, the Methodist, the Baptist, the Episcopal, the Lutheran, and various other col-

lections of hymns, sometimes called "*Presbyterian*," &c., hymns, though (with the exception of the Methodist collection, almost exclusively the productions of the Wesleys) very seldom the exclusive work of the denomination whose name they bear. Here, indeed, we see more of the "*communion of saints*," and of "*one holy, catholic church*," than in almost anything connected with the earthly life of the church, its faith in one common Savior, and in one inspired word of God alone excepted. Here the Congregationalist (Dr. Dwight) takes his place beside the Episcopalian (Bp. Ken); the Presbyterian (Dr. Davies) joins in loving fellowship with the Methodist (Charles Wesley); the Moravian (Montgomery) guides the devotions of the Baptist, and even Unitarians and Universalists (Furness—Martineau—Whittier) to say nothing of such authors as T. Moore and Lord Byron (whose religion it would be difficult to classify) compose strains which the most orthodox may sing to the increase of their faith and love.

This last point is one that has recently attracted considerable attention, namely, whether it is proper to employ in public worship the words of a poet unsound in the faith, or, it may be, utterly infidel? We must acknowledge that there appears to us to be something revolting in the idea of worshipping in the language of a man whose heart was never warmed by the love of God. But, on the other hand, if we find words which excite us to genuine devotion, it would seem to matter little who may have penned those words. Even the Ass of Balaam spoke, and Balaam himself uttered genuine prophecies, and that natural aspiration of the soul, "*Let me die the death of the righteous!*" Caiaphas also, whilst leading on the dark conspiracy of hell against the Son of God, revealed the awful mystery of the atonement. But, what is still more in point, that most perfect model of a poem contained in the sacred canon, the book of Job, contains not only the poetry of the pious Job, but also of his erring friends—all alike recorded by the pen of inspiration, and equally profitable "*for doctrine, for reproof, for correction in righteousness.*"

But, however admirable their poetry, and smooth and sweet their versification, no one will suppose that these qualities afford any reason why we should insert the erroneous sentiments of the sublimest poets in our collections of hymns. Nor, on the other hand, has orthodox dulness any better claims to our consideration for such purposes. This will, as-

surely, be ere long, fully understood and acted upon in our collections of English, as well as of German hymns. With all the scantiness of our English store of hymns, we are happy to note a steady improvement, both in the quality of our hymns, and in the value of the collections made of them for public worship. Watts' hymns were a vast improvement upon the bold and literal, tame and trite versions and imitations of Sternhold and Hopkins, of Roush, and Tate, and Brady. The Wesleys infused new life into the hymns, as well as into the preaching and praying of their day. John Wesley brought a great deal of correct taste into his collection of hymns, which has in our day been still further improved and refined by various alterations, expurgations and additions, to which our strongest objection is, that they do not go far enough. "The Olney Hymns," edited by Newton, and containing only his own hymns and those of his intimate friend, Cowper, were first published in 1779. Rippon and Dobell, the former a Baptist, the latter a Presbyterian, brought out their collections in England, near the beginning of the present century. Both of these have been extensively reprinted in the United States, and were, for a long time, used by various denominations besides those for whom they were originally composed, and have also formed the basis upon which most of our collections in the United States have been prepared. These two rival collections (of which Dobell's was also based upon Rippon's) brought together the great mass of all the best hymns then extant in the English language, with the exception of Watts' hymns, and other standard versions of the Psalms. The principles upon which these selections were made, and which it is important for us to understand, as they underlie and pervade all subsequent selections based upon them, are thus stated by these two very respectable editors: Rippon, in the preface to the fifteenth edition of his book (London 1817) says: "In the preface to former editions I expressed my fear [that], notwithstanding this addition of above five hundred hymns to Dr. Watts' hymns and psalms, that all of them together would not furnish a sufficient variety for every subject of consideration which might arise in the course of the christian ministry. Time, general use of the hymns, and a frequent recurrence to the index of their subjects, have since united to prove that these apprehensions were not altogether unfounded or problematical; and that there was reason for intimating "that too great a variety of evangelical hymns for public worship, is a thing scarcely con-

ceivable. Some of these, on different subjects, I had the pleasure of composing; others were the productions of several eminent persons—the flower of that denomination of christians to which it is my honor to belong.”

It is evident from this statement, that variety and the furnishing of as large a number of hymns as possible for all circumstances of public worship, was a leading object with Dr. Rippon. His hymn book contained five hundred and eighty-eight (588) hymns, which, added to Watts’ psalms and hymns, would make considerably over one thousand hymns.

Dobell’s plan was nearly the same, as we may learn from the title of his book, which is as follows: “*A new selection of nearly eight hundred evangelical hymns, from more than two hundred authors, in England, Scotland, Ireland, and America, including a great number of originals, alphabetically arranged: being a complete supplement to Dr. Watts’ psalms and hymns.*” In his preface he expresses himself thus: “While so many volumes of hymns, both original and selected, are constantly issuing from the press, it seems almost presumption to expect [that] this will be noticed. Every man, however, has his peculiar taste; his selection of hymns, together with their arrangement, will be suited to this taste; and, consequently, there is room to hope that some may find in these, a suitableness to their views, dispositions and experience, which they have sought in vain from other selections, which, too, have their excellencies. It is almost universally admitted that Dr. Watts’ Psalms and Hymns possess an excellency and variety, which place him far before any single author, and, in my humble opinion, they are of such sterling worth, that no selection, however excellent, should supersede the use of them.”

It will thus be seen that to both these authors Dr. Watts was the highest standard of excellence for church psalmody, and this was, no doubt, in accordance with the facts of the case at that time, so far as collections of hymns were concerned, although the hymns of Cowper and of Kirke White are also incorporated in these books. But both these gentlemen (Rippon and Dobell) are deficient in chasteness of taste, and correctness of literary execution, as is sufficiently manifest from the style in which their *prefaces* are written. Many of Rippon’s hymns are in the worst possible taste. He is responsible, for instance, for one commencing,

“Lord, and am I yet alive,
Not in torments, not in hell!

Still doth thy good Spirit strive!—
 With the chief of sinners dwell!
 Tell it, unto sinners tell!
 I am, I am out of hell!"

Nor is one which immediately precedes it much better—

"Thy mercy, my God, is the theme of my song,
 The joy of my heart and the boast of my tongue;
 Thy free grace alone, from the first to the last,
 Hath won my affections and bound my soul fast."

And what are we to think of such language as this, whether viewed with a reference to poetry or devotion?

"Ye scarlet-colored sinners, come!
 Jesus the Lord invites you home;
 O whither can you go?
 What! are your crimes of crimson hue?
 His promise is forever true;
 He'll wash you white as snow."

and so on through four stanzas.

He is also responsible for a hymn of seven verses, each of which ends with the line, "*Give me Christ, or else I die,*" which is certainly anything but edifying by the associations which it awakens by its evident reference to Genesis 30: 1.

Dobell is somewhat more correct in judgment, but his poetic taste is inferior to Rippon's; hence his selection of hymns is often exceedingly harsh. Of this character are such hymns as the following:

"Jehovah is a God of might,
 He fram'd the earth, he built the sky;
 And what he speaks is surely right,
 The strength of Israel will not lie."

each stanza ending with the same line, which is equally rough in metre, and coarse in expression. So the following:

"Christ as our great physician heals,
 Our maladies within;
 Relieves the pangs the conscience feels
 From recollected sin.
 * * * * *
 'Tis he subdues our numerous foes,
 And blasts their vile intent;
 And he will always interpose
 Our ruin to prevent."

So also the hymn commencing, "When Israel's sons, a mur-m'ring race," which the editor tells us is "altered" from Needham—if the original was worse than the alteration, it must have been past mending, as the result, in fact, shows it to have been. How any one can *sing* such stanzas as these, it is beyond our power to imagine:

4 "Now Moses feels his Israel's griefs,
To God for them he prays;
A brazen serpent he's to make,
And on a pole to raise.

5 How strange the means! but in his hand
The remedy how sure!
Not one that view'd the healing brass,
But found immediate cure."

This is, however, only a fair specimen of most attempts at paraphrasing passages of scripture, and transferring parables and histories from the sublime simplicity of the Bible, into what is intended for poetry, but is seldom anything more than measured and rhyming prose. The failures of Cowper and Newton in this direction, ought to have satisfied all collectors of hymns, that very little was to be expected from such attempts. But Dobell has from Newton the hymn beginning,

"Zaccheus climb'd the tree,
And thought himself unknown;
But how surprised was he
When Jesus call'd him down!
The Lord beheld him, though conceal'd,
And by a word his power reveal'd."

The fourth stanza of this hymn commences,

"'Tis curiosity
Oft brings them in the way," etc.

Not more successful are those pieces in which the attempt has been made to put the harshest dogmas of Calvin into verse. A distinguished Presbyterian divine once observed to the writer, that no man had so damaged the cause of Calvinism as Toplady, but it seems to us that what he commenced in prose he finished in verse, when he perpetrated such doggerel as the following, which we find in Dobell No. 276:

“How happy are we
Our election who see,
And venture, O Lord, for salvation on thee!
In Jesus approv’d
Eternally lov’d,
Upheld by thy pow’r we cannot be moved.”

We do not think that our judgment is here influenced by denominational prejudice, for we are disposed to pass a similar judgment upon Lutheran hymns of the same class, which not even the wonderful power of the German language, wielded by its best poets, as, for example, Woltersdorff, can make anything more than tolerable.

James Montgomery’s collection of hymns, entitled, “The Christian Psalmist, or, Hymns, selected and original,” &c., which made its appearance in 1825, is undoubtedly one of the most interesting collections in the English language. In regard to this the editor, whom we naturally regard as possessed of the very highest qualifications for judging of the merit of hymns, whether poetical or spiritual, tells us that “he has endeavored to present to the public some of the best hymns of the best authors and collections within his knowledge.” In his introduction to these hymns, Montgomery has done great service to English hymnology, by pointing out the essential elements, and defining the proper nature of a hymn, as well as by his admirable criticisms upon the principal writers of hymns in the English language, to which we have had occasion, in a former article upon this subject, to refer. (See *Evangelical Review* for January 1856, pp. 422—447.)

Although Montgomery’s specimens of hymns by no means correspond, in all instances, to the standard which he has established for productions of this kind, they form one of the most chaste collections that has yet been published, and his own original hymns, which were here first brought together, form, by no means, their least attractive part. But, so far as we are aware, this book has never been used in public worship. For this, various reasons might be given, but, perhaps, the principal one, apart from its want of a denominational endorsement, was its neglect of a suitable arrangement of the hymns. Instead of being put under the usual rubrics for church services, they are simply divided into five parts or books, as follows: I. Scripture subjects: II. Prayer and Praise: III. Special occasions: IV. Miscellaneous hymns: V. Original hymns.

Of American collections, one of the earliest is that of Dr. Dwight, published in the last year of the last century (1800). It was arranged upon the basis of Watts' Psalms and Hymns, the psalms in one book and the hymns in another. But his additions to Watts, and his improvements of his phraseology are very considerable. His first object was to adapt Watts' hymns to this country, after its separation from Great Britain, Dr. Dwight being, as is well known, no less zealous as a patriot, than he was orthodox as a divine. Of other changes, he thus expresses himself: "The reverence for Dr. Watts is in this country so great, that I shall not be surprised to find myself charged with a want of modesty, for suggesting that he was the subject of such errors. Doctor Watts was a man of great eminence for learning, wisdom and piety; and in usefulness to mankind, has had few equals. Still he was not distinguished as a correct writer, and must undoubtedly be charged with some of the errors found in his Psalm book. A part of these only have I attempted to remove. I should have ventured farther, had I not been originally cautioned to make no alterations, except those which should appear to be either absolutely necessary, or plainly important. The hymns I have selected from various writers, with a design of extending and completing a system of psalmody. Had I followed my own judgment only, the collection would have been somewhat larger, but I found several judicious divines of opinion, that it would be expedient to make it still less."

The last point here touched upon by Dr. Dwight, namely, the number of hymns that a collection should contain, is one of the utmost importance in our hymn books, and has been answered in very different ways. Some editors seem to think that their book will be valuable in proportion to the number of hymns which they put into it. Others, but especially ministers who are disgusted by the mass of poor hymns so frequently crowded into hymn books, seem to think that a very small number will answer every purpose. Nothing is more common, than to hear ministers, whose church has a large hymn book, declare that they do not use one in ten of the hymns which it contains. But this, we apprehend, is chiefly in consequence of the inferior character of the great mass of their hymns. We cannot conceive that any one who has occasion to use a hymn book every day, or even every week, can find exactly what he desires, in any hymn book that it has yet been our fortune to use, or to examine. There

is a great deal of truth and force in Mr. Beecher's remarks upon this point: "Scarcely any two ministers would agree in the selection of hymns. A collection should be made so large that every one may find in it that which he needs. Neither should one complain of the number of hymns useless to *him*. They are not useless to others. A generously spread table is not at fault because, in the profusion, each guest cannot use everything." We have already expressed our dissent from Mr. Beecher's principle of gratifying every taste, as we hold that it is the duty of an editor of hymns, as well as of a preacher of the gospel, to correct a depraved taste, and to refuse to pander to it by giving it the unsound and unwholesome food which it demands. If Mr. Beecher could find but "five hundred hymns" which seemed to him to satisfy the canons of correct criticism, we think that he did wrong in putting more than twice that number (1374) into his book. Dr. Dwight's collection contains about three hundred and sixty Psalms, and two hundred and sixty-three Hymns, making altogether, six hundred and twenty-three pieces, or, as they might as well be called, hymns, for there is no essential difference between Watts' or Dwight's Psalms and ordinary hymns. The "Psalms and Hymns" of the Presbyterian church (Old school), which has now superseded Dwight's Psalms, formerly used by that body, contains about the same number of Psalms, and six hundred and eighty hymns, in all over one thousand pieces. The "Church Psalmist," prepared by Dr. Beman, and used in a great part of the Presbyterian church (New School) has nearly twelve hundred pieces. "The Psalmist," in use among the Baptists, contains eleven hundred and eighty hymns, together with an appendix for each section of the denomination (Northern and Southern), which has over a hundred more. The Episcopal collection is the smallest with which we are acquainted, embracing, together with its version of the Psalms, but four hundred pieces. This number is confessedly too small, for although the hymns are generally satisfactory, as far as they go, a large number of the most intelligent Episcopal ministers are anxious to have the collection very considerably enlarged. In the present state of English psalmody, we are inclined to think that about one thousand hymns would embrace all the pieces that can lay any claim to merit sufficient to entitle them to a place in a collection that would be edifying to the great body of intelligent worshippers, or which could be allowed to have any claims to the character of hymns that at all satisfy the con-

ditions essential to such compositions. Tried by Mr. Montgomery's standard, that "a hymn ought to be as regular in its structure as any other poem; that it should have a beginning, a middle, and an end," we are afraid that we should have difficulty in finding as many as Mr. Montgomery puts into his selection (691).

We had intended to make a somewhat particular examination of all the leading collections of hymns now in use among the various denominations of the United States, but we find that our limits will not admit of this. We may, however, give a brief characterization of some of them. The methodist collection ("Hymns for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church"—North and South) is substantially what John Wesley left it, though considerably enlarged by additional hymns from Charles Wesley, and from a few other popular authors. But Charles Wesley's hymns form so large a part of its contents, that he may fairly be said to give tone to it throughout. We recognize, however, with a great deal of pleasure, that the committee of revision, who brought out the book in its present form, have done much for the improvement of its style in various respects. As an example of this, we may cite their amendment of the popular hymn commencing, "*Come, humble sinner, in whose breast.*" In the second stanza of this hymn, the original contains the monstrous solecism of "*hath rose*" for "*hath risen.*" This they have removed by the following alteration, which, though it does not satisfy us entirely, is certainly a decided improvement upon the original:

"I'll go to Jesus, though my sin
Like mountains round me close;
I know his courts, I'll enter in,
Whatever may oppose."

Here the completeness of the sense would require "sins" instead of "sin," but this is not so serious an offence as that which it is proposed to remedy.

Dr. Beman's "Church Psalmist," extensively introduced into a large part of the Presbyterian church (New School), and, as we are informed, now undergoing a thorough revision with a view to its more general adoption by that denomination, was a great improvement upon all of our American collections of hymns then published (1843), and even now, is inferior to few others. Dr. Beman's collection and revision of the Psalms is, perhaps, the best with which the churches

that make this an essential and peculiar part of their psalmody, have hitherto been furnished. In this, as well as in most other respects, it is decidedly superior to the "Parish Psalmody," which is also in use in a part of the New School Presbyterian churches, though this collection also contains some very valuable original hymns which have not appeared elsewhere. Its psalms profess to be an unaltered edition of Watts, which is, we presume, the fact, as they have the original form of the hundredth psalm, commencing, "Ye nations round the earth rejoice," instead of Wesley's emendation, which begins, "Before Jehovah's awful throne."

Not long after Dr. Beman's book, appeared the Baptist collection, entitled "The Psalmist," edited by the Rev. Baron Stow, and Rev. S. F. Smith. Both of these gentlemen appear to possess rare qualifications for such a work, and Mr. Smith, especially, is well known as a composer of a number of hymns of a very high order; especially that patriotic hymn commencing, "My country! 'tis of thee," also that entitled "The Missionary's Farewell," which begins with the words, "Yes, my native land I love thee." Bating its denominational peculiarities, which are also presented in a form as little offensive as possible, we know of no collection which we prefer to this. It has a larger collection of good pieces, and fewer poor ones, than any book which it has been our fortune to examine. This judgment has, of course, no reference to the supplements, two of which have been prepared, one by the original editors, and another by Dr. Fuller—the latter consisting of only one hundred pieces, most of which are destitute of any special excellence.

The collection now used by the Old School section of the Presbyterian church, entitled "Psalms and Hymns adapted to social, private and public worship—approved and authorized by the General Assembly," is a careful revision of Watts' Psalms, together with nearly seven hundred hymns, generally selected with good taste, but frequently destitute of all poetical character, of which hymn 363 may serve as a specimen :

"There was an hour when Christ rejoiced
And spoke his joy in words of praise;
Father, I thank thee, mighty God,
'Lord of the earth and heavens and seas.'" etc.

To Mr. Beecher's book, which is the latest work of this kind that has made its appearance, we have already referred

in various ways. That it is a book of very great merit, with much to recommend it both to the worshipping assembly and to the private christian, who reads and sings for his own edification, and as one of the sources of his highest earthly happiness, no calm and impartial critic will deny. That he has made some very serious mistakes, not only in his selections, but in the principles upon which they were made, we think that we have already shown. But his mistakes are fewer than might be expected from his principles, for whilst his judgment is mistaken, his feeling and taste, by which he was, of course, most guided in his selections, are generally correct. But those who think of Henry Ward Beecher as a wild and rabid fanatic, would be amazed at their misapprehension, if they should take up, and even cursorily examine this hymn book. Even this announcement in his preface, should put such prejudices to flight: "We have sought for hymns in the books of every denomination of christians. There are certain hymns of the sacrifice of Christ, of utter and almost soul-dissolving yearning for the benefits of his mediation, which none could write so well as a devout and truly pious Roman Catholic. Some of the most touching and truly evangelical hymns have been gathered from this source. It has been a matter of joy to us to learn, during our research, how much food for true piety is afforded through Catholic devotional books, to the masses of darkened minds within that church of error."

What he immediately adds in regard to the hymns of the Moravian collection, "We have gathered many exquisite hymns from the Moravian collections," &c., is possessed of especial interest to those especially interested in our German hymns, for, it is unnecessary to say, the Moravian hymn book is made up chiefly of translations from our German hymns.

As to the *orthodoxy* of Mr. Beecher's book, about which so much has been said—Mr. B. has so completely annihilated his opponents in a series of articles published in the independent, and which we hope he will add to the next edition of his "*Star Papers*," that we need not say a word upon the subject. The book is undoubtedly evangelical, and worthy of a descendant of the old Puritans of the army of Oliver Cromwell and fiery Ireton, or, what is the same thing, of the old Continental line, who not only preached and prayed, but fought and bled for American independence.

And yet we cannot but regret that Mr. Beecher has put some of his eccentricities into this book. What, for instance, has such a ditty as No. 285 to do in a hymn book?

“O sing unto my soul, my love,
That all entrancing lay,
Such as the Seraphim above
Are singing far away;
It comes as some familiar strain,
Once heard in heaven, now heard again.”

Nor, however much we may sympathize with the sentiment, can we see any element of a hymn in No. 1066.

“Hast thou, 'midst life's empty noises,
Heard the solemn steps of time?
And the low, mysterious voices
Of another clime?”

But our space for this article is exhausted, we must therefore reserve what we have yet to say upon Lutheran collections of hymns, for another occasion.



ARTICLE VI.

PUBLICATIONS BY LUTHERANS IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE following list of publications by members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in this country, arranged alphabetically, has been prepared for the pages of the *Review*, at the request of several of its readers, and with the expectation that the article, in this permanent form, may be found useful for reference. Although not entirely satisfactory, the catalogue is more complete than any one hitherto published.* It presents quite a respectable list of Lutheran authors, particularly when we take into consideration the fact, that comparatively little attention has been given by our church in this country, to this department of christian effort. Our pastors, more especially in the earlier history of the church, were most laborious, frequently six, eight, and even more congre-

* We shall take pleasure in publishing a revised edition of this article, with such additions and corrections as may be necessary.

gations, claiming their constant care, and requiring their undivided attention. Even now, there are not many who have the requisite leisure for authorship. Those too, who occupy positions in our Literary and Theological schools, have usually performed the duties discharged by two or three men in other institutions. Although abundantly competent to furnish most valuable contributions to the literature of our church, few of them have as yet accomplished anything. There has been, however, of late years, a change. Some of our men, in the multiplicity of their engagements, have found time for writing, and their efforts have been successful. There is talent in the Lutheran church, which only needs development and encouragement. It is a favorable indication, that there is an interest awakened, and a disposition manifested by the church to have a literature of its own. Let us foster the spirit. Our writers should receive sympathy and support. Whilst we should, by no means, be exclusive in our reading, and disposed to reject the many excellent works, by the good of other churches, our people should be encouraged to procure and read works written by Lutherans, and designed for their benefit. The press is a powerful medium for doing good, and as a church, we should feel it our duty to make use of this instrument for advancing our interests, promoting the welfare of our fellow-men, and extending the Redeemer's kingdom.

J. W. ALBAUGH, A. M., Butler, Ia.

Life of Luther: Related from original authorities, with sixteen engravings. By Moritz Meurer. Translated from the German. H. Ludwig & Co., New York. pp. 694.

J. M. ALLEMAN, Pastor, Aaronsburg, Pa.

Memoir of Catharine E. Alleman: By one who knew her well. T. N. Kurtz, Baltimore. pp. 131.

F. R. ANSPACH, A. M., Pastor, Hagerstown, Md.

Discourse pronounced on Sabbath evening, in the Lutheran Church of Hagerstown, on the death of Henry Clay. 1852.

Discourse on Systematic Benevolence, pronounced before the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland. 1853. pp. 38.

The Sepulchres of our Departed. Lindsay & Blakiston, Philadelphia 1854. pp. 450.

The Sons of the Sires: a history of the rise, progress and destiny of the American party. Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1855. pp. 223.

Spiritualism and Spirit-Rapping: A Lecture delivered in Hagerstown. 1855. pp. 48.

P. ANSTAEDT, A. M., Editor, Gettysburg, Pa.

Lutherischer Kirchenbote.

Eine Auswahl deutscher Spruechwoerter erklaert und evangelisirt. Gettysburg, 1853. pp. 110.

J. BACHMAN, D. D., LL. D., Pastor, Charleston, S. C.

A Defence of Luther and the Reformation, against the charges of John Bellinger, M. D., and others. To which are appended various communications of other Protestant and Roman Catholic writers, who engaged in the controversy. Charleston: W. T. Paxton, 1853. pp. 1853.

An Inquiry into the nature and benefits of an Agricultural Survey.

Sermon on the Doctrines and Discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, preached at Charleston, S. C., 1837. pp. 37.

The design and duties of the Christian Ministry, preached at the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. 1848. pp. 23.

Address delivered before the Washington Total Abstinence Society of Charleston. 1842. pp. 33.

An address before the Horticultural Society of Charleston, S. C.

Funeral discourse of Rev. J. S. Schwartz, delivered in 1831. pp. 23.

The doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race, examined on the principles of Science. Charleston: C. Canning, pp. 307.

A notice of the Types of Mankind, with an examination of the charges contained in the Biography of Dr. Morton, published by Nott and Gliddon. 1854. pp. 33.

An examination of Professor Agassiz's Sketch of the Natural Provinces of the Animal world, and their relation to the different types of man. pp. 54.

An examination of the characteristics of Genera and Species as applicable to the doctrine of the unity of the human race. pp. 24.

Catalogue of Phænogamous plants and ferns growing in the vicinity of Charleston.

J. C. BAKER, D. D., Pastor, Philadelphia.

Rede zum Gedächtniss des Herrn David Friederich Schäffer. 1836. pp. 16.

H. L. BAUGHER, D. D., Professor, Gettysburg.

Sermon delivered in the college chapel, 1853. pp. 12.

Reality of Life: a discourse to the graduating class of Pennsylvania College, Sept. 15th, 1853. pp. 26.

Subjection to Law, the constitution of man's nature: a discourse to the graduating class of Penna. College, Sept. 16th, 1852. pp. 16.

The men for the times: a discourse to the graduating class of Penna. College, Sept. 17th, 1854. pp. 16.

Let no man despise thee: a discourse to the graduating class of Pennsylvania College, Sept. 16th, 1855.

The object of life: a discourse delivered in Christ's church, Gettysburg, on Thursday, Feb. 1851, a day set apart for prayer on behalf of colleges. pp. 11.

The Beauty of the Lord: a discourse delivered to the graduating class of Penna. College, Sept. 14th, 1856. pp. 28.

J. H. BERNHEIM, Pastor, Venango, Pa.

Ueber das Heilige Abendmahl, 1834.

D. F. BITTLE, D. D., Professor, Salem, Va.

Plea for Female Education, comprising documents and facts, illustrative of the importance of the subject. 1853. pp. 111.

Remarks on new measures. 1839.

A Collegiate Education: an inaugural address as President of Roanoke College. 1854. pp. 30.

C. A. BRANDT, Pastor, Alleghany City, Pa.

Rede bei der Grundsteinlegung d. Luth. Kirche.

Homiletisches Hilfsbuch. 4 vol. pp. 608. Leipzig, 1856.

S. K. BROBST, Editor, Allentown, Pa.

Jugendfreund—Semi-monthly.

Missionsblätter.

J. ALLEN BROWN, A. M., Pastor, Reading, Pa.

The duty, spirit and reward of the christian ministry: a discourse delivered in the Lutheran church in Lewisburg, at the opening of the Synod of East Pennsylvania. 1854. pp. 20.

J. F. CAMPBELL, A. M., Pastor, Cumberland, Md.

The Throne of Iniquity: a discourse delivered in the Evangelical Lutheran church, Cumberland, Md. 1854. pp. 21.

Prof. F. W. CONRAD, Pastor, Dayton, Ohio.

A plea for Wittenberg College. 1851. pp. 36.

V. L. CONRAD, A. M., Teacher, Pittsburg, Pa.

Evangelical Lutheran, Editor.

J. S. CRUMBAUGH, A. M., Pastor, Lancaster, Pa.

God in History: an address delivered before the Goethean and Diogenian Literary Societies of Franklin and Marshall College, at the Annual Commencement, July 24th, 1855. pp. 32.

C. R. DEMME, D. D., Pastor, Philadelphia.

Die Werke des Flavius Josephus in berichtigter Uebersetzung, und mit Anmerkungen, Philada. 1839.

Die Letzte Ehre, eine Leichenrede, beim Absterben des Hochw. J. H. C. Helmuth. Philada., 1825.

Synodal Predigt, 1839.

G. DIEHL, A. M., Pastor, Frederick, Md.

Sermon delivered in Christ's Church, Easton, Thanksgiving Day, 1849, pp. 16.

A discourse delivered in the old Lutheran church of Frederick, Md., 1855. pp. 23.

G. DOEPKEN, Pastor, New Bedford, Ohio.

Die herrlichen Siege des Evangeliums in Südafrika. 4 vol. pp. 64. Weinsburg, Ohio, 1856.

H. L. DOX, Pastor, Perch River, N. Y.

Sermon on the True Foundation.

L. EICHELBERGER, D. D., Professor, Lexington, S. C.

Sermons on National blessings and obligations. 1830. pp. 32.

Sermon on the death of Rev. Ebenezer G. Proctor, preached at Smithfield, Va., 1851. pp. 16.

Lutheran Preacher, Editor, 2 vols. Winchester, 1853-5.

JOHN M. EICHELBERGER, A. M., St. Louis, Mo.

Address to the Evangelical Lutheran churches of America on behalf of a chair of Sacred Rhetoric in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa., with a critique upon the orators of the Patristic, Gallic, and Anglo pulpits. Winchester, 1853. pp. 33.

CHRISTIAN ENDRESS, D. D., Pastor, Natus 1775—Obiit 1827, Lancaster, Pa.

Christi Regiment mit weltlicher Monarchie und Aristocratie unvereinbar. 1791.

WILLIAM G. ERNST, D. D., Pastor, Lebanon, Pa. Natus 1786—Obiit 1849.

Sermon on the death of Washington.

J. J. FAST, Pastor, Canton, Ohio.

Cantica Sacra.

J. G. H. FICK, Pastor, Detroit, Michigan.

Gesang und Saitenspiel der Kirche in Mississippithale. St. Louis.

Das Märtyrerbuch. St. Louis.

Das Lutherbuch, oder Leben und Thaten des theuren Mannes Gottes Doctor Martin Luthers. St. Louis, 1855. pp. 152.

R. A. FINK, A. M., Pastor, Lewisburg, Pa.

The Little Horn, or Romanism exposed, delivered May 1854. pp. 12.

D. R. FOCHT, Pastor, Bloomfield, Pa.

Duty of true heart prayer, briefly considered and earnestly enforced, by Rev. J. G. Butler, minister of the Evangelical church, Carlisle, Pa., 1784. With an introductory essay by the Translator, 1854. pp. 42.

Address delivered before the Education Society of the West Pennsylvania Synod, 1854. pp. 26.

Discourse, portraying the history of the Grindstone Hill church in Franklin county, delivered in 1854. pp. 38.

Two letters addressed to Mr. George Hetrick, by his uncle. 1853. pp. 16.

W. GERHARDT, A. M., Professor, Mount Pleasant, N. C.

Inaugural Address, delivered in Mount Pleasant, N. C., 1855. pp. 16.

D. GILBERT, M. D., Professor, Philadelphia.

Lecture introductory to the course of principles and practice of Surgery. 1844. pp. 12.

Do. 1846. pp. 19.

Do. 1849. pp. 16.

Valedictory address to the graduating class of the Medical Department of Pennsylvania College, 1846.

Do. Do. Do. 1852.

JACOB GÖRING, Pastor, York, Pa. Natus 1755—Obiit 1807, York, Pa.

Besiegter Wiedertäufer, 1783. pp. 92

Der Verkappte Priester Aaron (über die Siebentäger,) 1790.

Answer to a Methodist Remonstrance.

J. A. GRABAU, Pastor, Buffalo, N. Y.

Kirchliches Informatorium.

C. C. GUENTHER, Pastor, New Franklin, Ohio.

Dialogue on Baptism. 1848.

J. C. HAAS, Teacher, Philadelphia.

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C. F. Endress, D. D., D. F. Schaeffer, D. D., G. B. Miller, D. D., E. L. Hazelius, D. D., S. A. Mealy, G. A. Lintner, D. D., H. L. Baugher, D. D., W. D. Strobel, D. D., T. Lape, L. Eichelberger, D. D., F. W. Geissenhainer, J. Medtart, C. G. Weyl, C. F. Schaeffer, D. D., J. G. Schmucker, D. D., C. B. Thuemmel, H. I. Schmidt, D. D., S. R. Hoshour, A. H. Lochman, J. P. Cole, C. A. Smith, D. D., J. G. Morris, D. D.

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C. F. Endress, D. D., D. Eyster, T. Lape, E. Meyer, F. W. Geissenhainer, H. I. Schmidt, D. D., G. B. Miller, D. D., R. Weiser, W. D. Strobel, D. D., C. A. Smith, D. D., C. P. Krauth, D. D., A. Wackerhagen, D. D., J. Berger, S. A. Mealy, G. A. Lintner, D. D., L. Eichelberger, D. D., C. B. Thuemmel.

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W. M. Reynolds, D. D., H. L. Baugher, D. D., C. F. Schaeffer, D. D., H. I. Schmidt, D. D., J. G. Morris, D. D., C. Porterfield Krauth, A. M., J. A. Seiss, A. M., C. P. Krauth, D. D., B. Kurtz, D. D., J. Few Smith, D. D., S.

W. Harkey, D. D., Prof. M. Jacobs, A. M., J. W. Richards D. D., Prof. M. L. Stoeber, A. M., G. B. Miller, D. D., T. Stork, D. D., H. Mills, D. D., B. M. Schmucker, A. M., G. Diehl, A. M., E. Greenwald, L. Eichelberger, D. D., S. S. Schmucker, D. D., J. N. Hoffman, A. M., C. W. Schaeffer, D. D., Prof. H. W. Thorpe, A. M., B. Sadtler, A. M., G. A. Lintner, D. D., C. Walker, A. M., Prof. F. A. Muhlenberg, A. M., H. Ziegler, A. M., M. Loy, Prof. A. T. Bievent, J. Oswald, A. M., Prof. D. Worley, A. M., J. L. Schock A. M., J. A. Brown, A. M., W. J. Mann, D. D., P. Rizer, A. M., D. F. Bittle, D. D., Prof. F. Springer, A. M., E. Miller, A. M., B. Appleby, M. Valentine, A. M., F. R. Anspach, A. M., J. Ulrich, A. M., A. L. Bridgman, A. M., C. C. Baughman, A. M., G. Seyffarth, D. D., J. R. Keiser, A. M., Prof. F. L. Appel.

ARTICLE VII.

THE TEUTONIC LANGUAGES.

By Prof. F. L. Appel, Pittsburg, Pa.

TAKING a historical view of the Teutonic languages, we find that they are spoken at present by the most civilized nations of the globe. The German is not only the vernacular tongue in what we now call Germany, Austria, and Prussia included, but also in the greatest part of Switzerland, in Alsace and Lorraine of France, and with most of the higher classes in Poland, Russia, Denmark, Sweden and Norway. The Dutch lives in the Netherlands with the Belgians and Hollanders. Danish and Swedish, into which the Nordist dialect is split, keep their old dominion in Scandinavia, and in the lonely Scotland the Nordish itself is still spoken in its ancient purity. The English rules and strikes root over all the grand divisions of the earth, and is daily gaining more ground. For though it possesses the most mixed characters of any known language, the English linguists themselves must admit that its basis is Teutonic.

This Uncle Sam affords the most cheering sight of all, harboring and gathering as he does, to new life and brotherhood, his Teutonic nephews, from whatever part of their old homes, and in whatever condition they flock under his blessed and sheltering roof. In America the linguist can converse in a single day with the living representatives of the Teutonic, in all its dialects, and their thousand varieties, a pleasure which it would require many years to procure himself in Europe. And what a charm lies in the observation of the multifarious dress which the simple German adopts in its confusion with English!

Switzerland and England excepted, the Teutonic languages held, as early as two thousand years ago, about the same countries of the old world, as now. The Romans called them Germans, their country Germania. For although Cæsar, in his warfare on the Rhine, met with a people who, as he was told, called themselves Germans, this term nowhere else occurs as an appellation of the nation, or of a single tribe of it. The coincidence in sound with the Teutonic word *haerman*, *wehrman*, *warman*, a warrior, may have led to the word; or German, Germania was coined by the Romans themselves, from *gigno*, *germen*, *germanus*, i. e., the sense of aborigines, indigenous, autochthon.

The Germans always called themselves (the Scandinavians excepted, who adopted the appellation of Normans, and derived their origin from the Aesir, Asen) *Deutsche*, their country *Deutschland*. We already meet this name in the Teutones, who, in 144 A. C., in company with the Cimbeus, attacked Italy. Tacitus, in his *Germania*, tells us that the Germans "*celebrant carminibus antiquis, Tuisconem (Tuistonem) deum terra editum et filium Manum originem gentis conditoresque Manno tres filios assignant.*"

Thus we get, without any difficulty, the term, *Tuisco Manus*, *Deutsher Mann*, *Deutschmann*. The root of the word is, *thinda* (*θινδος*) and its derivative *thindisho*, *θινδισχος*, meaning most probably the people, par excellence, like the Latin *gens* and *gentiles*. Of course, besides this generic appellation, the single tribes had a peculiar name, as, for instance, Goths (the meaning of which word is not yet clear), Franks, the free, Longobards, Lombards, not from their long beards, for long hair, both on head and face, was the greatest ornament with all *Deutschmen*, but from their long spears, *barte*, bare; Saxons from their swords of stone, Lat. *Saxum*; Angles, a tribe of the Saxons, from their occupation as fish-

ermen, and occasionally as pirates; Allemanns, all men, all warriors. After several tribes of the Deutshmen had settled abroad, as the Franks in Gaul, the Lombards in Italy, the Goths in Spain, the Angles in England, new languages sprang up among their descendants, and other names were given to the old Fatherland and its inhabitants. The Franks, French, called the Deutschen and their country Allemands, Allemagne, from their nearest neighbors the Allemans, on both banks of the Rhine. The same appellation was adopted by the Spaniards, from their neighbors, the French. The Angles, after they themselves had been conquered by the French, Normans, and thus had become English, remembered nothing but the Roman name Germany, Germano, and restricted the appellation of Dutch, Dutchman to Holland (who call themselves "nederduitsch," lower Germans). The Italians alone, though they call the country Germania, Allemania, have retained the appellation of Tedesco.

In regard to the cultivation of the Teutonic languages and their literature, we should distinguish three periods: 1) till the art of printing was invented; 2) till the end of the eighteenth century; 3) till now; or in round numbers, 360—1500; 1500—1700; 1700—1856.

Nobody is under so great obligations to christianity as the Teutonic linguist. The Bible was, if not the first, the most important book rendered into Teutonic. The glory of having first done this, belongs to Bishop Ulfilas, who, as early as in the second half of the fourth century, translated the Bible into Gothic.

But parts of the Gospel, in a rough manuscript, which is still preserved at the University of Upsala, and some fragments of the Old Testament, recently discovered by Prof. Vajo, in Italy, have come to us. This is the most precious remnant of all the Teutonic languages. Then came the translations of the Bible in Anglo-Saxon, Saxon and Franco Allemannia or old high Deutsch. Many other valuable writings of the first period are extant, as the Anglo Saxon laws, the Nordish Eddar, the Allemanniac Niebelungen, etc. We must, however, not expect grammars or dictionaries of any note in this time. Again, in the second period, the Bible now published in German, Dutch, English, Swedish and Danish, and read by all classes, rescued the Teutonic languages from any further degeneration, doing them more service than the dictionaries del' Academie Francaise or della Crusca have rendered to the French and Italian languages. Luther's

version of the Bible remains to this day, an unrivaled model of plain, chaste and vigorous language, and the corner stone of German literature. "Whatever has nourished the spirit and form of language, whatever has revived it, and called forth the flowers of modern poetry, we owe to none more deeply than to Luther." These are the words of Jacob Grimm, in the preface to his Grammar.

Many Teutonic manuscripts that had been mouldering in the dust of the libraries, were published. Grammars and dictionaries of all the different Teutonic dialects appeared. The English took again the lead, as their Anglo-Saxon forefathers had done in spreading christianity over Germany. The Germans soon overtook them, but as their labors were overlooked by most other nations, so nobody, not even they themselves, thought yet of treating the Teutonic languages as one whole, independently of the Classic and Shemitic languages. Only in our present age, most especially since the last thirty years, the brightest light has begun to shine, as over all philology, so in particular over the Teutonic languages.

The English discovered in the East Indies a philological mine of inexhaustible treasures, and from 1780 to 1800, Sir William Jones and many other English Orientalists communicated to the astounded philologists of Europe the dug up ore. English, Italian, French linguists were delighted at beholding the perfections of the never before dreamed of Sanscrit; but they hardly knew what to do with the new comer, till the German linguists took the matter into their hands. They combined the new materials with the old, melted all in the crucible of comparative philology, and gave us a comparative grammar of the Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Litthau, Slavonic, Gothic, Teutonic and Celtic; with a glossarium Sanscritum, in quo omnes radices et vocabula usitatissima explicantur et cum vocabulis Graecis, Latinis, Germanicis, Lithuanicis, Slavicis, Celticis comparantur. The European tongues wandered from central Asia into Europe. The first were undoubtedly the Celts (woodmen), then came the Teutones, partly branching off as Greeks and Romans to the south and west, partly as Germans taking an eastern and northern direction. Then followed the Slavons (the glorious) and last appeared the Tartars.

Let us present a single example to show how Indo-European, though separated for so long a time, resemble each other to the present day: Eng. tooth; Dutch, Dan., Swed. tand;

Germ. Zahn; Lat. dens; Gr. ὀδονς; Sanscrit: danta. Root. dans, to bite.

Now, at length, we know what the Teutonic languages were and are. The German linguists searched them in the minutest points, from their cradle to their establishment in Europe. Here, in their new home, they traced their growth and development, from their first appearance down to the middle ages, and from thence to the modern times. They concurrently compared the Latin and Greek, Slavonic and Sanscrit, and called upon the Romanic languages themselves (Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese) to tell what garb the Teutonic pilgrims had put on in their intercourse with the Celtic and Latin.

Young, and of comparatively modern date, the science of language has still, already led to results surpassing the most sanguine hopes. A proper idea of the exalted dignity of language, as the most direct outward manifestation of man's divine mind, has taken the place of vague notions and absurd surmises. Shrewd devices and random guesses have given way before a philosophic knowledge of the admirable structure of language, and a better acquaintance with its history. Societies have been formed, and chairs established in universities, for the critical study of modern, as well as of ancient languages; men like Bunsen, Grimm and Humboldt, have lent their time and their genius, to aid the new science. Language was, and is now, studied as the noblest and most characteristic manifestation of the human mind, as the great instrument by which the word of God and the law of man speaks, by which alone the sciences flourish, the arts live, and nations can foster love, honor and true glory.

ARTICLE VIII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

A Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians. By Chas. Hodge, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, Broadway. 1856.

WE are much gratified to note, from year to year, the able commentaries upon divers parts of Holy Writ, produced by American theologians. Some of the very best Biblical commentaries are by American divines, among whom the author of the present work holds a very high rank. That so many commentaries have been, of late years, produced in this country and abroad, upon the epistle to the Ephesians, may be justly regarded as evidence that the profound importance of this most fervently eloquent outpouring of an inspired mind, is more and more felt and appreciated. Only in our last number we noticed a valuable commentary on this epistle, by a learned and highly esteemed friend; and much that we there said, is, *mutatis mutandis*, applicable to the work now before us. Both works are by men whose doctrinal and ecclesiastical systems differ from ours, and of course we find a few things in their writings, which we cannot subscribe. But except on isolated points, we cordially agree with them, and would fain hope that we are of one spirit with them. Dr. Hodge has long been known to the theological and christian world as a thorough Biblical scholar, and his practical works are very generally esteemed. The work now under consideration affords the most honorable evidence of his conscientious fidelity as a student of Scripture, and of his profound learning as a professor of theology. It is impossible to read this work attentively, without becoming satisfied that the author has not only read the inspired volume understandingly, but that he is a mature christian, well prepared, through much observation, and through long experience in the service of Christ, to point out, explain and illustrate to others the practical bearings and consistent application of sacred truth. His is not that merely theoretical knowledge which may be derived from the lectures or writings of others: he has drunk deep of the living waters of the fountain-head, and has been fitted, by their quickening and invigorating power, to become the instructor and guide of others. He has consulted, and made use of the best German Commentators, excepting Stier, upon this epistle; but, inquiring and judging for himself, he does not serve up other men's views, but gives

us the results of his own careful investigations and studies. He makes no pompous display of learned authorities, but presents, in a lucid and vigorous style, with the humble, yet firm decision of one who is ready to give an answer to all inquirers of the hope that is in him, the conclusions to which his own candid and faithful examination of the sacred text have led him. Thus his commentary is characterized by great directness of language. While no pains are spared to explain and elucidate every part of this important epistle, and while, in connexion with passages that may be and are differently interpreted, various opinions are cited, and the one most probably correct, is duly pointed out, there is no needless verbosity: no more is said, at any place, than is necessary to afford a clear and full understanding of the Apostle's language. This conciseness and terseness of expression and exposition appear conspicuously in the introduction, in which the various interesting and important general considerations connected with the epistle, are discussed in sections as brief as is consistent with a just and satisfactory exhibition of their respective subjects. The entire work is equally creditable to the author, and honorable to American theological literature, and will prove a most valuable addition to the library of every earnest student and the Sacred Scriptures.

A Memoir of Adelaide Leaper Newton. By the Rev. John Baillie, Minister of the Free Church of Scotland, London; Author of "Memoirs of Hewitson," etc. New York: Robt. Carter & Brothers, Broadway. 1856.

THIS is one of those charming christian biographies with which, we are happy to know, the present age has been quite frequently favored. It records the life and experiences, delineates the character, and comments upon the sayings and writings of a true child of God, whose earthly career did not exceed the brief space of thirty years. Although we have the memoirs of many in whom the fruits of the spirit have been truly abundant and delightful, there are few lives recorded, of which the love of Christ had, at so early an age, so entirely become the all-absorbing principle, or which had been so thoroughly purified, sanctified and beautified by the power of God's truth and grace in the gospel. There is here a most beautiful and winning example of a cheerful renunciation of the world, its fashions, follies and pleasures, amidst the most alluring temptations and ample facilities to enjoy all it has to give, and of a trustful, hopeful, prayerful, humble, consistent and ever-rejoicing discipleship, a devoted following after Jesus, a faithful bearing of the cross, an earnest testifying to the peace and happiness of the christian profession. It is one of those books which, while they thrill our souls with delightful emotions, at the same time awaken us to the most earnest and solemn inquiry into the sincerity of our own professions, and to the

most searching examination as regards the correspondence of our walk and conversation with our high and holy calling. "The Scriptures were wrought into the very texture of her inner life: she fed upon them in her heart." "Grace has seldom shone brighter in any vessel of clay. And for the honor of the Saviour, and the consolation of his church, the memorial of what was done in her, for her, and by her, ought not to be lost."

Parents who would place before their children, especially their daughters, an example consummately beautiful of that sacred profession by which the doctrine of God, our Savior is adorned in all things, cannot more effectually do this, than by placing in their hands this charming and precious volume.

The Spanish Conquest in America, and its Relation to the History of Slavery and to the Government of Colonies.
By Arthur Helps. Two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1856.

THE historic ground covered by this work has already, in its general aspects, been made familiar to the reading public, through a number and variety of more or less meritorious works. But as in every distinct section of human history, there are particular points of relative interest, only slightly, or even not at all, noticed by the general historian, so also, and perhaps pre-eminently, on the portion here presented. The author of the work before us, being much interested in the general subject of slavery, and having already written a good deal upon it, began to investigate the origin of modern slavery. Other questions also, bearing closely upon slavery, and especially with respect to the distribution of races in the New World, arose in his mind, and led him on to researches, which soon satisfied him that there was much to be told about the early discoveries and conquests in America, which is not to be met with in its history as hitherto narrated. Thus he felt himself, at last, induced to present the results of his extensive and careful investigations to the public, and, as he soon found that he had undertaken a larger work than he had expected, we have here before us two good-sized and deeply interesting volumes. He states his plan briefly as follows: "To bring before the reader, not conquest only, but the results of conquest, the mode of colonial government which ultimately prevailed, the extirpation of native races, the introduction of other races, the growth of slavery, and the settlement of the *encomiendas*, on which all Indian society depended—has been the object of this history." In the pursuit of this design, he relates the story of the Spanish discoveries and conquests in our hemisphere; yet he follows no beaten path, no unbroken thread of narrative, but tells his story in his own way, the nature of his subject making it necessary for him to change the scene often, to transfer the reader from

one point of view to another frequently: to convey him from the New World to the court of Spain, to the private cabinet of some powerful minister: thence again into the track of some resolute conqueror: now into the midst of one colony, now of another. If thus the mere historic interest is weakened, it is in subserviency to a still higher interest, the exhibition of causes and their effects, of measures and their results, the study and comprehension of which are beyond measure interesting and important, not only to the statesman, but still more so to the true friend of mankind, the christian philanthropist. The mere story of discovery, conquest and colonization, subordinate as it is here, is exceedingly well told, and many important facts, not found in other historical works, are given. But it is the character and measures of the administration of the several Spanish colonial governors in America, the introduction and progress of Indian—afterwards succeeded by negro—slavery, and the frightful effects which resulted from the adoption of this horrid system, upon which the author chiefly lays out his strength. Here it is quite startling to observe how Ovando, an able and perhaps, on the whole, well-meaning man, ignored the humane instructions of queen Isabella, and in spite of her positive charge to treat the Indians with the same equal justice and humanity as other *subjects* of the crown of Spain, gave full scope to the execrable system, which soon swept entire races of Indians into the tomb, and depopulated whole islands and districts. Deeply interesting, in this connexion, are the earnest protest of the Dominicans against Indian slavery, and the strenuous efforts of one of the order, father Antonio, to effect the abrogation of the inhuman system. The author goes over the whole ground of the Spanish conquests and colonization in North and South America, and the adjacent islands, giving a full account of the administration of the successive governors in the several colonies, and depicting, in ample detail, the atrocities and horrible results of these administrations, all which is varied with thrilling narratives of daring enterprize, and strange incidents and adventures. He derives much interesting and valuable information from the writings of Las Casas, himself a colonist and then a reformer, whose work, by the by, on the conquest of Mexico, is, for reasons best known to papal authorities, studiously concealed from the public eye. Las Casas is the prominent personage in the second volume. Unfortunately his scheme for the relief of the Indians, involved the introduction of negro slaves, an error which this honest man frankly acknowledged in his old age, but which, had *his* suggestions and plans been strictly carried out, would probably never have unfolded itself into that colossal system which now so much disturbs our republic.

Long as this notice is, we have given but a few hints respecting the character and contents of the work before us: our readers will find it rich in interesting and important information: it is calmly and candidly

written, moderate in its tone, and temperate in its language, thoroughly humane in its principles, full of practical wisdom and enlarged views, and in every respect a most valuable contribution to historie literature.

The Life und Adventures of James P. Beckworth, Mountaineer, Scout, and Pioneer, and Chief of the Crow Nation of Indians. With Illustrations.—Written from his own Dictation. By T. D. Bonner. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 1856.

THIS extraordinary narrative recounts the singular career, the wild and romantic adventures of a white man, who, after a series of remarkable experiences as a mountaineer, scout, and pioneer, &c., in the far distant west, became domesticated among the warlike Crow Indians, who, in consequence of his daring and almost always successful bravery, after some time elected him their chief. After directing their affairs for a number of years, conforming in all things to their customs, and establishing a most formidable reputation as a warrior, he finally returned to civilized life, and rendered a variety of important services to the U. S. government. It cannot be denied that the subject of this autobiography displayed some high traits of character; but the Indian morality and social customs which he adopted, are extremely reprehensible; and in some instances very revolting. The narrative possesses a practical and permanent value, chiefly in the ample and accurate information which it communicates respecting the character, pursuits and customs of the Indian tribes that rove over the mountains and vast prairies of the Great West.

Christology of the Old Testament, and a Commentary on the Messianic Predictions. By E. W. Hengstenberg, Dr. and Prof. of Theology in Berlin. (2d Edition greatly improved.) Translated from the German by the Rev. Theod. Meyer, Hebrew Tutor in the New College, Edinburgh. Vol. I and II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, &c. Philadelphia: Smith & English.

HENGSTENBERG'S *Christology* has long been known in the U. States, through the translation of the Rev. Dr. Keith, of the Virginia Theological Seminary. It has long been regarded as an exceedingly able exposition of the Messianic Prophecies. Dr. Hengstenberg brought to the task of explaining these prophecies a sanctified intellect of high order, great learning and sound piety. His eminent success has opened the way for a new edition, much improved by further investigations, this is now in a course of publication in a new translation, and two volumes have been issued. The character of Hengstenberg is so well established

in the department of Old Testament exegesis, and the work so well known in its earlier form, that it needs no additional recommendation, now that it reappears with a higher finish and an ampler elaboration.

THAT admired work, Stier's "Words of Christ," or rather Discourses of Christ, in a fourth volume, is already before us. Purchasers can have it from Smith and English, Philadelphia. It has so often received our commendation, and has so fully established its reputation as an enlightened and reverential, and devout exposition of our Lord's Discourses, that it seems superfluous to do more than announce the progress of the translation, and inform our readers that it can be procured by them.

American Lutheranism; or, Examination of the Lutheran Symbols, on certain disputed topics: including a reply to the Plea of Rev. W. J. Mann. By S. S. Schmucker, D.D., Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary of the General Synod at Gettysburg, Pa. Earnestly contend for the faith, once delivered to the Saints. Jude 3. Baltimore: Published by T. Newton Kurtz, 151 West Pratt Street, 1856.

THIS work of a well known Lutheran theologian, has thus far not received much notice through the press, at least we are not aware that it has, but is destined, we think, to call forth much criticism, both favorable and unfavorable. We have already heard very different judgments concerning it. In this form, we prefer saying nothing either in praise or dispraise; we will leave its merits to be determined by those who are fond of controversy, and who may regard it as their vocation to respond to the call of the author, expressed in the motto: Contend, &c.

The Last Times. An Earnest Discussion of momentous Themes. By J. A. Seiss, A. M., Author of "Lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews," "Baptist System Examined," and Pastor of the Lombard Street Lutheran Church, Baltimore, Md. Baltimore: Published by T. Newton Kurtz, 151 West Pratt Street, 1856.

IF a reviewer should say nothing about a book till he has read it, our lips ought to be closed, for we have not found time to read this recent issue of the press. We desire, however, to announce the arrival, as early as possible, of a work which carries with it a name of authorship known in our churches, and associated with talent and activity. We can, assuming the prophetic office, promise our author many readers, some admirers, and some who, whatever ability they may accord his discussions, will not embrace his scheme, either in its leading features or details. We understand this to be what we are familiar with from other pens, an

advocacy of the literal reign of Christ on earth, and that mode of exposition of prophecy which regards "Christ's coming as making the millenium, and not the millenium which is to prepare the world for Christ's coming."

If we and our readers promise the respected author a careful perusal of his book, in due time, and submission to his argument, if convinced by it, he will be satisfied. We promise—our readers must decide for themselves.

Antrittsrede, gehalten am 16. April, 1856, zu Gettysburg, von Karl F. Schaeffer, D. D., Professor der deutschen Sprache und Literatur in Pennsylvania College, und deutscher Professor der Theologie am Prediger-Seminar zu Gettysburg, Pa. Nebst der an ihn in Englischer Sprache gehaltenen Einführungsrede, von Ehrw. Joh. Ulrich. Auf Verlangen der Directoren des Seminars gedruckt. New York: Heinrich Ludwig, Buchdrucker, No. 45 Vesey Strasse. 1856.

THE inaugural address of Dr. Schaeffer, and the charge of the President of the Board of Directors to him, have, we presume, been extensively read in our church. The subject selected by Dr. Schaeffer is one of the most interesting in dogmatic history. It may be called "the development of the doctrine of the Redeemer." Its various aspects are historically deduced and luminously exhibited. No one interested in theological studies, of whatever school, can fail to derive gratification from its perusal. His own position is that of the strictest orthodoxy according to the symbols of the Lutheran church.

Mr. Ulrich's charge, with a lower symbolical tone, is replete with excellent counsel, conceived in the best spirit, and uttered with words which cannot be misunderstood.

Dr. Martin Luther's kleiner Catechismus mit beweisenden und erklärenden Sprüchen aus der heiligen Schrift. Zusammengestellt von J. C. Haas, Lehrer an der deutsch-evangelisch-lutherischen St. Michaelis- und Zions-Gemeinde in Philadelphia. For the Lutheran Board of Publication. Philadelphia: Verlag von Schaefer & Koradi, Südwest-Ecke der 4ten und Woodstrasse. 1856.

LUTHER'S smaller catechism, and a large collection of scripture passages to elucidate it, constitute this work. It receives the highest endorsement from the brethren, Schaeffer, Schmauck and Welden, committee of the Pennsylvania Synod. The imprimatur of the Lutheran Board of Publication supersedes any special commendation from us.

The Lutheran Almanac, for the year of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, 1857. Being, until the 4th of July, the 81st of the Independence of the United States. Arranged according to the system of German Calendars. Adapted to latitude 40° and meridian of Baltimore. With valuable statistical information. Baltimore: Published and sold by T. Newton Kurtz, Publisher, Bookseller and Stationer, 151 Pratt Street, opposite the Maltby house.

THE Lutheran Almanac for the year 1857 is already on our table. In addition to the matter usually contained in such publications, it has statistical information in regard to our church, a clerical register of great value, and edifying selections of a religious character, from various sources.

Elements of Criticism: By Henry Home of Kames, one of the Lords Commissiners of Judiciary in Scotland. Revised, with omissions, additions and a new analysis. Edited by Rev. James R. Boyd. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1856. pp. 486.

THIS incomparable and popular treatise of Lord Kames on criticism, was first published in 1761, and has long occupied a position in the Colleges and Academies of our land. There is no other work, even at this period, that can well supply its place. It cannot be laid aside in our educational course, without serious disadvantage to the student. There are, however, some objections to the original edition, which have prevented its universal adoption as a text-book. These defects the American editor has attempted to remove, and, we think, with eminent success, thereby greatly increasing the value of the work. Frequent abbreviations and omissions have been made in the text and notes, where the matter was obsolete, unnecessary or indelicate. Every thing has been stricken out, which impaired the excellence and usefulness of the book. Considerable additions, selected from recent and valuable sources, such as Cousin, Jeffrey, Alison, Hazlitt, President Hopkins, are given, for the purpose of elucidating and illustrating the principles of the author. The editor has also prepared an analysis of the book, distributed at the bottom of each page, which will be found most convenient for teacher and pupil. The volume, in its present improved form, is better adapted to the purpose intended, than any similar production with which we are acquainted, and we are happy to add our testimony to its merits. The work is used as a text book in the course of study prescribed in Pennsylvania College. It deserves a place in all our institutions of learning.

The Science of the English Language: A Practical Grammar, in which words, phrases and sentiments are classified according to their offices, and their various relations to one another. Illustrated by a complete system of diagrams. By S. W. Clarke, A. M. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1856. pp. 310.

Analysis of the English Sentence, designed for advanced Classes in English Grammar. By A. S. Welch, A. M. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1856. pp. 269.

THESE are excellent books, prepared by experienced teachers, and worthy the attention of those to whom the business of instruction has been committed. We are glad to see so many excellent educational books issued from the press at the present day. A. S. Barnes & Co. are entitled to the thanks of the public, for the share they are contributing to the good work.

Elementary Moral Lessons for Schools and Families: By M. F. Cowdery, Superintendent of Public Schools, Sandusky, Ohio. The good alone are great. Philadelphia: H. Cowperthwait & Co. 1856. pp. 261.

THIS volume is designed as introductory to a series the author is preparing upon this important department of education—that which pertains to social duties and moral obligations—a subject at present so much neglected in our schools. The book is admirably adapted to the work of moral instruction, and could be used with great profit in all our elementary institutions. It is intended to aid the teacher in a general presentation of those common virtues and duties, to which very early attention should be given. Moral precepts are laid down, illustrated by interesting narratives, and questions adapted to the capacities of the young, are added for the purpose of awakening inquiry, and impressing the truths on the mind of the pupil.

To Rome and back again: or the two Proselytes. Adopted from the German. By John G. Morris, D. D., Pastor of the First English Lutheran Church; Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz. 1856. pp.

THIS book contains an interesting narrative of the apostacy of the son of a Lutheran minister from the faith of his fathers to that of Rome, and his subsequent conversion and return to Protestantism: also of the means by which an intelligent young woman is delivered from the errors of Romish superstition, and brought to a saving acquaintance with the truth. The work presents a valuable exhibition of the points in dispute

between Romanists and Protestants, and a successful refutation of the principles of the former. It is an excellent and seasonable production. The able argument it presents, the vivacity with which it is written, and the christian spirit which it evinces, cannot fail to make it popular, and a most acceptable offering to the public.

A System of Physical Geography ; containing a description of the National features of the land and water, the phenomena of the atmosphere, and the distribution of vegetable and animal life, to that is added a treatise on the physical Geography of the United States. By D. M. Warren. The whole embellished by numerous engravings and illustrated by several copper-plate and electrotyped maps and charts, drawn especially for the work. By James H. Young. Philadelphia : H. Cowperthwait & Co. 1856. Quarto. pp. 92.

To the young, perhaps, there is no study more attractive or better calculated to elevate and expand the mind, than that of Physical Geography, and every effort made to increase the advantages connected with instruction in this science, should be regarded with interest. In the preparation of the work before us, the greatest care has been exercised, the highest and most recent authorities have been consulted, and the results of their extensive labors, in a condensed and well arranged form, presented. The engravings designed to illustrate the text, together with the maps, are very beautiful, and greatly add to the value of the book. The publishers also deserve praise for the ability with which they have executed their part.

Regina, the German Captive ; or True Piety among the lowly. By Rev. R. Weiser, President of the Central College of Iowa, Fort des Moines, Iowa. Baltimore : T. N. Kurtz. 1856. pp. 252.

THE main facts of this book are found in the *Hallische Nachrichten*, in a narrative given by Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, who tells us that he was visited at his own home by the captive, from the mother of whom he received all the circumstances related. It is a story of thrilling interest, and cannot fail to please and edify the young. The work has been prepared for the Sabbath Schools of our church, and it is deserving a place in every library. We have valuable material in the history of our own Zion, and we are glad that there is a disposition to gather it up and make use of it for the benefit of our people. The book contains much useful information. The moral tone is good, and many useful reflections are presented. Dr. Muhlenberg, in closing his account of Regina, says: "From this nar-

rative we learn the importance of early religious instruction. Here was a child cast off from all religious influences. among wicked savages, and yet the seeds of piety sown in her young breast, continued to grow, even under the most unfavorable circumstances." We thank Mr. Weiser for the service he has done, and most cheerfully commend the volume to the attention of our church.

Catharine de Bora ; or, Social and Domestic Scenes in the Home of Luther. By John G. Morris, D. D. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1856. pp. 127.

THIS is an interesting and instructive volume, the result of considerable research, containing many facts and incidents in the domestic life of the Reformer not before published. Luther and his devoted companion are presented in a very attractive light, whilst many of the slanderous charges brought against both, are most satisfactorily removed, and their character happily vindicated. We have read the work with great pleasure. We regard it as a valuable contribution to the literature of our church, and trust the author will be encouraged to continue his labors in this same department of literature, which he has so successfully commenced.

Holy Words ; or the Sermon on the Mount. By our Lord Jesus Christ, as reported by the inspired Evangelists. Baltimore: T. N. Kurtz. 1856. pp. 95.

WE are indebted to the publisher for an elegantly bound, gilt copy of this inimitable sermon, arranged, we believe, by Rev. J. A. Seiss, Pastor of the Lombard Street church. It will answer as an appropriate gift book, during the approaching holidays, for the children of our Sabbath Schools and others. Whilst we wish for the volume a large circulation, we commend the discourse itself to the careful study of all who cherish the words of Him, who spake as man never before spake.

Lectures on English History and Tragic Poetry, as illustrated by Shakspeare. By Henry Reed, LL. D., Late Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan. 1856. pp. 466.

THIS is a most valuable contribution to the literature of our country, from the posthumous papers of Professor Reed, and is, in every respect, worthy of the high reputation which the distinguished author, during life, enjoyed. The volume embraces two courses of lectures on the historical plays of Shakspeare, and on tragic poetry, as illustrated by the dramas of King Lear, Macbeth, Hamlet and Othello. The plan of the work is entirely novel. "The drama," in the words of the editor, "is not used merely as a mode of illustrating historical records, or lightening

their gravity, not as a means of entertainment and relief, but as an instrument of deep philosophy, in combining the great departments of human thought and knowledge." The author himself says, "I seek this combination, not so much as a means of relieving the severity of historical study, and making it more attractive, as because I have a deep conviction, that poetry has a precious form of its own for the preservation of historical truth; that it can so revivify the past, can put such life into it, as to make it imperishable." The execution of the plan is admirable, the effort a most successful one. It is a work of no ordinary merit, and will prove a permanent memorial of its gifted author.—Throughout the volume you see his delicacy of taste, his varied and elegant culture, his chaste and correct style, his simplicity and gentleness of spirit, his moral purity and Christian character. Professor Reed was one of the most cultivated minds our country has produced, and we are sure that the effort to perpetuate his usefulness will be gratefully regarded by all who can appreciate literary merit, and value moral worth.

We are under obligations to our accomplished friend, W. B. Reed, Esq., for presenting the public with this interesting and instructive volume. A most pleasant feature connected with the work, is the affectionate interest with which he cherishes the memory of a fond and devoted brother. The editor has executed his part with great ability. The notes, he has added, greatly increase the interest of the book. We are glad to receive the intimation that he has in contemplation the preparation of the memoir of his brother's life and correspondence, and we indulge the hope that the execution of the work will not be long delayed.

Knowledge is power: A view of the productive forces of Modern Society, and the Results of Labor, Capital and Skill. By Charles Knight. Revised and edited with additions. By David A. Wells, A. M. Illustrated with numerous engravings. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1856. pp. 503.

THE author of this volume was the originator and editor of the "Penny Magazine" and other useful works, in which he evinced his ability to communicate important knowledge, in an agreeable and popular manner. The object of this publication is, to present in a concise and familiar form, the nature and variety of the productive forces of modern society, together with the results that have been secured by the union of labor capital and skill. Numerous examples and statistics are given as illustrations of the principles laid down, drawn in a great measure from the history of the civilization, progress and present condition of the Anglo-Saxon races. Although not a formal treatise on Political Economy, it may be regarded as an excellent introduction to that science, which is awakening an increased attention throughout the country. The book is

designed more especially for the young, that they, through an accumulation of interesting facts, may rightly appreciate the principles upon which the security and happiness of society every where depends. The American editor has improved the character of the work, and made it more useful, by omitting matter exclusively English and local, and substituting information of a similar nature, derived from American sources. The wood cuts with which the work is illustrated, are beautiful, and greatly enhance the value of the volume. We are pleased to recommend the book, and desire for it an extensive circulation.

Questions on the Lives of the Patriarchs, embracing the book of Genesis. By John Todd, D.D., Pittsfield, Mass. Author of "Sabbath School Teacher," "Lectures to Children," etc. etc. Northampton, Mas.: Hopkins, Bridgman & Co. 1856. pp. 125.

THIS is a new *Sabbath School Question Book*, arranged somewhat upon an original plan, by one who has successfully devoted much of his time to the instruction of the young. It was prepared for Dr. Todd's own school, and was given out in sheets, lesson by lesson. The work met with favor, and it was supposed that its usefulness would be extended, if published. The author, therefore, revised the scattered sheets and prepared them for the press. The peculiar characteristics of the book are, that it presents truth illustrated and brought out by a reference to *the lives of men*; that, where the question seems needed to make the history complete, and the answer is above the child's reach, the answer is given; and that at the close of the lesson, practical instructions are drawn from that lesson, upon which the teacher can dwell to any extent, and in this way, the hope is entertained, that a taste and a habit, in both teacher and scholar, will be created, of doing the same, whenever they read the word of God. The great events brought out in the volume are, the Creation—the marriage institution—the Sabbath—the fall of man—the flood—the dispersion of men and the origin of languages—the calling of Abraham, and the organization of the church in him. The men introduced are Adam, Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Melchisedek, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph and his brethren.

The book has had the highest commendations bestowed upon it by clergymen and teachers. So far as we have examined it, we are pleased with its design and execution, and take pleasure in commending it to the attention of those, for whose benefit it has been specially prepared.

Harper's Magazine pays us its monthly visit with great regularity, and is always welcome to young and old. Having so often praised it, it seems superfluous to make any addition. *Acquirat vires cundo.*

Since our last issue, we have received Nos. 21 and 22 of Harper's Story Books, by Jacob Abbott, entitled the "three gold dollars," and "Gibraltar." They are pronounced by the Young of our household, who have read them, very interesting and instructive. They are always looked for anxiously.

ERRATA.

Page 35—line 20 from above, elide the brackets around, and the point of interrogation after, Abraxas.

" 36—lines 5 & 8 from above read Thutmosis for Shutmesis.

" " —line 18 from below, read antiquities for antiquity.

" 37—line 14 from below, elide [gums].

" " —line 10 " read antiquities for antiquity.

" 39—line 16 " read Kings for hings.

" 41—lines 6, 10, 13, 18, 21 from below, read planetary constellations for conjunctions.

" 42—lines 8 & 10 from above, read do.

" " —lines 15 & 19 from above, read "Petavius"—Petavius for Petav's and Petav.

" 43—line 23 from below, read constellation for conjunction.

" 60—line 21 from above, read Egyptologists for Egyptiologists.

" " —line 28 " read Eratosthenes for Eratostenes.

" 63—line 11 " read Taautic for Tautic.

" 64—line 6 " read Lord Lord for Lord Lords.

" 65—line 6 from below, insert the, before woof.

" 66—line 16 " read servants for servant.

" 67—line 1 " insert the after of, at the end of the line.

" 69—(erroneously printed 59) line 22 from below, read Anubis for Amibis.

" 70—line 17 from below, read Psametichus for Psamstichos.

" 72—line 2 " insert other between no and Egyptian.

" 76—line 2 " read belt for ball.

" 78—lines 7 & 18 f. below, }
 " 79—lines 4 & 5 f. above, } read Dendera for Dendena.

" 79—line 15 from below, read Belzoni for Balzoni.

" 82—line 15 " read beside for aside.

" 84—line 10 " read Cadmus for Cadmsu.

" 86—line 20 from above, read Sanchoniathon for Sanctionathon.

" 88—line 1 " read Thuthmosis for Shuthmosis.

" 89—line 7 from below, insert a comma after Censorinus.

" 91—line 15 from above, insert was after pyramid.

" 94—line 3 from below, read calendar for calender.

" 101—line 5 from above, insert a comma after be.

" " —line 18 " read of for at.

" 104—line 22 from below, read Uraeus for Uracus.

A number of other errors the intelligent reader will readily himself detect and correct.

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THE EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

NO. XXXI.

JANUARY, 1857.

ARTICLE I.

BAPTISMAL REGENERATION.

By Charles F. Schaeffer, D. D., German Professor of N. T. Exegesis, &c., Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.

§1. "Do you Lutherans really believe in Baptismal Regeneration," said an acquaintance to us recently, "as it has been so often alleged against you?" "Unquestionably, we believe that baptism is one of the means* of regeneration," was our reply. "But is it not somewhat difficult to understand the manner in which that outward act should have so great an influence on the soul, or produce that great spiritual change which we call regeneration? I do not see how a man can be converted and become a righteous, enlightened and holy christian, such as he ought to be, in order to be saved, by being merely baptized outwardly. And does not perhaps," added our friend somewhat hesitatingly, "the Lutheran doctrine here approximate to Popery—I mean the famous *opus operatum*?" Our answer to this charge was the following question: "Is it really your doctrine that the sacraments in general, ought still to be administered in the church of Christ?" Our friend promptly answered in the affirmative. "But how can you," we now returned, "reconcile it with your creed that a priest should, for instance, administer Extreme Unction to a dying man, with all the superstitious usages of

* The expression: 'Baptism is regeneration,' unless used elliptically for 'is a washing, a bath or means of,' indicates the same confusion of ideas which would be exhibited by any one who should say: 'The Bible is conversion.' The *means* and the *end* are certainly not identical.

the term *evangelical repentance*, in Webster's sense, imply that *repentance*, when the word stands alone, does not necessarily signify, in every case, a true and genuine repentance, so the very circumstance that the qualifying term *baptismal* is prefixed to "regeneration," shows conclusively that the latter word, when thus employed, has a special sense, which is by no means necessarily the one that almost identifies it with sanctification. What is, then, the sense in which the Lutheran church can consistently recognize the term? This question we now propose to essay to answer.

§4. Systematic Theology, like other sciences, necessarily employs certain technical terms, occurring occasionally also in popular language, in a sense peculiar to itself. "The term *rock*, in its popular acceptation, embraces only the solid parts of the globe: but in geological language, it includes also the loose materials, the soils, clays and gravels,—that cover the solid parts." (Hitchcock's *El. Geology*, Sec. 1). Mr. Lyell admits, (*El. of Geol.* Part I. Ch. 1.) that this use of the word "offers violence to our language," but nevertheless justifies it, as "geologists have found it indispensable to have one technical term," with precisely the meaning now arbitrarily given to it by them. It is, indeed, an obvious principle, that the very purpose for which a science is regularly formed, would be defeated, unless its technical terms were strictly defined, and plainly distinguished from others. The grammarian who describes a 'syncope,' refers to a circumstance entirely different from that which the musician means when he uses it as a synonym of *legato*, and neither has even remotely described the physician's *syncope*. Thus, too, Theology employs certain terms, (e. g. law, guilt, judgment, &c.) which occur in jurisprudence in a different sense, and, again, employs expressions in a strictly defined sense (e. g. mystery, justify, save, &c.) which are very loose or vague, when employed in ordinary conversational language. Now it is very obvious that, while many of the terms employed by the sacred writers necessarily assume a distinct position in the science of theology, they cannot, at the same time, fluctuate any longer in their sense, without involving the whole subject in obscurity. Each theological term accordingly receives its own definition, and is restricted to its own mode of application. But we find, at the same time, that the sacred writers, who employed the popular language, and were not required to present divine truth in the rigid forms of a science, conformed as far as possible to the character of that popular language, while they

communicated divine wisdom in a style that is distinguished alike by its sententiousness and by its simplicity. Many causes that operated at a later period—among which may be numbered the attempts of educated enemies of the Gospel to pervert its truths by their artifices—compelled the adoption of strictly scientific definitions of scriptural words. We have already exhibited (§ 2) one or two instances of terms which occur in the New Testament in different senses, but which, in Systematic (Dogmatic) Theology, have each necessarily a special sense assigned to them, or are used in connection with certain qualifying and limiting terms, as, *justifying faith*, *special providence*, &c. When these words are originally of a highly figurative nature, it becomes very difficult to assign a place to them in the doctrinal system, and it is often deemed more convenient to employ them only in the ordinary language of religion, and substitute others in the system as strictly technical terms, which admit of more precision in defining them. The term *Regeneration* is, on the one hand, highly figurative, but, on the other, is so prominently situated on the sacred page, that its employment in the doctrinal system seems indispensable. If we cannot dispense with words like *Sacrament*, *Trinity*, &c., inasmuch as the truths which they designate, occur in the Bible, although these words themselves are not found in the original, and may admit of different definitions, still less can we dispense with the word *Regeneration*, since it really occurs in Scripture, as well as the truth which it describes.

§ 5. *The Scriptural use of the word Regeneration.* It occurs twice only, in the form of Παλιγγενεσία, in the N. T., namely in Matt. 19: 28, and Tit. 3: 5. The former passage, in which the word does not refer to the regeneration of a sinner, is of very great value in any investigation of the true force and application of the word. The results which we have obtained, we now submit to the reader.

(1.) The precise time of the *regeneration* in Matt. 19: 28, is fixed by the Savior himself, in the words: ‘when the son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory;’ this new or second genesis, is, accordingly, that change over which the second Adam will preside, as Bengel says, (Gnom. in loc.) who refers us also to Acts 3: 21. The *restitution* of which Peter there speaks (ἀποκατάστασις, found only here in the N. T.) is regarded as the same event. The apostle refers, according to Bengel, to the close of that entire period extending from the Ascension to the second coming of Christ, when, according

to Paul, he shall have 'put all his enemies under his feet.' (1 Cor. 15: 25). To the same event, or rather time, reference is made in Rom. 8: 18 sqq., and 2 Pet. 3: 13, 14. At this point of time a new era of blessedness and glory will BEGIN for the people of God. The time is very precisely fixed—this restoration, restitution or renewal, is regarded as inceptive or inchoative in its character, not indeed as opposed to, or excluding the succeeding results, but still as only inaugurating or beginning the happy period that follows. The correctness of this conception of the word, is susceptible of ample proof. In Job 14: 14, ('all the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come') the English word *change* is simply a version of the *immutatio* of the Vulgate; the Septuagint gives *πάλιν γένωμαι*, an expression confessedly coincident with *παλιγγενεσία*. The original Hebrew, which is here reproduced in the Greek as a regeneration, is *הִלֵּחַ*, which is indeed applied to a *change*, as, of raiment, but specifically, as a military word, to the relief of the guard, or a change of sentinels, 'vox militaris: Ablösung auf dem Posten.' (Gesen. Lex. ad v.) Job compares himself to a soldier on duty, and sighs for relief. But his repose, his *restitutio in integrum*, or *restauratio* (Schultens, Rosenm.), his *regeneration* or *change*, is the actual *beginning* only of his happy state, and yet all these words may afterwards be inferentially or by natural sequence, as historico-descriptive terms, be used of the whole period which they begin.

(2.) Still, when we speak with strict precision, the word *παλιγγ.* refers particularly to the *commencement of a happier or new period*, and in this sense it was employed in the language of the day, at the Christian era. Thus, when Cicero describes his recall from exile and restoration to his rank and dignities, which constituted a new life for one who suffered as he did, he cannot find for his Latin letter to his friend, a word which will more fully describe the fact of his reinstatement, as a life-giving event, irrespectively of any subsequent increase of honor, than this Greek word: "propter hanc *παλιγγενεσίαν* nostram," (Ep. ad Att. VI. 6). Thus, too, Josephus, between whom and Cicero, the birth of Christ intervenes, describes (Antiq. XI. 3. 9) the restoration of the Jews at the close of the Babylonian captivity, when they were permitted to take possession of their country again, as a 'regeneration of the country,' *τὴν ἀνάκτησιν καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἐορτάσαντες*, *feiernd des Vaterlandes Wiedererlangung und Wiedergeburt*, according to Dr. Demme's German trans-

lation, p. 311. (Whiston altogether fails to reproduce the spirit of the original.) Josephus does not refer to any future glory or power of the people, but only to the *beginning* of a new and happy period, which may unfold the highest glory of the nation.

(3.) The same word occurs several times in the writings of Philo, in different modes of application, which all, however, involve the fundamental conception of a beginning of a new state, happier or more favorable than the former. Grotius quotes (on Matt. 19: 28) a passage from his treatise *Περὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ*, (which may be found in Vol. II. p. 60 of Pfeiffer's edition), in which the word appears to refer to the restoration to life at the resurrection, and this view is confirmed by the extract in Grotius *in loc.* from the epistle of the Gallic churches, where it occurs in such a sense. The word itself is not affected by the corruption of the text, of which Grotius with great reason complains. Mangey's note, as given by Pfeiffer, refers us to a passage in Philo. Lib. II. *De vita Mos.* p. 663, but this treatise does not occur in the edition consulted by us, as Pfeiffer died before he had completed it. It appears, from Mangey's note, that Philo has there described the state of the world immediately after the flood, by this term, in the sense that a new and brighter period commenced with Noah, *at the time when* this regeneration or resurrection of the earth occurred. Pfeiffer also refers to passages in which the word occurs as descriptive of a resurrection. But a resurrection in any sense, is not itself a long-continued period, but only its inception.

(4.) The great Augustine, bishop of Hippo Regius, (born A. D. 354) speaks in his well known work *De Civit. Dei, Lib. XXII. cap. 28*, of the christian doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and quotes from Varro's work *De gente pop. Rom.* In the passage to which he refers, Varro introduces certain astrologers, technically termed Genethliaci, (from calculating an individual's nativity), according to whose doctrine, the same body and soul which constituted any particular person, although separated by death, were reunited after every period of four hundred and forty years, and that the Greeks applied to this revivification the term *Παλυνγ*. Their view does not appear to coincide with the Pythagorean metempsychosis, to which also this word was applied, in the sense of an event occurring at the beginning of a new period of life, for Plutarch seems to use it in his statements as an equivalent of *ἀναβίωσις*. Augustine's object in making the

quotation is, to apply the *argumentum ad hominem* in a particular form, to the adversaries of his doctrine, for he very happily remarks that although these horoscopists held a false doctrine, they at least believed in the possibility of the restoration of the human body to its former state, even after it had mouldered away, and its original component parts had passed into the earth, the air, the water, and even other living bodies. The Greek word, which he also introduces, designates here too, a certain point of time, that is, the beginning of such a supposed period of four hundred and forty years, and cannot possibly be explained as the appropriate designation of the later portions of that period.

(5.) These references demonstrate that before, in, and after the age of the apostles, the word *regeneration* was variously applied, but always with the fundamental conception of a happy change, the beginning of a new period, and that while it implies the succeeding growth and increase of happiness, which indeed causes the change to be like a new birth, and with which it is regarded as in uninterrupted connection, still the actual commencement, before all the expected happy results are realized, is specially understood. Such is accordingly the definition given to the word by Schleusner in his *Lexicon in N. T., ad v.* where he further remarks that the Greeks applied the word specially to the season of Spring, when nature revives—which usage even excludes the subsequent seasons, strictly speaking. He alludes doubtless to instances like τὴν περιοδικὴν παλιγγενεσίαν τῶν ὄλων, Marc. Anton. II. 1.*

§ 6. The other New Testament passage in which the word occurs, is Titus 3: 5. As the exegesis of this important passage belongs to a later stage of our remarks (§ 14), we shall here confine our attention to the word *regeneration*, in order to ascertain simply the epoch of the individual's life, to which it belongs. The words 'he saved us by,' furnish the required answer. *To be saved*, in the loftiest sense of the phrase, implies negatively, deliverance from eternal death, the punishment of sin, and, positively, the inheritance of

* After briefly stating the primitive meaning of the word, a second birth, from παλιν, *adv.* back, again, &c., Schleusner proceeds: '2) metaphrice: *omnis magna et insignis pristini alicujus rei status instauratio et institutio in utramque partem, speciatim ille rerum humanarum status, quo tristia tempora alia et lætiora excipiunt fata. Sic v. c. apud Græcos scriptores Παλιγγ. tribuebatur terræ, veris tempore formam suam mutant, et apud Stoicos mundi in statum meliorem restitutio Παλιγγ. dicebatur.'*

eternal life and glory in heaven, as in Mark 16: 16, and numerous other passages. Sometimes the word occurs in an anticipatory sense, designating not the brilliant end of the way of salvation, but rather the actual entrance into that way. Thus "the saved" τοὺς σωζομένους (Acts 2: 47), were added as members to the church; to "the saved," who still dwell on earth, the Gospel is the power of God (1 Cor. 1: 18), &c. In all such passages, the Christian who is still contending with sin, and is still liable to a fall from God, so fatal as to terminate in his eternal death, is nevertheless regarded, not only as salvable, but also as one who has actually entered on the way that will conduct him to eternal salvation, if he continues to walk therein. Now,—says Paul to Titus,—we too formerly walked in the way of sin (ver. 3), and would have consequently perished, but (ver. 4), divine mercy has transferred us (*compare Col. 1: 13*), to the way of salvation, or that leads to salvation, that is, he thus saved us, if we remain faithful, not by our works, but by gifts which he has imparted, namely, 'the washing of regeneration, &c.' It is very clear, then, that according to Paul's doctrine, this regeneration *has already occurred* as the *sine qua non*, when the believer is considered as transferred from a state of sin and spiritual death, to one which admits of future salvation in heaven, namely, if he consistently abides in it. Here too, then, *regeneration* designates a decided and a most happy change in the individual's condition, but as his history is clearly not completed (for these "saved" individuals have not yet completed their course on earth, and are admonished to take heed lest they fall, 1 Cor. 10: 12), it appears that this regeneration is inceptive only in its character, and premises that the fruits of faith and of perseverance are yet to follow, in order that it may be a permanent blessing. This examination of the word in the only two passages of the N. T. in which it can be found, furnishes the result, that *regeneration* is by no means to be confounded with the believer's sanctification, but is the first step only, which awakens the well-founded hope that this latter grace or gift will be its result.

§7. *Kindred terms.* Our view of the subject would, however, be very incomplete, if we did not also glance at certain kindred terms, which occur with considerable frequency in the New Testament, such as *born again*, *new creature*, &c. These furnish new and valuable illustrations.

(1.) One of these, ἀναγεννάω, *to beget again*; metaph. *to regenerate*, &c., occurs only twice, 1 Pet. 1: 3 and 23. As the preposition ἀνά simply expresses here, like πάλιν, the idea of repetition (for its other modes of application in compounds are not possible in this case, (*Passow ad v.*, *Herm. Vig.* p. 576. n.) the sense of the apostle can be most readily ascertained by first examining the use of the simple verb. Γεννάω in its primitive sense, occurs very frequently in the first chapter of Matthew, where it is translated ‘to beget,’ that is, as the circumstances show, 1) to procreate, as a father; to generate; 2) to produce as an effect; to cause to exist (Webster). In the tropical use, the fundamental idea is retained—in 2 Tim. 2: 23 ‘foolish questions *gender* strifes,’ γεννώσει, i. e. *originate*. In a metaphorical and religious sense, it occurs passively, and is rendered *were born* in John 1: 13, where the *commencement* of spiritual life is clearly contemplated, or its origin specially indicated. The same apostle afterwards employs this word very frequently in his first Epistle, in the phrase *born of God*. In these passages, he seems to use the word in a wider sense or emphatically, and describes by it, in addition to the divine origin of spiritual life, the graces also which ought to be subsequently developed. Still, the established definition of the passive verb is applicable: ‘to have received from God a new spiritual life (Robinson’s Lex. N. T. ed. 1836), whether the origin or the development of that life be considered, precisely as the new-born child has already received life and does live, long before it is full grown. The compound term ἀναγεννάω, consequently, means that an individual to whom it is applied, without losing his identity, is transferred to a new and happier state of existence, or begins a course of action that is the opposite of the former. “The (church) fathers,” says Robinson, *ad v.* “speak of regeneration as a *renewal*, a change from a lower to a higher, from a carnal to a better and holy life.” The original word, then, refers to the beginning only of life at the first birth, as in John 16: 21, ‘a man is born into the world,’ ἐγγεννήθη, where it by no means describes his future life, since this ἄνθρωπος, *Mensch.* (Luther’s version), *human being*, may afterwards die in its infancy as a παιδίον (same verse) or babe. Hence the second birth, like the first birth or genesis (Matt. 1: 18), designates, strictly speaking, the period when the new or spiritual life commences.

(2.) St. Peter mentions apparently two means of regeneration in the two cases, in which he employs the verb ἀναγεννάω.

In the first epistle, ch. 1, ver. 3, he says—‘God hath begotten us again by the resurrection of Jesus Christ,’ while in v. 23 he says—‘ye are born again by the word of God.’ In the former passage, the apostle, after enumerating with great fervor various privileges of believers, desires to express them all in a single word; he sets forth that they who were spiritually dead, while they were destitute of Christian hope, were now *made alive*, and that this second or spiritual life, which succeeded the first gift of bodily life, was the true life, inasmuch as their “hope,” which constituted all their joy, was founded on the resurrection of Christ. “*Novus quasi homo redditur, qui ex statu infelici transfertur in felicem. Hanc significationem contextus suadet*” (Rosenm. in loc.). But as these strangers who were scattered throughout Asia Minor (ver. 1), had been led by the preaching of the Gospel to establish their hope on the risen Savior, this means of regeneration ultimately coincides with the other, of verse 23, the Word (§§ 13, 17). In the latter passage, the apostle enforces the admonition in ver. 22, by reminding his readers of the claims which their new position and privileges advance. The means by which their new life or regeneration was produced, he terms the *word of God*, the Gospel, the power of God. That Peter regards the believers whom he addresses, or at least, large numbers of them, as beginners only in the Christian life, who at that early period, exposed as they already were, to stern trials and persecutions, specially needed such an animating appeal, appears from another analogous term in chap. 2, ver. 2. ‘As new-born babes, desire the sincere milk of the word.’ This phrase, ἀπριγέννητα βρέφη, *new-born*, describes ‘those who have just embraced the Christian faith’ (Robinson’s *Lex. ad v.*), and was often employed by the Jews (Wetstein in loc.), to designate Proselytes or recent converts. ‘Es soll die Leser in Rücksicht auf das noch ferne Ziel des Mannesalters, as solche, die erst vor *Kurzem* neugeboren sind, bezeichnen’ (Huther, in Meyer’s *Com. ad loc.*). The ‘milk of the word’ is nourishment adapted to the earliest stages of the Christian life. *To regenerate*, is therefore, according to St. Peter, to commence in the soul of the individual a work of grace, or to insert the germ of spiritual life, and is a divine act or operation, indicative of a subsequent glorious development, revealed in the Christian’s sanctification.

(3.) The term ἀποκνέω, *to beget, to bring forth*, occurs twice only in the New Testament, namely, in James 1: 15 and 18.

In the former passage, the apostle says that sin, when it reaches its maturity, brings forth *death*, a term descriptive of all the misery which *begins* with sin, but which appears in its intensity as time advances. In the latter, God is represented as a parent, who gives by means of the *word* of truth a second and a better life to those whom sin had slain. In these cases, the *origin* of that which is brought forth, or the period at which it came into being, is unmistakeably made prominent, although its subsequent history is not excluded.

§ 8. These statements conclusively show that the fundamental idea of *Regeneration* and various kindred terms (to others of which we shall immediately advert), is that of a transfer at a particular time from a negative or a positively evil state, to one which is positively good. The child when unborn, is not in possession of the priceless gift of life in its full sense, but at the moment when it first inhales atmospheric air, and the lungs expand with the breath of life, it is placed in possession of life. A child is born! Who can express the deep import of these words? Another immortal creature is ushered into life; it may be useful and happy on earth, it may become a glorious inhabitant of heaven—it may never be regenerated, it may perish in sin—it may be consigned to the regions of eternal woe! Important as that moment, however, is, when it begins to live, *that* moment derives importance by anticipation—and this shade of thought now claims our attention—from the successive periods and events of the newly commenced life. So too, an individual, when regenerated, begins to live, but his new life is important only when it is maintained, is gradually developed, and fulfils the lofty purposes for which the Creator gave it. When the angels taught the shepherds to rejoice because “unto you is born (ἐτέχθη, *brought forth*, equivalent here to γεννᾶω in its various inflections) this day a Savior,” the “babe” was still “lying in a manger;” it was really the great work, *beginning* in that birth and only “finished” (John 19:30) long afterwards, which caused the heavenly host to praise God with such exultation (Luke 2:10 sqq.). Hence, the sacred writers, when employing any of that class of words to which we here refer, are naturally led to contemplate the individual’s regeneration by anticipation in the light of its results. We shall refer to only one additional illustration of this important principle. “When we were dead in sins, (God) hath quickened us together with Christ (by grace ye are saved);—and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places,

in Christ Jesus" (Eph. 2: 5, 6). "When we compare Rom. 8: 30 with this passage," says Olshausen *in loc.*, "we perceive that in the work of Christ, according to his word: *It is finished*, the apostle at one view takes in, as *already consummated* all that which, according to the progress of the successive development of the history of the world, gradually occurs or assumes reality (or a positive existence, *realisirt*) in the human heart." God quickens, *συνεζωοποιήσῃ*, *makes alive*, with Christ. The return of Christ to life in the body, or his second life (that is, the resumption of life with the body at his resurrection) is connected with the sinner's regeneration. The latter, though once alive (Rom. 7: 9 may here afford an illustration), but spiritually dead (Eph. 2: 1), is now made spiritually alive, begotten again, regenerated. The future blessedness of the believer is then regarded as intimately connected with his new birth, and, indeed, as resulting from it. The regenerated man cannot remain a 'babe in Christ;' the fundamental law of religion is—growth, progress. When this growth is checked, and the flow of spiritual nourishment ceases, the result is not simply a cessation of growth, nor merely a retrogression, but ultimately absolute death. The sacred writers are, accordingly conducted by the exigences of the case, to employ *regeneration* and its kindred terms, at times, in a wider sense than the one which, as we have seen, lies at the root, employing them in reference to the results that are justly expected from such a divine beginning as the new birth is known to be. Some of these kindred terms are: *new creature*, 2 Cor. 5: 17, Gal. 6: 15; *new man*, Eph. 2: 15; 4: 24, Col. 3: 10; *renewing*, twice, in Rom. 12: 2, and Tit. 3: 5, and the verb twice, in 2 Cor. 4: 16 and Col. 3: 10; the analogous *ἀνακαινίζειν* once, in Heb. 6: 6; *ἀνανεοῦσθαι* once, in Eph. 4: 23, &c. The *new creature*, or *new man* is regenerated or created, *παισθεύετε*, unto good works (Eph. 2: 10), and these works are the fruit or result wrought out by the Holy Spirit (Gal. 5: 22), the author of man's regeneration and sanctification (Eph. 3: 16).

§ 9. From the investigations which we have thus far conducted, we learn that, while the word *Regeneration*, according to its etymology, its obvious fundamental idea, and its use by various writers, may, and often does, designate the beginning only of man's spiritual life (irrespectively of the means employed or the *modus operandi*), it may, and often must include, in consequence of the progressive nature of religion, all the actual results of the new birth, such as jus-

tification and sanctification.* 'The sun is risen,' we say. He is still far from the zenith; nevertheless, already 'man goeth forth to his work and to his labor' (Ps. 104: 23). Indeed, while we may distinguish in theory between justification and sanctification, the whole design of the Gospel to renovate man entirely, leads the sacred writers, and theologians after them, to combine both at times. In all such cases, no embarrassment can be occasioned, as the context and other circumstances will usually indicate, whether the writer regards chiefly the fact itself, that according to the fundamental meaning of the word, a happy beginning or change has been effected, or rather refers to the results which may justly be expected as flowing from that change. In this latter case, other appropriate terms, which have just been mentioned, are employed, to mark the actual development of spiritual life. The strict precision with which these words are used, strikingly illustrates the gradations of that development. The regenerated individual is a *new-born babe* at first (1 Pet. 2: 2), and is expected to *grow* by means of the *milk of the word*. *Regeneration*, which has clearly occurred here, is, therefore, not necessarily to be understood of an advanced stage of the Christian life. The individual now becomes a *new creature*, *καὶνὴ κτίσις*, 2 Cor. 5: 17, Gal. 6: 15; the examination of these passages shows that he has positively new spiritual life in Christ; he is regenerated in the proper sense of the word, but is still, literally, a *new creature*, not an ex-

* The following passage occurs in the FORMULA OF CONCORD (p. 632, Newmarket 2d ed.), one of the Lutheran symbols: "But since the word *regeneration* is sometimes used for the word *justification*, it is necessary to explain the former with precision, in order that the renewal, which follows justification by faith, may not be confounded with justification by faith, but be properly distinguished from it.

For, in the first place, the word *regeneration* is used in such a sense as to comprehend the forgiveness of sins for the sake of Christ alone, as well as the subsequent renewal which the Holy Ghost works in those who are justified by faith. But then it is also employed to signify only the remission of sins, and adoption among the children of God. And in this latter sense, this word is frequently used in the Apology [of the Augsb. Conf.] as, where it is written that justification is regeneration. . . For if a person is justified through faith (which the Holy Spirit alone works), it is truly a regeneration, because from a child of wrath, he is made a child of God, and is thus transferred from death unto life, &c., &c. In this sense the word is frequently employed in the Apology.

But, further, the word *regeneration* is also frequently used to imply the sanctification and renewal which follow justification by faith, in which signification Dr. Luther has used it in his work concerning the Church and Councils, and elsewhere in his writings, &c."

perienced Christian, while that new life has been recently formed in him. Thus the *new wine* in Matt. 9: 17, has not yet passed through the process of fermentation, and the *new tomb*, Matt. 27: 60, has not yet become a usual place for depositing the dead, Luke 23: 53. The term was doubtless taken by the learned apostle from the Rabbinic phraseology, according to which it was a descriptive name of idolaters who learned to know, and who acknowledged the God of Abraham, of vicious persons who sought to lead a different life, &c. But when the regenerated individual is to be described as one who has *advanced* in the divine life, and has, as a result of regeneration, become to a certain extent, an experienced Christian, being renewed, as to the inward man, day by day (2 Cor. 4: 16), and is enlightened and sanctified in a higher degree, or, when the ideal of a fully enlightened, renewed and sanctified Christian is to be presented, other terms are introduced. In the very remarkable passage, Eph. 4: 13, the 'perfect man,' as there described, is that complete form of religious life, not perhaps attained in the flesh, but to which all are urged by Paul to endeavor 'to come.' The regenerated are not to remain 'children,' ver. 14, but to 'grow up,' ver. 15, and to put on the 'new man,' ver. 24. This *new man* is, as we learn from a comparison of Col. 3: 10, and especially Gal. 4: 19, 'Christ formed' in the believer. When man was first created, he was made in the image of God. When he is created anew (*κρίνω, κρίσις* &c., are used in the New Testament of both a material, Mark: 13: 19, Rom. 1: 20, &c., and of a spiritual creation, Eph. 2: 10; 4: 24, &c.), or born again, which are here equivalent terms, as both describe the production of life and being, then he is created after the image of Christ; he acquires more and more positively the character of Christ, becomes a 'partaker of the divine nature' (2 Pet. 1: 4), and at length Christ emphatically 'lives' in him (Gal. 2: 20; John 17: 23). This result of the new birth or creation, or, this renewal after the image of Christ, is the great object of all revealed religion. "The apostle," says Olshausen on Gal. 4: 19, "probably viewed the subject in the following light: the new life in man (the conception), begins instantaneously (*plötzlich*), it is true, but it forms and develops itself only gradually to a truly personal and conscious life; at first, Christ is merely efficacious in man by his power, but then there comes forth from this efficacy a higher form (*Gestaltung*) of personality,—the individual lives also in Christ. Paul refers to this consummation of the Christian

life, &c.” It is not necessary to investigate this branch of the subject further, as it is generally conceded that the Christian’s sanctification is progressive in its nature, after the Holy Spirit has imparted spiritual life to the soul. The *new creature* is at length established in grace; and now, when his light shines to the glory of God, when his affections are set on things above, and he becomes an enlightened, experienced and happy Christian, sanctified in heart and life, then those words which originally described the beginning of that change (regeneration, born of God, &c.), emphatically describe also this glorious result, namely, when this result is viewed as a whole, and is then compared with that believer’s old, former, sinful state. By such a process of reflection and comparison, *regeneration*, and still more forcibly, *new creature*, &c., may designate even a late and advanced stage of holiness or the Christian’s spiritual life.

§10. Spiritual life! What mysteries of divine grace that term involves! Even bodily life presents phenomena which no physiologist can explain. That the mind or soul is a *reality*, entirely distinct from the material body, is an admitted truth. That physical life, or the life of the body, on which the discharge of the functions of the latter depends, is itself dependent on the presence of the soul, cannot be questioned. But what is even *bodily life*? Which one of Webster’s twenty-six definitions of “Life” solves the problem? Who has witnessed its origin, or measured, or handled, or explained it? That animal life differs from vegetable life, even the child perceives, but the nature or essence of the former is as little understood by the wisest philosopher, as the essence of matter itself. Still, we do not perceive that our ignorance on these points occasions practical inconveniences, sufficient in number and degree to dissolve human society, or fatally interfere with the individual’s well-being.—Observation or experience generally affords an answer to practical questions respecting *life*. Thus, medical jurisprudence has, on various occasions, been able to decide, when the body of a new-born child has been examined, whether it had been born alive. If it is demonstrated that an inflation of the lungs must have occurred, then science assumes that the child had *lived*; the act of destroying its life is termed infanticide, and like a homicide committed with premeditated malice, is termed murder. It is, accordingly, a maxim both of law and common sense, that no difference exists, either qualitatively or quantitatively, between the life of an infant

and that of an adult. Nevertheless, the child is an undeveloped living creature. It possesses all the limbs and senses of the human body, but these are not yet used with full consciousness of their respective functions and purposes. The infant is, besides, unacquainted with the use of language, and its mental faculties are undeniably in an undeveloped state. And yet all these faculties exist in that infant's soul, as the eye, even when closed, is still endowed with the power of vision, or as its feeble limbs exist as parts of the body. That infant is nourished and protected with tender care, until at an early period, it may be seen to gaze in its mother's face—and smile. What instructive lessons respecting that creature of God, its first smile teaches! It would not have bestowed that precious smile on a stranger—that smile demonstrates that the infant possesses both a mind and a heart, a mind to recognize the mother's countenance, a heart to love that mother for the comfort which she gives. In this case the germ of filial love unquestionably exists already in the infant's soul, and now begins to expand and turn to its natural object. *That* filial love may, after an early growth, be chilled—it may be subsequently extinguished altogether; still, that love *did* exist in the germ, unconsciously, it is true, but not the less really. We cannot explain the processes which took place in that little child's soul, when it turns from the stranger, and smiles on its mother, but intellectual life is unquestionably indicated by the scene. We may carefully deposit two seeds in the ground; that in one of these the principle of vegetable life was extinct, we only subsequently ascertain, for even science cannot always indicate satisfactorily the marks by which the presence of vegetable life might be determined. When vegetable or animal life presents problems which human wisdom cannot solve, and special means of information are denied, we have recourse to continued observation or experience, as a source of knowledge, and a practical guide. Spiritual or religious life also exhibits mysteries which our wisdom cannot solve, but here divine revelation comes to our aid, and furnishes all the knowledge which it is essential to our welfare to possess.

§11. Even here, however, certain limits occur. We are unable to understand either those processes which precede and follow the moment of the commencement of fetal life, or those subsequent processes of the infant's soul which continue from their earliest beginning, until it consciously utters

articulate sounds, giving clear evidences of its intellectual germination, or, further, that transmission of parental physical, intellectual and moral characteristics, which frequently occurs with apparent capriciousness, but of which causes do and must exist, that lie far beyond the reach of our bodily and mental vision. So, too, we cannot hope to understand or explain those higher processes in the child's soul, when spiritual life is first infused into it, or, in other words, when it is regenerated by the Spirit of God. When our continued observation of the earlier stages of the progress of the child's religious life, is found to furnish few or no satisfactory results, we turn to the inspired volume, and hope to find in it the needful information, which we so ardently desire to obtain. We do not presume to ask: How does the Holy Spirit operate?—but we are permitted to inquire respecting the *facts* themselves. Does God grant no grace to a little infant's soul (§19)? When is the individual regenerated? What office does BAPTISM perform as a means of grace? Does holy baptism confer a substantial blessing on the child, or is it merely a ceremony or sign, resembling the types and shadows of the Old Testament? These, or similar questions conduct us to another branch of our subject, and introduce Baptism as a new element in our investigations.* The consideration of our general subject would be greatly simplified, if adult baptism alone were required by the Head of the Church. But as this Sacrament is designed for infants also, we shall consider Baptismal Regeneration chiefly in its connection with pedobaptism, endeavoring first of all to ascertain the general view which the Scriptures present of Baptism itself.

§12. *In what light is Baptism represented in Scripture?* Is it one of the means which divine grace employs in the regeneration of man? The Augsburg Confession teaches that 'God has—given the Gospel and the Sacraments [of Baptism

* We may here remark that the subject before us, does not absolutely require us to introduce the two usual questions respecting the *subjects* and the *mode*. We assume that the arguments usually advanced, have satisfied the reader that Infant Baptism possesses a scriptural character, and that affusion or aspersion is the proper mode. Or, we may assign to both points the character of postulates, in order to avoid an interruption of the main course of argument. In the whole discussion, we have also purposely omitted the subject of the Lord's Supper, as another means of grace, because it belongs to a somewhat more advanced period in the personal history of the regenerated individual, and the introduction of such a subject, even illustratively, would extend this article beyond all reasonable limits.

and the Lord's Supper "our two Sacraments," Luther's Large Catech. p. 519, 2d ed.] through which, as means, he imparts the Holy Spirit, &c., Art. V., and 'Baptism—grace is offered through it' Art. IX. The church has uniformly maintained in her creed that while, ultimately, faith is indispensable to the reception of the blessings conferred through the means of grace, it is solely through these that grace is now conferred. So many opposite errors were encountered by Luther and his associates, that our symbols necessarily introduced numerous specifications of Bible doctrines, such as, that the Sacraments, as outward acts of the adult, independently of the internal state, conferred no grace, in which point all orthodox Protestants agree with us,—that the pretended inspiration of Popish Church councils, the internal light of the Mystics, &c., were delusions, inasmuch as the Spirit now operates through the divinely appointed means of grace, &c., &c. Among these, Baptism is invariably mentioned, and this usage (if we now turn to the Scriptures), may be traced ultimately to the important words in Matt. 28: 19, 20, μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς — —, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς, &c. The English version of this passage is confessedly inaccurate in rendering two different words, μαθ. and διδ. by the one term, *teach, teaching*. The word μαθητεύω is one of that class of verbs which are formed from nouns, and are used both transitively and intransitively, expressing the action, state or idea of the primitive (Kuehner, § 232, Buttmann § 119), e. g. πομπεύω, ἱππεύω, φονεύω, &c. The present verb occurs intransitively (equivalent to μαθητής εἰμι, discipulus sum) with a dative, e. g. "was a disciple," Matt. 27: 57, as the English version here correctly renders the word, while the parallel passage, John 19: 38, gives the primitive form, ὦν μαθητής. It occurs also transitively, with an accusative, in Acts 14: 21, 'making many disciples,' while again the primitive transitive form occurs in John 4: 1, μαθητὰς ποιεῖ. This is its use in the text before us, which, literally rendered, is: 'make all nations disciples.*' The next clause also lacks precision in the English version. Among the many forms of construction peculiar to the Greek participle, there is one according to which it is used, even in the oblique cases, like the Latin gerund in—*do*,

* The simpler form *to disciple* has been proposed, but is less acceptable than *to make disciples*, both because the latter really occurs in the original as an equivalent, in Acts 14: 21, quoted above, and because Shakspeare has used the other in the indirect sense of *to teach; to train or bring up*. But we have not been able to find the passage or passages to which Webster refers.

which, while it expresses the action of the verb, is employed, grammatically, often too without a preposition, as the ablative of the manner, means, &c. (Herm. Vig., Cap. VI., Sect. 1., § 6, and note 79). "The participle also expresses a mean," Matthiæ, §§ 566, 567. Thus in Soph. Trach. 592, when Deianira says that she does not yet possess any personal knowledge derived from an actual trial of a certain thing, the Chorus replies: "But it is necessary to obtain that knowledge *by doing* the action, ἀλλ' εἰδέναι χρὴ δρῶσαν. In Xen. Cyr. 3. 2. 25, it is said of certain Chaldeans that they do not know how to work, but maintain themselves *by plundering* others, δι' ἀληϊζόμενοι ζῶσι. The participle as an attributive, often denotes an action or state viewed as an attribute which is the complement of the verb (Kuehner, § 310). In Xen. Anab. 5. 1. 2, Antileon prefers to continue the journey by water, 'for,' says he, 'I am worn out (*ermueden, von Kraefsten kommen*, Passow on ἀπείρηχα) *by* packing, walking, running, carrying weapons, &c., ἀπείρηχα ἤδη συσκευαζόμενος, καὶ βαδίζων καὶ &c. "You act unjustly," said the Corinthians to the Athenians, Thue. 1. 53, "*by* beginning a war and *by* breaking treaties, ἀδικεῖτε πόλεμον ἄρχοντες καὶ σπονδὰς λνοντες. "You have done well," said Darius to Histiceus, Her. 5. 24, '*by* coming to me,' εὐ γὰρ ἐποίησας ἀπιχόμενος. So, too, in the New Testament. "He hath given assurance in that he hath raised, &c.," or, *by* raising, ἀναστήσας Acts 17: 31. This usage is so well established, that we omit a number of other illustrations, and refer only to one in addition, as the idiom, when transferred to the German language, is appositely illustrated by F. Ast in his notes (Vol. XI. p. 760) to Plato's Phædo, on the passage in 102 E. (Vol. I. p. 582 of Ast's ed.). "Partic. ὑπομόνον et δεξάμενον — — sunt igitur, eo quod sustineat et recipiat parvitatem, &c. Sensus est, ut patrio eum sermone reddamus, *durch das Aushalten und Aufnehmen, &c.*" The English idiom requires *through* or *by* with the present participle; the German, in which this construction is impossible, often presents a choice between the one adopted above by Ast, of an infinitive with the definite article, as a noun, or the Indic. or Subj. preceded by *indem* or rather *dadurch dass*. The whole verse may, accordingly, be rendered thus in English: *make* all nations disciples *BY* baptizing them — — and *BY* teaching them, &c. Prof. Kurtz translated thus in his admirable *Religionslehre*, p. 190: *machet alle Voelker zu Jüngern dadurch, dass ihr sie taufet — — und dadurch, dass ihr sie lehret, &c.* Hence, disciples of Christ are made in a two-

fold manner, first, by the administration of Baptism, and secondly, by the preaching of the word.

§ 13. A vital question here immediately presents itself:—What is, in the view of the New Testament, the state or character of an individual *after* he is thus made a disciple? Does the Savior contemplate only an external and formal union with the church, or intend that Baptism and the word should serve merely to impart the name of a disciple, without conferring the reality? Can a mere outward change of state, a transfer from the world to a visible church, be all that is effected by these two means of grace? We cannot examine passages like Rom. 12: 4, 5; Eph. 4: 15, 16; 5: 23; Col. 1: 18, John 15: 1—11; 17: 21—26, &c., without instantly perceiving that Christ designed *by* and *through* these means to convey spiritual blessings to the soul, that is, to establish a community of religious or divine life between himself and the members of his body, the Church, and then communicate to them all the blessings which flow from his mediatorial work. As the life of the vine, according to his own illustration (John 15: 1 sqq.), flows into the branch, producing fruit in the latter, while it abides in the vine, so the Redeemer by his Spirit through the means of grace, infuses life into the soul, revives it, cleanses it, nourishes it, and causes it to develop all the fruits of the Spirit. The individual by whom this offered mercy is accepted, was dead in sins, but is now made alive (Eph. 2: 5) with Christ, and the new life which flows from Christ's person and work through the Spirit, and which is given and maintained by communion with Christ (2 Tim. 2: 11, Gal. 2: 20), is first imparted through Baptism and the word, even as it continually rises to a higher degree through their continued efficacy and that of the Holy Supper of the Lord, by the gracious influences of the divine Spirit. (Of the word or Gospel or "truth" (John 17: 17. Rom. 1: 16) as a means of grace through which the Spirit operates, it is not here necessary to speak—we assume the point as admitted). We cannot place in juxtaposition the scattered passages of the New Testament, which introduce the subject of Baptism, without perceiving that this Sacrament does possess wonderful efficacy, not indeed as a mere external act, but as a divinely appointed means employed by the Spirit in influencing the spiritual state of man, when legitimately administered and received. "Ye must be born again," said Christ to Nicodemus, John 3: 7. The historical fact that proselytes were, at that time already, admitted by a baptismal rite to

the enjoyment of the privileges of the Jewish nation, is now generally admitted by intelligent interpreters, and that, moreover, Nicodemus had become familiar with the conception of baptism as a mode of admitting individuals to a higher spiritual state, becomes, when we consider the sensation which the ministry of John the Baptist had produced, a self-evident proposition. Like other Jews, he had regarded the baptism of a proselyte as a mere external sign, with which no influence on the inner man was connected (as Christian Baptism is even now regarded by many), but when he heard the Baptist 'preach the baptism of repentance, for the remission of sins' (Mark 1: 4), he began to understand that this rite could have a higher import, and be intimately connected with man's internal state, and with his higher relations to God. After the way had thus been prepared by the 'messenger' (Mal. 3: 1), he was better enabled to receive the Savior's doctrine. This new or second birth, this renewing of man's moral nature, this transfer from a state, called *spiritual* death (somewhat resembling the fetal state, before the breath of life has exercised its vivifying power), this insertion of the germ of spiritual life is accomplished, as the Savior teaches Nicodemus, by "water and the Spirit." It is, we believe, almost universally conceded, and indeed the circumstances obviously show, that the mention of "water" in such a connection, was understood by Nicodemus to designate Baptism. It can mean nothing else. It is the name which John seems to take pleasure in applying subsequently to the Sacrament of baptism (1 John 5: 6, 8) precisely as the simple word "bread" (Acts 2: 42; 20: 7, compared with 1 Cor. 10: 16) could designate the Lord's Supper. Unquestionably an effect is here described by the Savior, as produced through the water by the Spirit, which extends not simply to the external relations, but also to the internal or moral state of the individual. The circumstance that the process is inexplicable, as little renders the whole doubtful, the Savior himself proceeds to say, as man's ignorance of the causes of many physical facts, for instance, concerning the wind, ver. 8, subjects the fact itself to doubt, that the wind *does* blow.

§ 14. The apostle Paul, accordingly, without attempting to explain the mysterious process of the gracious work of the Spirit in the heart, simply announces the revealed fact: 'Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost; which he shed on us, &c.'—

(Titus 3: 5, 6). Let the reader observe the peculiar force of this passage, to which we have already referred (§ 6), and distinguish the apostle's special purpose. When he says: 'by grace are ye saved, through faith,' (Eph. 2: 8) he evidently designs to show the subjective state of man, which is the indispensable condition of salvation, that is, "through faith," διὰ τῆς πίστεως, subjectively, man is saved. But in the present passage Paul views the question of our salvation in an entirely different aspect, not subjectively, but objectively, that is, not with respect to man's own preparedness for salvation (for man's state and acts are now expressly excluded by the words, 'not by works of righteousness which we have done'), but with respect to the means which God himself chooses to employ in producing this preparedness. He accordingly says: 'God our Savior—saved us by the washing (διὰ λουτροῦ) of regeneration, &c.' Here, then, he specifies the means which God adopts in regenerating man, or infusing spiritual life into the soul, and in subsequently justifying the sinner, and granting him the inheritance of eternal life, ver. 7; for regeneration or spiritual life as necessarily precedes justification and sanctification, as the actual birth precedes the child's education. This *washing of regeneration* is epexegetically declared to be a *renewing of the Holy Ghost* (the Holy Ghost, namely, as *causa efficiens*), such as is also described in Rom. 12: 2, that is, the opposite of a worldly and unchanged or sinful state. And that this *washing* is precisely Baptism itself, is clearly demonstrated by analogous passages. In Eph. 5: 25, 26, we read: 'Christ gave himself for it (the church—the individuals composing it), that he might sanctify and cleanse it (*cleansing it*, καθάριας) with the washing of water (τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕ.) by (or rather *in*, ἐν) the word.' What other natural interpretation will these words bear, except one which here recognizes water-baptism in its connection with the word, as the means of man's restoration to life and divine favor? Indeed, St. Peter affords a final decision of the question, when he says: 'The ark—wherein—eight souls were saved by water. The like figure whereunto, even baptism, doth also now save us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ' (1 Pet. 3: 20, 21). This inspired writer purposely omits here that portion of the history of the deluge, in which water was the means of destruction, and gives prominence only to that use of the water, by the divine appointment, which saved the lives of Noah

and his family, by supporting the ark on its surface. As the history of the fiery serpents which caused 'much people' to die (Numb. 21 : 6), nevertheless contains circumstances that furnish a type of Christ's *saving* grace (John 3 : 14), so Peter finds in the history of the deluge, which also destroyed much people, a fact that furnishes an image of regenerating grace. The circumstance that the water carried the ark on its bosom, whereby Noah and his family were saved from death by submersion, is an image of the effect produced by Baptism. It saves us, σώζει βάπτισμα — not, indeed, the water itself, which, when alone, can only put away the filth of the flesh, but the divine power and grace which are in connection with it, and which quicken man spiritually. He is thus introduced a second time into life, born again or regenerated by baptism; for this regeneration is assumed, anticipatorily (§ 8), to be succeeded by new outpourings of divine grace, until the perfect man in Christ is formed. When, therefore, Peter at an earlier period, heard the penitential cry: 'What shall we do?' he well understood that these inquirers were sinners by nature, and possessed no natural or self-acquired ability to change their own hearts, or produce holy sentiments; he could only direct them to employ the means divinely given for man's regeneration and salvation:—'Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost' (Acts 2 : 38). It was precisely the same command which the Holy Ghost gave to Saul of Tarsus through the devout Ananias: 'Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord' (Acts 22 : 16). Thus the appellation of 'believer,' in its most exalted sense, viz: one that has faith (justifying and saving faith, distinguished from the faith of Simon the sorcerer, who 'believed,' καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίστευσε) is not claimed by Lydia (με πιστήν Acts 16 : 15), until she had been baptized. Through baptism the gracious and regenerating influences of the Spirit were efficaciously given, and the results thereof were developed in a holy life. It is in view of the efficacy of baptism, that Paul says to the Galatians, assuming that the grace of God had not been thus given to them in vain: 'Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus: for, as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ' (Gal. 3 : 26, 27).

§ 15. When we dismiss all preconceived low views of this ordinance, which carnal wisdom dictates, and humbly receive divine truth in its purity, such apostolical language cheers

and elevates the soul. When Paul, for instance, designs to teach the oneness of the Church, which consists of many members, he says: 'by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, &c.' (1 Cor. 12: 13), what can he mean in this whole passage? Simply, that we 'belong to the same church,' or 'sit at the same communion table,' or have adjoining pews, &c? Do such comparatively trivial circumstances, constitute that 'mystery,' which Paul finds (Eph. 5: 32) in the relation between Christ's people, constituting the Church, and himself, its Head? This relation is "a continued, wonderful, procreative process of a higher glorified life," as Olshausen says (*in loc.*), in allusion to the image employed by Paul in a preceding verse (ver. 30), which contains the singularly strong expression descriptive of the union effected by the two Sacraments between Christ and his people: 'For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones.' The prevailing imperfect views of the nature of Baptism, afford no aid in grasping the meaning of the words quoted above, from 1 Cor. 12: 13; the profound doctrine of baptismal regeneration, in the Lutheran sense, alone removes the difficulty. Christ infuses life into his people, creates them anew or regenerates them, and "it is precisely this procreation from the life-source of Christ, that is expressed in Baptism, which, according to the fundamental or original conception of it (*ihrer Idee nach*), and its original external manifestation (*Erscheinung*) was the washing of regeneration itself."—(Ols. *in loc.*)

§ 16. Such revelations through the apostles respecting the efficacy of Baptism as a means of regeneration employed by divine grace (for our space does not allow us to introduce all, or consider them in detail), enable us to understand more clearly the Savior's own words: 'He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved' (Mark 16: 16). The concluding words: 'but he that believeth not, shall be damned,' at once discard all popish superstitions respecting the Sacraments, and teach unequivocally that these, considered as external acts, and independently of faith, will not avail to save the soul; on this point—the indispensable necessity of faith—orthodox Protestants have all been constrained to adopt the Lutheran view, and we need not enlarge on it. Now when Christ uttered the words quoted, as he was parting from his disciples, and giving them finally their great commission, is it probable, or consistent with our knowledge of the genius of the Christian religion, to suppose that he would conduct

these disciples back to Judaism? What was Judaism but a religion characterized by signs and types? 'The law had a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image (that is, *reality, substance*, εἰκόνα antithetically, in reference to σκιά *shadow*) of the things' (Heb. 10: 1). It 'could not make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience' (9: 9), while it is one of the unnumbered and inestimable positive blessings of the Christian religion, that the *baptized* believer (for the sacred writer clearly alludes to one of the results of baptism), *can* have 'his heart sprinkled from an evil conscience,' (10: 22). The Jew was 'kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed' (Gal. 3: 23). Is it now to be presumed that the parting words of Christ were of this import: 'Go back, and preach another religion of signs and shadows?' Could Christ bestow no other and more substantial gift than Baptism, if it is a mere empty sign? In that solemn hour when he was about to depart, and when all other subjects were omitted in his discourse, in order that fundamental and comprehensive principles might be announced, is it to be conceived as even possible that Christ would institute a mere inefficacious sign, and then place that sign on a level with saving faith, as one of the two essential and indispensable conditions of salvation? We might assume *à priori* that if Baptism is mentioned in *such* a connection, it must be designed to exercise a positive influence on the soul, like the word, which no orthodox Christian denies to be an efficacious means of grace, that is, efficacious through the Holy Spirit, and which was enjoined at the same time (Matt. 28: 20), as the other means of restoring fallen man. This assumption is now demonstrated to be a well-founded truth, since, as we have seen above, Baptism is distinctly and unequivocally declared in the New Testament to be a means of man's moral renovation.

§ 17. But, if two means of making disciples, were appointed by Christ, when he was about to ascend to heaven, namely, Baptism and the Word or Gospel, and if each is represented in the Scriptures, as each unquestionably is, as a channel or means by, or through which the Spirit effects regeneration, or begins his gracious work in the soul, the question now arises: *In what relation do they stand to each other?* Is either as readily applicable in every supposable case as the other, so that the church may arbitrarily adopt either in making disciples, and regard the other as a superfluous gift of the Savior? Is it not, rather, presumable that each is adapted

to a particular class of circumstances, and that, in the great work of training men for heaven, the one must be the complement or completing associate of the other, so that ultimately the united efficacy of these two means may produce the one great result of qualifying man for union with Christ? This view alone, respecting their relative offices, is scriptural. Why is the effect that is predicated of the one (the new birth, through the word, 1 Pet. 1: 23, Luke 8: 11, 15, James 1: 18, 1 Cor. 4: 15), in other passages predicated of the other (the new birth, through Baptism, John 3: 5, Tit. 3: 5, Rom. 6: 3, 4, Col. 2: 12, 13, 1 Cor. 6: 11)? This phraseology of Scripture, and the doctrine which it involves, can be no other than the following: Two means are given to the church by its Head, for the purpose of making disciples, not to be applied at random, but intelligently, according to the exigences of the case, in order that from their united action true disciples might proceed. Their united efficacy is luminously exhibited by Paul, in the words: 'That he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word' (Eph. 5: 26). (We have, in the whole course of our remarks, assumed as an admitted truth, that from the commencement, through all successive periods, the author of man's regeneration and sanctification is—not man, not man's acts, but 'that one and the self-same Spirit,' 1 Cor. 12: 11). The divine Spirit begins his gracious work, when holy Baptism is applied, according to Peter's words, in Acts 2: 38, quoted above (§ 14). This is obviously the ordinary evangelical course, for cases like that of Cornelius, Acts 10: 44, 48, as Peter himself explains the occurrence, Acts 11: 16, belonged to the extraordinary events accompanying the original introduction of the Christian religion into the world, and can as little be regarded as the rule, as the case of the malefactor on the cross (Luke 23: 40 sqq.) now regulates the ordinary admission of members of the church, or the conversion of Paul is presented as the ordinary mode in which the sinner is converted. After the germ of spiritual life has been inserted in the soul through Baptism, it is developed and nurtured by the teachings of the word, according to St. Peter: 'As new-born babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby.' The efficacy of Baptism does not cease at the moment succeeding its administration, but is regularly maintained (§ 26). The foundation of a lofty edifice, when once constructed, is not disturbed; still, while the process of completing the superstructure continues, although many years may thus be occu-

pied, at each moment of time that one foundation, though not renewed, is literally, actually, positively, aiding and sustaining, however noiselessly, the continued work which succeeds it, and depends on it. A very beautiful relation, therefore, subsists between these two means of grace, according to which each performs a certain office peculiar to itself, and through both, in their combination, the Holy Spirit produces the 'perfect man' (Eph. 4: 13).

§18. Baptismal regeneration is, therefore, according to the Scriptures, the commencement of that new life in Christ, which succeeds the individual's original state, described in Eph. 2: 1 sqq. as spiritual death. The sinner becomes conscious of his true condition by nature, and turns to Christ for pardon and salvation. The adult who receives Baptism is, at the same time, susceptible of those gracious influences which are connected with the word, and because in the apostolic age, the first members of the church had been Jews or pagans in early life, the commencement of their religious life, like their growth in grace, is usually mentioned in the New Testament, in connection with the word, e. g. Rom. 10: 17. It is a course as unhistorical and one-sided, to overlook this important fact, in treating of the subject of baptismal regeneration, as it would be, to estimate the scriptural character of any modern form of church government according to the temporary regulations of the apostolic church, when believers sold their real estate, and the members 'had all things common' (Acts 6: 2 sqq.). Thus Baptism does not invariably assume a place in the description of the regeneration of man, as prominent as that of the word, for reasons which are historically assignable.* It is, specially, an initiatory ordinance,

* This circumstance tends to explain Paul's words: 'For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel' (1 Cor. 1: 17), the import of which is often strangely misapprehended. The ordinary explanation very nearly reduces Baptism to the low rank of the duties which any sexton or any member of his family may perform—a thing of secondary consideration, and does not view the passage in a historical light. Paul refers to the special circumstances of his own day, when Christian congregations, not previously in existence, were in the process of being gathered and organized by him. Thence it necessarily followed that the first congregations constituting "The Church," should be composed of adults, in order that the visible church might at once assume its complete external form. The first members, like the first two human beings, appear with the characteristics of adults, in consequence of the peculiar exigences of the case. Now as baptism is specially adapted to infancy, and the word to a later period of life, as means of grace, the peculiar apostolic office of Paul (the duties of which far more resemble those of

accompanied by the word in the case of those Christians to whose original conversion, or subsequent religious experience the apostles refer in their Epistles. Still, we have already seen, that even in this position of affairs, the apostles are necessarily led to refer to the regenerating influences of Baptism also, always, however, viewed as a means employed to this end by the divine Spirit. On this general subject of adult baptism, we have no room to dwell longer, and necessarily omit the consideration of very grave questions, such as, whether, in the Acts of the Apostles, *saving* faith preceded Baptism in adults, or followed it, &c., &c., &c.

§ 19. The subject before us assumes a new interest, when we are now led to view it in connection with children. *What is understood by Baptismal Regeneration, in the case of an infant?* We cannot answer this question, until we have ascertained from the Scriptures the original spiritual state of the child, at its birth. The sad truth is not withheld. 'The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth' (Gen. 8: 21). 'We were by nature the children of wrath' (Eph. 2: 3). 'Death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned' (Rom. 5: 12). 'That which is born of the flesh, is flesh—ye must

a missionary, than those of a modern pastor in a Christian land), naturally required him to avail himself chiefly of the latter means of grace, in order that the foundation of the church might be first laid. For this reason he says, that Christ sent him 'to preach the Gospel,' to plant the Church, by gathering adult members, and 'not to baptize,' that is, not to constitute *in the beginning* the visible church by *confining* his labors to infants, who would not have been competent to fulfil the grave duties devolving on the first members. There were other reasons, moreover, which he states in ver. 15, and which could exist *only* at the very first organization of the Church, that led him to conclude that his work consisted chiefly in *preaching* the Gospel. Unquestionably, the aged sinner is solemnly bound to yield to the divine influence, and repent; yet, that great work of repentance is very beautiful, very blessed,—it is very necessary and most appropriate in early life. So, too, the unbaptized adult is unquestionably required to be baptized; but the whole import, operation and design of baptism, show that the Head of the Church designed it primarily for infancy (which circumstance, indeed, we have had in view, while expressing some of the thoughts above), and that its later administration strikingly resembles a *late repentance*. Certainly, the strongest *moral* argument for Infant Baptism, which can possibly be furnished, is involved in the Lutheran doctrine of the Sacrament itself. When Paul enumerates several fundamental doctrines, in Eph. 4: 4 sqq., does he mean to say: 'There is one Lord, one faith, one sign or shadow called Baptism, &c.?' How could he presume to introduce the last term in such a connection, unless it really implied something essential, something that like Christ, our holy faith, and the Father, was of deep import to the devout and believing soul?

be born again' (John 3: 6, 7). Such impressive declarations teach unequivocally that the new-born infant already contains in itself the seeds of sin and death, that it is not innocent and pure, as a gross Pelagianism holds, but corrupt and sinful, and that, unless it is born again, it 'cannot see the kingdom of God' (John 3: 3). The infant's moral nature, or more distinctly, its soul is, therefore, as susceptible of evil, or as capable of receiving the principle of sin, at the very commencement of its existence, as its physical nature is capable at the same early period, of being influenced by bodily disease. This susceptibility of sin, in the case of an infant's soul is, doubtless, a mystery, like many features in its bodily and mental history, but the fact itself is apparent. Even pagan writers lament man's tendency from his youth, to commit moral evil, and the Scriptures confirm the truth of these charges, but no one, with the utmost metaphysical acumen, can explain the process, by which the human soul, distinct as it is from matter, can acquire, at its very inception, this positive moral taint. The infant's soul is far from being Aristotle's *tabula rasa*—it is at the beginning already, tarnished and deeply stained. The mystery is, nevertheless, not contrary to reason, since it is a *fact*. Let us now, more comprehensively apply this truth, that the infant's soul is capable of receiving or imbibing the principle or germ of sin, and it becomes at once apparent that the converse is also true, namely, *the new-born infant's soul is capable of receiving the principle of holiness, or the germ of spiritual life*—if its moral nature is susceptible of evil, it must necessarily (and even in a higher degree, in view of the pure and blessed state for which it was originally destined at the Creation) be susceptible of good. The infant's own unconsciousness of internal processes of the soul is as little an argument against their actual occurrence, as is the change from the embryonic to the fetal state, or as the unconsciousness of the adult of many of his dreams, which startled or charmed him, while of these processes of his soul nothing remains, when he awakes, save the tremor or the thrill which they produced. If we cannot explain the details of the process by which the mind can influence the body to such a degree, that a powerful emotion, suddenly excited, has been known even to rupture blood-vessels, still less can we explain the process by which the divine Spirit influences the human soul. An analogous case is that of the inspiration of the prophets and apostles, of the precise nature of which, no sensible uninspired person pretends to

form a clear conception. But the fact of that divine influence is undeniable, even in the case in which the period of fetal life is not completed. Concerning John the Baptist it was said by the angel of God: 'He shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb' (Luke 1: 15), and that this declaration was not a figure of rhetoric unsuited to the speaker and the circumstances, but designed to be *literally* understood, appears from ver. 41 and 44. We have here an instance demonstrating *à fortiori* the fact that, when a still higher state of existence is attained, and the child is actually born, appearing as a living being, it must be susceptible of the influences of the same Holy Ghost who filled *that* babe, and afterwards abode with him. Now we may term the influences of the Holy Ghost, exerted through Baptism, 'baptismal grace,' or rather *grace given in and through Baptism* (Taufgnade, § 3),* and we obtain the following results from the views already expressed: The child needs the grace of God at its very birth (it *must*, *δεῖ*, be born again, John 3: 7), for it "was shapen in iniquity, and conceived in sin" (Ps. 51: 5). Original sin adheres to it, and unfits it for happiness and heaven; it is by nature a child of wrath, Eph. 2: 3. "But God," the apostle here adds, "who is rich in mercy — hath quickened us, &c.," and elsewhere (Rom. 6: 3 sqq. Col. 2: 11, 12) explains this quickening process by specifying, among other means, the vivifying influence of Baptism,

* At a conference of a number of pastors of the Lutheran Church of Prussia, recently held in Cologne, one of the members, in accordance with a previous arrangement, presented a report on *Taufgnade*, according to the view of the Church. An extract is given in the last number (Sept. 1856) of the *Lehre und Wehre*, edited by Prof. Walther, St. Louis, Mo., from which we transcribe the following sentences: 'The substance of the Scripture doctrine on this particular point may be thus summarily stated. The Holy Scriptures describe baptismal grace chiefly in a three-fold manner. 1) Communion with the triune God, Matt. 28, compare Matt. 3, more particularly, Being filled with the Holy Ghost, Acts 2, Tit. 3, Union with the Lord Jesus Christ, Gal. 3, John 5, Admission into the kingdom and to adoption, John 3, Gal. 3. 2) Regeneration, John 3, Tit. 3, more particularly, as well, the Dying of the old man, as the coming forth of a new man, Rom. 6, Col. 2, taking place through the means of justification before God, Rom. 6, Col. 2, 1 Pet. 3, Gal. 3. 3) Remission of sins, Acts 2, Eph. 5, Heb. 10. The order in which these three points follow, indicates the manner in which they are respectively connected. The Scriptures distinctly declare that faith in man is the necessary condition, without which this gracious operation (Gnadenwirkung) of holy Baptism does not take place, &c., &c.' This interesting report proceeds, then, to other connected topics, adult and infant baptism, popish errors, &c., for which we have no room.

when, namely, the adult, who also hears the word with entire faith in the atoning death of Christ, enters into a communion of life with him.

§ 20. But what is the lot of the babe that is yet unconscious of its dangers? In a civilized community it would be deemed a flagrant outrage, if the estate of a deceased parent were abandoned to strangers, because the surviving child is still a babe; the law, accordingly, makes provision for the case, and the babe is declared to be the sole legal owner of the estates administered for it by the guardian, of the value of which at the time, it does not entertain the faintest conception. And is God less merciful than man? Are the babe's spiritual interests less worthy of protection than those of a temporal nature? Let us test the question by appealing to the blessed Savior, the friend of little children. We find him (Mark 10:13 sqq.) holding a little child in his arms. It is very young, for Luke (18:15, 16), calls it both *παιδίον* and *βρέφος*, which latter word he had already applied, first to an unborn babe (1:41), and then to the new-born 'babe lying in a manger' (2:16). It refers to a new-born babe in Acts 7:19, and to a suckling in 1 Pet. 2:2. We see the Savior in the act of taking these infants up in his arms, putting his hands upon them, and blessing them. And now we ask: Was that blessing merely a delusive form, or was it an actual and positive advantage to the child? If it was no unsubstantial ceremony, but an act designed to confer a substantial benefit, was it simply prospective in its nature, or did it at once benefit the child? The whole occurrence produces the impression on our minds that the children immediately derived advantage from that blessing. In what did it consist? No external change was effected by it, no earthly treasures were given, no visible effect whatever was produced. Now, if the child did derive a positive benefit, that benefit was necessarily of a spiritual nature, and was, doubtless, the source of all those advantages which Baptism now ordinarily renders, as in the unusual case of the thief on the cross, which by no means teaches us now to dispense with the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments, or in that of Saul, who was awakened without hearing the ordinary preaching of the Word. The fundamental principle which explains these cases is this; that while *we* are bound by the rules and laws of the Gospel respecting the means of grace, the Head of the Church himself, may dispense with them, and grant his gifts irrespectively of them, whenever the special case seems

to his wisdom to require such an exception to his own rules. This act of the Savior, in blessing the children, demonstrates the tender love which he then entertained for them; that he never, subsequently, forgot them or their necessities, the language conclusively demonstrates, which he addressed to Peter after his resurrection: 'Feed my lambs' (John 21: 15). Can we now for a moment entertain the thought that after he afforded such testimonials of his deep interest in children, and of the pity which their sinful and dangerous state awakened, and after pronouncing such a solemn charge in the presence of his apostles, he would leave the world without making ample provision for "feeding" the perishing lambs of his flock? But when the tender lamb is yet so young and feeble that it cannot feed in rich pastures with the flock, the Creator himself, who 'feedeth' the birds (Matt. 6: 26), furnishes the lamb too with appropriate nourishment, its mother's milk, and thus provides for every stage of its existence. But shall the new-born babe, which is "of more value than many sparrows" (Matt. 10: 31) or lambs, and which, while it is susceptible of evil, is also susceptible of good, but incapable of being fed with the word, be abandoned in its natural state of sin, wrath and death? Shall its body grow during the first year, and air, food and sunlight develop its mortal frame, and during that whole period, shall its undying soul be totally neglected by the 'Father of spirits' (Heb. 12: 9)? Its intellectual faculties and the emotions of its heart are beginning to develop themselves decidedly, and shall its moral nature be left in its dark, corrupt and offensive state? Such a course of divine grace would not simply be inexplicable—it would absolutely conflict with all the divine attributes, acts, and purposes revealed in Scripture. Here the Bible doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration intervenes, and introduces that beautiful harmony which, in every other aspect, we discover in the ways of God. Of this grace circumcision was the type, as the paschal lamb was a type of the Lord's Supper. The circumcised child was unconscious of any moral advantages which that act conferred, but they were inestimable, even negatively considered; for God solemnly declared respecting the 'uncircumcised man-child,'—that 'soul shall be cut off from his people: *he hath broken my covenant*' (Gen. 17: 14). So important was it deemed that not even the second week only of the child's existence should pass without the administration of this rite, that the repose of the holy Sabbath day

itself, when that day was the eighth, was necessarily interrupted by its performance, in order 'that the law of Moses should not be broken' (John 7: 22, 23), and the law was strictly observed, not only in the cases of John the Baptist, the child Jesus, and Paul (Phil. 3: 5), but in all cases in which an actual impossibility did not defeat it. The type has passed away, but the antitype, Baptism, remains (Col. 2: 11, 12), as a life-giving means in the hands of the Spirit.—The baptized child is at once brought into living communion with Christ, becomes actually a member of the Church of which he is the Head, and thus, by its connection with the fountain of life, it is made alive spiritually, or, is born again by Baptism. By this baptismal regeneration, the child, in the language of Paul, becomes 'holy' (1 Cor. 7: 14), for this passage appears to admit, legitimately, of no other interpretation.* The word *ἅγιος*, here used in the original for *holy*, is, as it is universally known, variously applied in the New Testament, designating persons, places and things that are consecrated to God and his service.

§ 21. The Savior's emphatic word to Nicodemus: 'thou canst not tell' (literally, as in Luther's version: *thou knowest not*, οὐκ οἶδας, John 3: 8), apply whenever we attempt to describe spiritual processes, of which neither revelation nor conscious experience furnishes an explanation. When the pride of human wisdom, baffled in its efforts to understand, refuses to believe, the Savior's words: 'Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed' (John 20: 29), recall us to a sense of our true relation to the Almighty God. The revealed fact we believe—the mode we submit to infinite wisdom and power. The very difficult question respecting 'the faith of baptized infants,' has exercised many minds, without ultimately receiving a solution. What is the Scriptural aspect of the subject? The Savior says: 'He that believeth not, shall be damned' (Mark 16: 16). We instinctively de-

* The fanatical Anabaptists of the era of the Reformation denied that it referred to the operation of Infant Baptism, which they regarded with contempt, inasmuch as they adopted the heretical Pelagian maxim that unbaptized infants are already righteous and innocent, and seemed to find the meritorious cause of the infant's salvation in itself, practically renouncing the doctrines of original sin, and of the merits of Christ. Our own Formula of Concord unequivocally disowns the whole Anabaptistic system, to which, for instance, such unscriptural opinions belonged as the following: 'That the children of Christians, since they are born of Christian and believing parents, are holy and the children of God, even without and prior to baptism, &c.'—Form. Conc. p. 729, Newm. ed.

cide, on hearing these words, that they must have been so understood by the Savior, as not to involve, necessarily, the condemnation of infants, even as Paul could not have spoken unkindly of them when he commanded "that if any would not work, neither should he eat" (2 Thess. 3: 10). Shall we then withhold baptism from infants, on the ground that it is not suited to their age? But we have already seen above, that their spiritual state is one that needs divine relief, which the Lord will surely as little withhold, as he withholds nourishment from the infant which cannot "work." "Suffer the little children," the Savior exclaims, 'to come unto me, and forbid them not' (Mark 10: 14). That Savior, who never used an inaccurate word, does not say: Suffer little children to be brought to me, but, 'to come to me.' The same word, ἐρχεσθαι, is used, for instance, in a preceding passage, 2: 13, where the multitude *resorted*, or rather, *came*, ἤρχετο, to him, and approached him. As these infants, however, were too young to resort themselves to Christ, the signification of the word rather resembles that which it bears in John 14: 6, 'no man cometh, &c,' ἐρχεται. The Savior seems to say: These little children, in their sinful state, unconsciously implore me to afford relief (as the bleeding wounds of the man who fell among thieves, implored the priest, the Levite and the Samaritan to have compassion, Luke 10: 33, while he lay speechless and half dead); do not hinder them from making an appeal to me. And then, pleased with the faith of those who brought them, he blessed the children. In a somewhat analogous case, Matt. 15: 21 sqq. the 'great faith' of a mother secured actual relief for her suffering daughter. This latter instance, of which several that are similar, occur (Luke 7: 9; Mark 2: 5, &c.) in conjunction with the former, while it is far from teaching that one individual's faith can *justify* another before God, nevertheless demonstrates, that the faith of those who bring children to Christ, secures for them his blessing. When, therefore, believers, representing the church (parents or other sponsors), present a child for Baptism, it is obvious, as here both the child comes to Christ, and also faith is manifested, that the conditions are fulfilled on which the Savior's blessing is given. As circumcision was a 'seal of the righteousness of faith' (Rom. 4: 11),* so Baptism is a

* 'May we not,' says even Macknight in a note here, the whole of which deserves perusal, 'from the use and efficacy of circumcision, believe that baptism, the rite of initiation into the Christian church, is, like it, a seal of the Gospel covenant, and a declaration on the part of God, that he

seal impressed before God on the child, setting forth that it is now a member of Christ's body, the church. It never was positively an infidel, it never had consciously resisted God, and although it was corrupt by nature, yet when it 'comes' to Christ, although as undeserving as the prodigal son, who came to his father (Luke 15: 20), it is restored to divine favor and to its original position, in so far that the *guilt* (desert of punishment) of original sin, is taken from it, and spiritual life infused into its soul. It is no longer simply a child of the fallen Adam—it is now a member of the body of Christ. As we cannot explain the mode in which John the Baptist, when an unborn babe, was filled with the Holy Ghost (Luke 1: 15), and as we cannot comprehend the process by which our body of flesh and blood, shall be divested of these (1 Cor. 15: 50), and be converted into a "spiritual body" (ver. 4), without losing its identity, even so we cannot explain the nature of the operations of the divine Spirit in the soul of the baptized child. But these operations do occur, unless we have totally misapprehended the teachings of God's word, and have erroneously supposed Baptism to be an actual blessing, and not an unmeaning empty form. As Elizabeth declared that the 'babe leaped for joy' (Luke 1: 44), although she must have been aware that the unborn child could not entertain an intelligent joy, so we may say that the germ of spiritual life, infused by baptism into the babe's soul, is faith, although we are fully aware that it cannot be an intelligent faith. The poverty of human language, framed as it is, to describe earthly things, is observable whenever heavenly things are introduced. Of this unavoidable inconvenience, the nomenclature of the Christian system of faith furnishes very numerous illustrations, and hence, even if the Hebraisms of the New Testament Greek did not occur in it, the best Greek lexicon of our day, intended for classic authors, would still fail to afford the necessary information, by explaining the Gospel sense of many words of frequent occurrence (§4). New conceptions, which were never framed in Plato's or in Aristotle's mind, were attached by the new revelation to many ordinary Greek words. The difficulty is increased when compound terms, like the one just quoted (*spiritual body*, σῶμα

will count the faith of the baptized person for righteousness? And that, like circumcision, it may be administered to infants, to assure the parents that their future faith shall be counted and rewarded as righteousness; or, if they die in infancy, that they shall be raised to eternal life? &c.'

πνευματικόν), above, occur, which man's metaphysics, according to which πνεῦμα and σῶμα are opposite terms, cannot explain. We do not, therefore, insist on the word *Faith*, when we desire to designate the effect produced in the babe's soul by baptism, through the operation of the Spirit; we can as little explain the mode of operation, as we can explain that other act of the divine Spirit, when some passage, taken from the word, often unexpectedly, arrests, alarms, or calls the heart to God, we simply ascertain from the Scriptures the fact itself that in baptism a change, influencing the child's moral nature, has been actually wrought, and this change, which tends to render the child acceptable to God, may analogically, be called *Faith*, or, inasmuch as this change actually amounts to the production of spiritual life in the soul, we may call it a spiritual birth, or, adopting the Scripture term, denominate it *Regeneration*. In this sense, according to which the infant receives into its soul, through baptism, the seed of life, destined to germinate and produce by divine aid, administered through additional means of grace, the fruits of holiness, we understand, in accordance with the symbols of the Lutheran Church, the term: BAPTISMAL REGENERATION.

§ 22. The spiritual benefits derived from Baptism were far more justly appreciated during, and immediately after the era of the Reformation, than they have been since Arminian and Socinian views of the ordinance have been permitted to pervade, to some extent, various ecclesiastical organizations, in consequence of increasing indifference to purity of doctrine. The jealousy with which Paul watched over the soundness of the faith of the church, as numerous remarks in his Epistles to Timothy, Titus, &c., show, revived in Luther, and when he restored the pure word by God's aid, he also cleansed the doctrine of baptism from the foulness which it, like other articles of faith, had contracted from the touch of Popery. The superstitious views respecting baptism, e. g. that its benefits were conferred *ex opere operato*, while *opera satisfactionis* were at the same time preposterously demanded,—that original sin itself, and not merely its guilt, was extinguished by baptism, &c., &c., were, of course, discarded by Luther. The fidelity with which he adhered to the sound Gospel doctrine of baptism, powerfully influenced even those who subsequently introduced articles of faith which were irreconcilable with other portions of his system. Calvin, that uncompromising and candid advocate of all that he regarded as revealed truth, was seriously embarrassed by the predestina-

rian views with which he unfortunately encumbered and vitiated his doctrinal system. While he adhered to the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, he was compelled by these views to introduce a singular modification of the doctrine, which passed over to large portions of the Reformed church (a term which properly embraces the Calvinistic, the German and Dutch Reformed, Episcopal and other earlier non-Lutheran denominations). "I grant," says he to Melancthon, "that the efficacy of the Spirit is present in baptism, so that we are thereby washed and regenerated" (Epist. Calv. p. 134) "We consider it as clear, beyond all controversy," he says, in his great work, the Institutes, when writing against those who excluded infants from baptism, because, as they alleged, spiritual regeneration cannot take place in early infancy, "that not one of the elect is called out of the present life, without having been previously regenerated and sanctified by the Spirit of God. Their objection, that the Holy Spirit, in the Scriptures, acknowledges no regeneration, except from *the incorruptible seed* (1 Pet. 1 : 23), that is, *the word of God*, is a misinterpretation of that passage of Peter — — we deny that infants cannot be regenerated by the power of God, which is as easy to him, as it is wonderful and mysterious to us."—Calvin's Institutes, Book IV. Ch. 16, § 18. Allen's Transl. p. 365. "But as they think it would be such a great absurdity for any knowledge of God to be given to infants, to whom Moses denies the knowledge of good and evil, I would beg them to inform me, (*respondeant quæso mihi*, p. 390, Tholuck's ed.) what danger can result from our affirming that they already receive some portion of that grace, of which they will ere long enjoy the full abundance, &c.," p. 366.—"Now it is certain that some infants are saved; and that they are previously regenerated by the Lord, is beyond all doubt." p. 364. This latter sentence, unequivocal as it is, reveals the real difficulty of Calvin. He believed that baptism is a means of regeneration, but as the regenerated child that dies, would then be an heir of heaven, and as non-elect infants also existed in his theory, he was compelled to conclude that these non-elect infants fail to be regenerated by baptism.—This unnatural contortion of the doctrine was not entirely avoided by the Westminster Confession of Faith, which teaches that "elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, &c.," Ch. 10, § 3.—that "baptism is—a sign and seal—of regeneration," and that "the grace promised is not only offered, by the right use

of this ordinance, but really exhibited and conferred by the Holy Ghost, to such (whether of age or *infants*) as that grace belongeth unto, &c." Ch. 28, § 1, § 6. That the Presbyterian church, or at least some of its most distinguished representatives, continue to adhere to the fundamental principle itself, is apparent from the following: In the *Life of Archibald Alexander, D. D.*, by [his son] *James W. Alexander, D. D.*, a letter is given on pp. 584—587, addressed by that venerable man to the "Rt. Rev. W. Meade," and dated, Princeton, May 3, 1849. The following passages, in which we do not recognize Calvin's dilution of the doctrine, approximates in a striking manner to the distinctive Lutheran view. We have italicized some portions, but our extracts themselves precisely convey the writer's meaning:

"The sentiments expressed [in *Religious Experience*] are in perfect accordance with the doctrines received as orthodox by our [Presbyterian] Church, and may be found in Charnock and Owen, and in Dr. Buchanan's late work on the Spirit. If, however, I had foreseen the perversion which some have made of my real opinion, I would, perhaps, have avoided the use of the phrase 'baptismal regeneration;' but I have clearly explained that my meaning was, that *as infants are capable of regeneration before the use of reason*, that blessing might be granted at the moment when they were made the subjects of an ordinance, which is intended to give an emblematical representation of that change. And although I have intimated that there was a greater probability of the child being *regenerated at the time of its baptism*, than at any other period of infancy, &c.

As infants, according to the creed of all reformed churches, are infected with original sin, they cannot, without regeneration be qualified for the happiness of heaven. *Children, dying in infancy, must therefore be regenerated without the instrumentality of the word*, &c. I am aware that an excellent and evangelical minister of your [Episcopal] Church has, in a late work against Puseyism, maintained that children, before the exercise of reason, are *incapable of regeneration; but this is a new theory, contrary to all the sound doctrines of your church as well as mine*, &c.

I do maintain that *the germ of spiritual life may be communicated to the soul of an infant*, which of course remains inactive, as does the principle of sin, until, &c., — — this development is — — altogether by the word, &c. But the doctrine—that infants are incapable of being regenerated until they are capable of attending to the word, is, in my opinion, fraught with *consequences subversive of our whole system*. For, if infants are incapable of a holy principle, the same must be true of a sinful principle; and then the *whole doctrine of 'birth sin' or natural depravity* is set aside. It may remove some obscurity from the subject, to say, that we are accustomed, in treating the subject of regeneration *with accuracy*, TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN IT AND CONVERSION. *The one is the communication of spiritual life; the other is its exercise*, &c.— Suppose a dead seed to be impregnated with a vital principle, and you have my idea of regeneration, &c., &c.

I am, with high regard, yours, &c., &c."

A. A.

Dr. Alexander's early difficulties on the subject of Infant Baptism, were removed by devout and profound study of the Scriptures, which resulted in unfolding the glorious truths to him, expressed in this letter in terms similar to those which the Lutheran Church has employed ever since the Reformation.

§ 23. The conflicting views respecting Baptismal Regeneration now found in the Episcopal church in England and the United States, seem to result, not so much from mere unacquaintance with established church doctrines—an evil unfortunately existing elsewhere—as from the undeveloped state in which the doctrine has remained in that denomination. We gather the following authorized statements, but greatly doubt whether the Lutheran doctrine, in its deep import, could be evolved from them. The “Thirty-nine Articles,” which were derived in a more direct manner than those of the Westm. Conf., from the writings of Luther and Melancthon, avoid at least the embarrassment in which the stricter Calvinistic bodies were involved. The Episcopal pastor, previously to the administration of the rite, prays without any reservation: “Give thy Holy Spirit to this infant; that he may be born again, &c.,” and after it he says: “Seeing now, that this child is regenerate, and grafted, &c.” If the child lives, and is confirmed at a suitable age, the bishop prays: “Almighty God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, &c.” We believe that the *Book of Homilies*, which we have not at hand, refers more fully to the subject. The influence of Zwingli's low views of the Sacraments, materially influenced other portions of the Reformed church, but could not entirely extinguish the vital power of the doctrine. The *Catechismus Genevensis* (Niem. Coll. Conf. p. 162), and the Heidelberg Catechism (ib. p. 408), admit to a certain extent the fact that grace is given through Baptism, and the latter in one of its questions (p. 446, qu. 73), even says that the Holy Spirit calls baptism a washing [bath] of regeneration, and a washing away of sins, but neither seems willing to recognize the salient points of the Lutheran, or even the Calvinistic doctrine of Baptism. The Conf. Helv. II. of 1566, more under Calvin's than Zwingli's influence, with less reserve says: “All these things, [adoption, grace to live a new life, &c.] are sealed in Baptism. For inwardly we are regenerated, purified and renewed by God through the Holy Spirit; but outwardly, we receive the seal of the greatest gifts in the water, &c.” (Niem. p. 517).

Still, the Reformed relaxation of the doctrine, prepared the way for the Arminian view (very possibly adopted also by Methodism, which seems anxious to identify itself with Arminianism), according to which Baptism itself becomes a mere ceremony, unaccompanied by any spiritual gift—it scarcely possesses the substance or internal value of even the Jewish ceremonial, and hence, after destroying the vitality of the ordinance, the Arminian can consistently hold, as he also does, that Infant Baptism is indeed a venerable usage of the church, but not by any means sufficiently important in itself to be carefully retained and regularly practiced. The gradation in the obscurity in which the real nature of the ordinance was suffered to be involved, is striking. The Socinians, who had already robbed the doctrine of the Atonement of its power, by denying the glory of its divine Author, now began to assume even a hostile attitude towards our doctrine of baptism, of which the easy latitudinarianism of the Arminians was not guilty, and they pronounced the church doctrine to be a grievous error. ‘Falluntur vehementer,’ says the Cat. Rac. qu. 348 (qui putant homines ritu baptismi regenerari). The transition was easy to an entire abolition of such an unmeaning and profitless thing, as the Quakers now regarded it, following the example of Barclay, who was powerfully assisted in his assaults on Baptism, by the writings of the younger Socinus. These disciples of George Fox repudiated the whole Gospel ordinance with scorn, as we might indeed expect, if Macaulay’s description of that unhappy man (Vol. IV) is sober truth and not a caricature.

§24. We have hitherto refrained from presenting in full the doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran church, and now have only room to state it briefly, ere we conclude this article. The whole doctrine of Baptism is nowhere so admirably developed, as we find it in our Symbolical Books,* but the

* It may here be appropriate to specify these, as the historical and essential connection between the Ev. Lutheran Church of the present day, and the Ev. Lutheran Church of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, is not always clearly perceived. The Christian doctrine as it has always been received, and now is received by the Evangelical Lutheran Church, is contained (in addition to the three ancient Creeds, the Apostles’, the Nicene and the Athanasian), in the following symbols—a term equivalent to ‘Confession of Faith.’ 1) *The Augsburg Confession*, in twenty-eight articles. 2) *The Apology*. 3) *The Smalcald Articles*. 4) *Luther’s Small Catechism*. 5) *Luther’s Large Catechism*, and 6) *The Formula of Concord*. They constitute a volume which is called *The Book of Concord*, an English revised translation of which was pub-

whole subject is of such vast extent, that we refer to the "Book of Concord" itself, and proceed to give only a few short extracts. 'Baptism is a means of grace—through it grace is offered,' A. C. Art. 5 and 10. 'Baptism is nothing else than the word of God connected with water, &c.*' We

lished in Newmarket, Va., in 1854. It is always of importance to discriminate between them, as each has its own history and object, while they form together, a complete and undivided whole, and with entire harmony present the unmixed, pure and entire truth of God's word. A striking case in which one of them seems by mistake to be supposed to be another, occurs in a very neat little volume (now belonging, of course, to the miscellaneous property of the public), which was recently published by Mr. T. N. Kurtz, Baltimore, 1856, and is entitled: "American Lutheranism Vindicated, or, Examination of the Lutheran Symbols, &c." This volume, on the fifth page of its index, charges a deceased Lutheran minister with "dissenting from the Augsburg Confession," who according to our personal knowledge, received it with the utmost reverence, and with sincere faith. On examining the grounds for this extraordinary statement, as we find them on p. 41, to which the index refers, two facts only appear. The first is the following: in 1820 this clergyman printed Luther's Catechism, with the omission of a word or two. But the real circumstances are these: he simply republished for his Sunday School, some extracts from the Philadelphia edition of 1816, as we observe on comparing the two little tracts before us, and did not give his own translation. The omission of a word or two is thus readily explained, and we regret that this Baltimore book, in which these really trivial circumstances are called a "dissent publicly avowed," urged its way so hastily through the press as to overlook inadvertently the remarkable fact that Luther's Catechism is an entirely different book from the Augsburg Confession, and that these two documents were originally published in two different years, and proceeded from two different authors—a simple historical fact which should have been known to a book entitled an "Examination of the Lutheran Symbols." The other proof of "dissent from the Augsburg Confession," consists, it appears, in the fact that this deceased pastor (who, if he now lived, would sternly repel the charge), while offering thanks to God, at the laying of a corner-stone, for having given us the Bible, repeated, what he rightly called "a fundamental principle of the Lutherans," that the Bible is our only rule of faith, or, in his own words, is 'preferable to all the books and confessions of men,' and that we Lutherans do not depend merely on the latter, which with great felicity of expression, he describes as 'irrigating streamlets,' but also drink from the fountain itself. Here too, no mention whatever, of the Augsburg Confession is made, no "dissent" from it is expressed, and we cannot account for the statement in the book, unless we perhaps ascribe it to the same unfortunate inattention and haste, the traces of which so surprisingly abound on its pages.

*The distinction between the word, implying the ultimate cause, and the water simply as the medium, is clearly seen in analogous cases. Neither the pool of Siloam nor the Jordan possessed special virtues; the blind man (John 9) and Naaman (2 Kings 5) might have repeatedly applied the water without obtaining relief. But when the Word—the divine commission—was given, the desired blessing was received through

do not hold with Scotus and the Franciscan monks, that the washing away of sin in Baptism occurs only through the will of God, and not at all through the word and water—we cannot hold with Thomas and the Dominicans, who say: God has placed a spiritual power in the water, which washes away sins through the water, &c.’ Art. Sm. III. Art. V. By the ‘word’ are understood the command in Matt. 28: 19, with the divine name in which baptism is performed, and the promise in Mark 16: 16. While Luther rejects one popish error, as if God had imparted a spiritual virtue to the water itself, he rejects the opposite error, that ablution from sin is independent of God’s word. ‘Baptism worketh forgiveness of sins, &c.,—but, it is not the water that produces these effects, but the word of God—and our faith, which relies on the word of God, &c.’ Sm. Cat. Part IV. ‘To be baptized in the name of God, is not to be baptized by man, but by God himself. For this reason, even if it is administered through the hand of man, it is nevertheless truly God’s own work.’ Large Catech. Part IV. Hence ‘baptizing,’ like ‘preaching the Gospel,’ is performed through human instrumentality, but the spiritual blessings thence derived by the soul, are imparted through these means by God himself. “Not that the water in itself is better than other water, but because it is connected with the word and command of God.” ‘If the word is separated from the water, it is not different from that which is used for culinary purposes—but when it is connected with the word of God, as God has ordained it, it is a Sacrament.’ ‘Simple water could not effect what is thus accomplished by the word of God.’ *ibid.* ‘Let us inquire who is the person that receives the gifts and benefits of baptism—faith alone makes the person worthy to receive this heavenly, sacred water beneficially. Without faith, baptism is of no benefit, although in itself it is a divine, inestimable treasure’ (Newm. ed. p. 523). ‘Every Christian, therefore, has enough to learn and practice in baptism during his life; for he must ever exert himself to maintain a firm faith in what it promises, &c.’ (p. 525). In reference to Infant Baptism, Luther says: “When the word is connected with the water, then

the water. These cases are miraculous, it is true; but could not omnipotence daily perform similar works, if divine wisdom required them, and would not these exchange the term *miraculous* for that of *ordinary*? The cases certainly show that while mere water possesses none of these powers, in its combination with the almighty *Word*, it can produce happy results.

baptism is right, although the individual be destitute of faith at the time of his baptism: for my faith does not make, but it *receives* baptism. We bring forward the child under the impression and the hope that it believes, and we pray God to give it faith; but we do not baptize it on this account, but rather because God has commanded us to do so, &c. The efficacy and the work of baptism, which are nothing else but the mortification of the old Adam, and afterwards, the rearing up of the new man; both of which are to be pursued by us through our whole life, so that a Christian life is nothing else but a daily baptism, once begun, and ever to be continued, &c. If, therefore, you live in repentance, you show the fruits of baptism, which not only signifies this new life, but also demonstrates and practices it. For in this baptism, the Holy Spirit, grace and virtue, are given to suppress the old man, that the new may come forth and increase in strength. Therefore, baptism ever continues valid, &c." (pp. 526 sqq). It would require more space than there remains, to give additional specimens from our Confessions. These teach unequivocally that baptism may have, in a certain sense, an objective, as well as a subjective efficacy. Objectively, or, independently of the personal act of the child, but not independently of the divine Spirit, it regenerates the child, that is, ingrafts it into Christ, and thus connects it with the fountain of all religious life. In connection with this new birth, it removes the *guilt* of original sin, although the latter itself, or, the corruption of human nature, remains; it imparts the grace of the Holy Spirit, which grace, when the advanced intelligence of the child renders it susceptible of the influences of the word, confers saving and justifying faith. "Hence it certainly follows [from Matt. 28: 19] that we may and should baptize infants; for in and with baptism, universal grace and the treasure of the Gospel are offered to them." *Apol.* p. 227. It is, of course, held that the *adult* derives none of these blessings without faith—a principle which is continually repeated in our symbols. Subjectively, therefore, the regenerating influences of baptism are viewed in their connection with the adult's personal acceptance of the terms of the Gospel. 'To be baptized, that is, to be born again, is not all that is necessary to salvation, for when the growth and the improvement of the creature that is born, are not maintained by a sustenance, a superintendence and an education adapted to it, the result is, that it pines away and ultimately dies.'—*Kurtz's Sacred History*, § 189. From such views of the

subject has proceeded that deep interest which the Lutheran Church has always pre-eminently manifested in the *religious* education of the young.

§ 25. This Lutheran doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, as taught in the Scriptures, and set forth in our Confessions, has of course been faithfully held by those who sincerely adopt the Lutheran creed in general. It may be interesting to afford a few illustrations of this fact, which will, at the same time, in the various forms of devotional composition, prayers, catechetical instruction, sermons, and hymns, exhibit the practical value of the doctrine, and its fitness for devotional purposes, and consequently for pulpit and other religious addresses.

(1.) No one is unacquainted with the name of the holy and devout John Arndt, the author of "*Wahres Christenthum*," which has been already translated into nearly every important living language, including even the Turkish and Malabaric, and has conducted to the Savior, and edified unnumbered souls in every land. This work, in consequence of its design to be of a devotional character, frequently refers to the subject of baptismal grace as a source of consolation. Thus, in Book I. ch. 3, which is entitled: "How man may be renewed in Christ, unto eternal life," and which is characterized by that deep-toned devotional and lovely evangelical spirit, that has made the book itself so precious, Arndt remarks at the close:—"And in this manner the new birth in Christ takes place in us, whereunto also holy Baptism was appointed as a means."

(2.) In his *Paradiesgaertlein*, which breathes the very spirit of the Savior, he introduces in Part II. a prayer entitled: 'Thanksgiving for holy Baptism, and a prayer for a new and holy life,' in which the following language occurs: 'Lord—thou hast given unto me the new birth through the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost—of me, a sinner, thou hast made one that is now righteous, in that I was baptized into thy death—thou hast given unto me in holy Baptism the highest good, namely, thy dear Son with all his benefits. Help me, that my Baptism may daily bear fruit in me, working the death of the flesh, so that in daily sorrow and repentance, I may daily die with thee—help me to remember that I was baptized unto a new life, &c.'

(3.) Philip J. Spener's name will be revered in the church, as long as heavenly-mindedness is prized by its members. In one of his works, which never can be superseded—the *Erk-*

larung der chr. Lehre—a masterly expansion of Luther's Small Catechism, he presents the whole doctrine of Baptism in a manner so luminous, so orthodox, so edifying, that nothing but the great length of that portion prevents us from furnishing a translation of the whole. The reader would survey with admiration, the rich treasure which the church possesses in this doctrine, when thus fully developed. All the points to which we have referred above, are introduced, e. g.—that the divine word and baptism are the means of regeneration, quest. 1025—that from this regeneration, spiritual life and new strength flow, qu. 1028—that it is the beginning of spiritual life, of which man's renewal—a progressive work—is a continuation, qu. 1030—that all these gifts may be lost by man's resistance, qu. 1033—that Baptism continually strengthens the faith of adults, and worketh it in little children, qu. 1017 and 988, referring, in addition to other proof passages, also to the beautiful words in Ps. 22: 9, 'Thou didst make me hope when I was upon my mother's breasts,' &c. The views of this subject entertained by a man so holy, who was as humble, conscientious and firm, as he was learned, wise and experienced in divine things, deserve to be more extensively known in the English language than they now are.

(4.) It is sufficient to mention the name of Muhlenberg,* in order to remind the reader *who* he was, and *what* he was. This faithful disciple of the Savior relates in his diary (Hall. Nachr. p. 1164 sqq.), that he preached the funeral sermon of the Rev. Mr. Handshuh, Oct. 14, 1764. In the sermon, of which he gives a very full and interesting sketch, he took occasion to refer to two other deceased pastors of the same congregation, Rev. Messrs. Brunnholz and Heinzelman, and pays a beautiful tribute to the memory of these three departed servants of God. The following passage then occurs, under circumstances in which it is obvious that the thought of introducing the doctrine of baptismal regeneration controversially, could not possibly have occurred to the speaker's mind:—

* Prof. Stoever, of Pennsylvania College, the Lutheran Biographer, has placed the church under new obligations, by presenting to it his "Memoir of the Life and Times" of this patriarch. The work exhibits all the taste and accuracy which characterize his other productions. We trust that the church will do ample justice to the disinterested zeal of the members of the 'Lutheran Board of Publication,' who have, in addition to this delightful volume, already furnished such valuable contributions to our church literature.

'The ashes of these three witnesses repose in your midst—they were men, born of woman; and since Christ has been pleased to appoint, not angels from heaven, but men as his servants, and 'stewards of the mysteries of God' [1 Cor. 4: 1, 2, the funeral text], let not their human faults and infirmities mislead your judgment. They were, then, born as sinners, but as sinners who nevertheless received grace, who were justified, who yielded to the discipline of God, and who were received as children and heirs of God in Christ, through Holy Baptism, and afterwards, through the preparation of God's grace, by means of his word and Spirit, in repentance, faith and godliness.'

(5.) 'The German language,' Dr. Reynolds remarks in one of his interesting hymnological articles (*Ev. Rev.* VI. 97), 'is distinguished by the number as well as by the deep devotional spirit and high poetic beauty of its hymns.' We might consequently expect that hymns possessing this devotional spirit, would often introduce a Bible doctrine so truly edifying to the soul as God's people have found that of Baptismal Regeneration to be. We merely name Paul Gerhardt, when we desire to express the idea of a combination of the highest poetic talent, and the most exalted devotion to the Savior. While the German language endures, the devout heart will gratefully accept the nourishment derived from his unequalled hymns, such as: *Befiehl du deine Wege,—Ein Lämmlein geht,—Ich weiss dass mein Erlöser lebt,—O Haupt voll Blut, &c., &c.* A man like Gerhardt, to whom God had granted grace in an almost unusual measure, was naturally moved to proclaim his sense of undeserved divine compassion in words like these:

'Der Zorn, der Fluch, der ew'ge Tod,
Und was in diesem allen,
Enthalten ist für Angst und Noth,
Das war auf dich gefallen, &c.

Das alles hebt auf einmal auf
Und schlägt und drückt es nieder,
Das Wasserbad der heil'gen Tauf;
Ersetzt dagegen wieder, &c.

Es macht dies Bad von Sünden rein, &c.

O grosses Werk! O heil'ges Bad,
O Wasser, dessen gleichen

Man in der ganzen Welt nicht hat,
Kein Sinn kann dich erreichen, &c.*

The doctrine is still more emphatically set forth in the exulting and inspiring hymn of Starke: Ich bin getauft, ich steh' im Bunde, &c., and in others of almost equal power and beauty, which we withhold, as we are giving only one specimen from each of the several departments of devotional literature to which we have adverted.

§26. It would be interesting, if our space permitted it, to compare the genuine Protestantism of the Lutheran doctrine of Baptism with the superficial and unscriptural tenets of Popery. The foul spirit of the latter is incapable of appreciating the religion of the heart, and cannot rightly comprehend the Gospel principle that the sanctification of the believer is a progressive work. Yet even many who are totally unconnected with the church of Rome, seem to overlook this vital principle, and hence too hastily apply the term *Regeneration* exclusively to an advanced period of the Christian life,† forgetting that the Christian is, as Luther so happily expresses it, always 'im Werden und nicht im Seyn,' that is, he grows in grace continually, but still, like the apostle, he can always say: 'Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect, &c.' (Phil. 3: 12-14). Like the life of the body at the first birth, spiritual life must have a beginning, and that beginning occurs in Baptism as the second birth. That the Lutheran doctrine counts the latter numerically as the second birth in view of the first or physical birth, is apparent from the circumstance that it does not permit the administration of the rite, until the first is *complete*.

* Gerhardt's hymns are generally of great length. Of the twelve stanzas composing the present hymn, beginning: Du Volk, das du getauft bist, five are introduced in the German Hymn Book of the Synod of Pennsylvania.

† 'The Christian life *begins* with Regeneration,' says the excellent Harless (*Chr. Ethik*, p. 92, 5th ed.). 'The true beginning of the christian life,' he continues (p. 94), 'is the entrance of a spiritual (geistigen) life-principle, which, viewed in its essential nature and operation, stands in direct opposition to that state of man's heart, which has become natural to him. This entrance (entering in) is an act of God's Spirit upon the spirit of man, &c.' He afterwards (p. 103) explains: 'Regeneration comprehends in its whole extent, as much the introduction of the new life-principle, as the aggregate (Gesammtheit) of the operations which it designs, and which proceed from it.' The means by which this divine act is accomplished, he terms 'the Sacrament of Baptism, and the word of the evangelical preaching of salvation' (p. 96).

The *Rituale Rom.*, p. 7, introduces here the most unseemly and gross details. After remarking that 'nemo in utero matris clausus, baptizari debet,' it proceeds to give directions 'si infans caput emiserit, &c.' We are taught to regard nothing as suited to the reception of the ordinance, except the child that is actually born, and lives. And even as the first birth is not repeated, the second or baptismal birth is never repeated. For the Lutheran holds with the Presbyterian, that 'the efficacy of baptism is not tied to that moment of time wherein it is administered, &c. (Westm. Conf. chapter 28, § 6.)

§ 27. We cannot here consider the many denunciations in reference to the present subject, uttered against Luther and the Lutheran church, which writers still sometimes repeat. Arminianism and Pelagianism are incompatible with the Lutheran faith, which is itself irreconcilable with spiritual pride, and the pride of human wisdom. In consequence of the deleterious influence of a denial of the Lutheran doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, its opponents often involve themselves in contradictions which are worse than illogical, for they conduct to unscriptural and dangerous sentiments.* This denial undermines the whole argument for Infant Baptism,† it leads the young and inexperienced to entertain loose and unsound views of natural depravity, it lowers the Bible standard of Christian holiness and impairs the force of the Bible descriptions of the 'exceeding sinfulness of sin,' (Rom. 7: 13). It checks the Christian in his pursuit after holiness, which our doctrine so powerfully sustains, and, while it dilutes the whole doctrinal system of the Bible, and deadens the humble believer's sense of his obligations to the Savior, its chilling influence extends even to little children, for

* We confess that we look with deep anxiety on the manifestations which have already attracted attention in England and the United States (see the New York Observer's recent articles on the new 'Negative Theology' of Old and New England), of a disposition to abandon the old Gospel doctrines of the Reformation. The influence of the Rationalist party in Germany, is not only in its wane, but thanks be to God, is there virtually extinct. That influence on the christian life, if we may judge from its fruits, has operated like a curse, and we pray that the divine Head of the Church may preserve his people in this land from the withering, deadly influence alike of Popery and of Rationalism.

† 'As Baptism occupies the place of circumcision, baptism is nothing, and the want of it nothing, unless accompanied with a sincere, universal and irrevocable purpose to keep the commandments of God.'—American Lutheranism Vindicated, p. 143.

it seems to imply that "of such is" NOT "the kingdom of heaven." It silences the most holy and successful preachers of the Gospel, a Luther, an Arndt, a Spener, a Muhlenberg, an Alexander. It rejects the teaching of God's Word, by adopting a one-sided definition of the word *Regeneration*, that is destitute of all the fulness of meaning in which the term occurs in Scripture; and even when these holy men unequivocally distinguish between regeneration and other technical terms, as Dr. Alexander does with the Lutheran church, and follow the Savior and the apostles, they are rebuked in this lofty tone: 'Do not deceive yourselves and others by employing the name, when you do not mean the thing. The Savior uses it for an entire and radical change, and we have no right to use it for anything else' (Am. L. V. p. 143).

§ 28. We cannot prevail on ourselves to close the present article, without calling the reader's attention to Luther's celebrated sermon on Holy Baptism, of the year 1535, an English translation of which, by the Principal of the Newmarket, Va. Academy, is given in 'Luther on the Sacraments,' Newmarket, Published by S. D. Henkel and brothers, 1853. The following passages are chosen almost at random:

"From this you can now at once clearly and most certainly show, contrary to the abusers of baptism, in the first place, that it is not mere ordinary water, such as the kine drink; but a water which is blessed and hallowed by the divine Majesty, and, as above said, rendered entirely and thoroughly divine; because we distinctly perceive, both, that all three persons are mentioned in the institution of baptism, and in this description they are asserted and represented as having been present with the event. And although we no longer behold the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, bodily and visible to the eye, hovering over Christ, nor hear the voice of the Father; yet that image remains in our hearts, as for our sakes it was once represented, as a sign and witness connected with the words, in which we hear and believe what St. John saw then."*

*This is the passage, it seems, which led to the charge that Luther's expressions respecting baptism are "extravagant and unscriptural." The connection shows that he designs only to express in emphatic language, the great truth that He who fills all space with his presence, is graciously present in baptism. He doubtless assumed that the reader would distinguish between literal and tropical language. Deep emotions and lofty conceptions, even of inspired writers, are sometimes clothed in words as highly figurative as Luther's language, e. g. "made them *white* in the blood of the Lamb" (Rev. 7: 14).

“Wherefore in order that we may not be perverted by such doctrine, let us maintain this pure doctrine, as we here see and understand it, that baptism is not our work or deed, and that a great and wide distinction must be made between the works of God and our own. For there are some works which the divine Majesty performs upon us, for instance, creating us with body and soul, and giving us all that is in heaven and on earth. These are his general works towards all men upon earth, and all are very precious and excellent. But besides these works, he performs others, upon those who become Christians and his children. For after we had fallen and become corrupted through sin, still he takes us once more in his divine hands, gives us his word and baptism with which he washes and cleanses us from sin. These are works, I say, which belong to the divine Majesty alone, in which we do, and are able to do, nothing more than to receive them from him. Of these works should we boast, if we talk of great divine works. For he is the true Operator, who with his finger can obliterate our sins, subdue death, conquer Satan, and destroy hell.”

“Now in order that we may defend baptism and the true doctrine, both against the Papists and the perversion of the Anabaptists, we must continually teach and support this distinction between the two,—that which is the work of God, and that which is ours. For when we speak about what baptism is, and about its benefits, then we are not speaking about our works. For who will assert that he would have made or conceived, or even have known baptism, had not God himself instituted it, and enjoined it upon us, much less that he could give it power and effect? Consequently whatever there may be of its power or its nature, that is altogether and entirely the work of God, and we have nothing to do in it at all in this respect. And here we should not consider or enquire what we do, or do not do; but wherever we see it administered according to his word and command, we should by no means entertain a doubt, that he who is thus baptized, has received the proper baptism. But afterwards, if you have thus received it, you are bound to observe well how you believe, and that you use your baptism rightly.”

“Accordingly keep your actions always before you, and observe how they correspond with baptism; and be assured that, although you have been called and placed into the kingdom of grace, and have been made by Christ a partaker of all that Christians possess; yet if you remain as you were

before, it will all be of no advantage to you, because you do not honor your baptism, and keep it in purity; and you may be called a Christian indeed, but you have assuredly forsaken Christ; sin is your lord; you are serving the devil, and you possess nothing more than the name and appearance of Christianity, by which you are deceiving yourself, and accomplishing your own ruin. For, as I have observed, he has given this blessed baptism and the Eucharist, not only in order that he may forgive and wash away sins by it, but he intends by this means daily to keep expelling and blotting those out which may still continue to linger behind, that the disposition and nature of man may become entirely changed, fitted, and adapted to every good work. And wherever it has been properly received, it will assuredly be found, that the sins of that individual are daily departing and becoming less. In him who has not properly received it, the contrary will appear: that he has assumed this wedding garment, but keeps unseemly filth beneath it, by which he stains and destroys its purity and beauty."

ARTICLE II.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH AND THE DIVINE OBLIGATION OF THE LORD'S DAY.

By Rev. C. Porterfield Krauth, Pittsburg, Pa.

In exhibiting the earliest and purest views of our church on the divine obligation of the Christian Sabbath, we propose to present first of all, the views of Luther and Melancthon.

LUTHER'S VIEWS OF THE SABBATH.

I.—*The Sabbath Original and Natural.*

1. "God blessed the Sabbath and sanctified it. This he did to no other creature; neither heaven nor earth nor any other creature did he sanctify to himself, only the seventh day did he sanctify to himself. This pertains particularly to this point, that we may therefore learn to understand that the seventh day specially is due to the service of God, and should be appropriated to it."—*Commentary on Genesis*, ch. 2, 3.

2. "It follows therefore from this text (Gen. 2, 3), that even if Adam had remained steadfast in his innocence, he yet would have kept holy the seventh day, that is, he would therein have taught his posterity of God's will and God's service, would have praised God, made thanksgiving, &c. . . . On other days he would have cultivated the earth, attended to the cattle, &c."—*Do*.

3. "Had man remained in innocence, he would not on that account have been idle in Paradise, but on the Sabbath he would have instructed his children, would in a public manner have blessed and praised God, and by meditation on God's works, and by contemplation of them, have aroused himself and others to thanksgiving."—*Do*.

4. "Yea after the fall Adam kept this seventh day holy, that is, on that day he taught his children, as is testified by the sacrifices of his sons, Cain and Abel. Therefore is the Sabbath from the beginning of the world ordained for the service of God."—*Do*.

5. "'Exod. xvi. 23: This is that which the Lord hath said, To-morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord.' From this thou seest that the Sabbath existed before the law of Moses came, and had indeed been from the beginning of the world, especially that on this day the pious, who had the true service of God, came together and called upon God."—*Commentary on Exodus*.

6. "Where the law of Moses and the law of nature are one thing, there the law remains. . . . Nature gives and teaches that there must sometimes be a day of rest, that men and cattle may be refreshed: which natural cause also Moses sets in the Sabbath, in order that he, as Christ also does (Matt. 12, and Mark 3), may set the Sabbath among men."—*Against the "Heavenly Prophets,"* 1525.

II.—*The Jewish Sabbath.*

1. "The Jews in our day reproach us Christians that we preach on the ten commandments and on the Sabbath, but do not keep them after their way. . . . But we know by God's grace how the Sabbath is to be kept, for we have learned it from the Son of God. . . . With the Jewish people it was so that they kept a certain special distinct day (as also a special tribe, special persons and place) until Christ, whereby they, through this outward mode, ordained and enjoined by God himself, were separated from the Gentiles, and had also outward testimony, that they were the people of God, among

whom God's Son was to be born."—*Sermon on the Gospel for xvii—Sunday after Trinity.*

III.—*The Sabbath designed for all Men.*

1. "Since now God on these days (the six) creates and works, and *on the seventh ceases to work*, he has caused this to be written (Gen. 2: 1–3), *that we should do as he does*. . . Therefore has he appointed that we also should labor six days and on the seventh rest. And this has been done that the world may be governed in gentleness. . . . Therefore they should, when they have labored the six days in the week, stand still on the seventh from labor, for themselves and for their cattle, specially also hereto, that men may have time to hear God's word."—*Sermons on Genesis*, 1527.

2. "The Sabbath . . . has been appointed for man's sake, that in it the knowledge of God may be exercised and increased. And although man by sin has lost the knowledge of God, yet it has been the will of God to let the command of keeping holy the Sabbath remain, and he has willed that men on the seventh day should train themselves in and pursue his word, and the service appointed by him, that we men first of all be reminded what is pre-cminently our calling and position, that our nature was created that we might know and praise God."—*Commentary on Genesis, first part—written 1536.*

3. "With Christians every day should be a Sabbath. For every day we all should hear God's word, and direct our life by it. Nevertheless Sunday is appointed for the people, that every man on that day specially may hear and learn God's word, and live according to it. For the other six days must the mass of men labor, and earn a support. God is pleased that this should be so, for he has commanded labor. *But the seventh day he will have sanctified*, that men shall not labor thereon, in order that every one may be unhindered to exercise himself in God's word and works, and to do them: not what pertains to the temporal; but what God in his word demands and will have."—*Haus Postille*, 1532.

4. "Thus has God appointed it; six days has he fixed for labor, that the people on these six days in the week should labor for their support. *But the seventh day he has fixed that they should sanctify it.*"—*Haus Postille*, 1532.

IV.—*One day in seven for the service of God, moral and perpetual.*

1. "Though now the Sabbath is abrogated, and the conscience free therefrom, yet is it good, and also necessary, that *a special day of the week* should be kept, that thereon the word of God may be handled, heard and taught. For not every man can attend to it all the days. It is also the demand of nature that men should rest *one day* in the week, and that both man and beast should refrain from labor."—*Exposition of the Ten Commandments.*

2. "The third command of the Sabbath . . . is in itself a command of all the world. . . . For the proper idea of the third command is that we shall teach and hear the word on God's day, in order that we may sanctify both the day and ourselves."—*Against the Sabbatarians*, 1538.

3. "The Sabbath is ordained from the beginning of the world for the service of God."—*On Genesis.*

See the preceding section.

V.—*Not now the seventh day or Saturday.*

"The mention by Moses of the seventh day, and how God created the world in six days, as the reason wherefore they should not labor, this is the attire with which Moses robes this command for his people in particular."—*Against the Sabbatarians.*

VI.—*But Sunday, "The day of the Lord."*

1. "I believe that the *Apostles transferred the Sabbath to Sunday*, otherwise no man would have been so audacious as to dare to do it. And I believe that they did it especially that they might tear from the hearts of the people the imagination that they were justified and holy through the law, and in order that men might be surely and steadfastly persuaded that the law is not necessary to salvation. But the Apostles were moved thereto by the *Resurrection of Christ our Lord*, and the sending of the *Holy Ghost on Pentecost*."—*Tischreden*, ch. xxxiii. 10.

2. "Here it is to be observed that Sabbath in Hebrew means cessation from labor, or rest, because God 'rested on the seventh day from all his work which he created and made.'—Gen. 2, 3. Therefore he commanded that the seventh day should be kept, and that we should cease from our works which we work during the six days. *And that same*

Sabbath is now changed for us into Sunday, and the other days are work days, Sunday is the day of rest, or holy day or sacred day. And would to God that in Christendom there were no holy day except Sunday, and that all the festivals (of the church) were put upon Sunday."—*Sermon on Good Works*, 1520.

3. "Christians have always kept Sunday, not Saturday, because Christ rose on *Sunday*."—*Exposition of the xix and xx. ch. of Exodus*.

VII.—*Obligation of the Lord's day, and sin of violating it.*

1. "Why then is Sunday kept among Christians? Though all days are free, and one like the other, yet is it *useful and good, yea highly necessary that one day should be kept*. . . . For God would gently lead, and peacefully govern the world; therefore has he given six days for labor, but on the *seventh* day, servants, day-laborers and workers of every kind, yea, also, horses, oxen, and other animals that are worked, should *have rest, as this Commandment runs*, in order that they may be revived by rest. And especially that those who at other times have not leisure, may on the holy day hear preaching, and thereby learn to know God. And for such reasons, viz, *for love's sake and for necessity's sake*, Sunday has remained, not on account of the commandment of Moses, but on account of *our need, that we may rest and learn God's word*."—*Exposition of the xix. and xx. ch. of Exodus*.

2. "Every Christian man should ask himself: 'Why dost thou keep this day?'—and thus make for himself a remembrance and memorial, by which he may be reminded that he should be free from occupation on this day, that he may hear God. . . . The second class who break the Sabbath day are those who do manual labor, though it be of a sort which at other times is permitted. . . . The first case in which a man is excusable for doing work on the sacred day, is that of *necessity*. . . . Yet thou must understand that thou art not to devise for thyself a work of necessity, but the *necessity must be thrust on thee by accident*. . . . Physicians, messengers, &c. . . . these are all excusable *in case of necessity*. . . . But here will be asked whether our Wittenbergers are excusable in shooting at the popinjay with the cross-bow on the sacred day, for that could be done on another day, and there is no necessity, nor love, nor moderation, to excuse such a thing, *and the half day of the afternoon should be holy to God, as well as the half day of the forenoon*. In the same

way is to be regarded the practice of inspecting arms and accoutrements on Sunday, as if that, too, could not be done on a week day. This is a matter to which the magistrates should direct their attention."—*Erklaerung der Zehn Geb. Gottes.*

3. "Violation of the third commandment. They violate it who indulge in surfeiting, drunkenness, dancing, loitering about, wantonness—they who indulge in sloth, lose the blessings of the sacred office by sleeping, are negligent of the ordinances, take pleasure walks, engage in idle talk—they who without special necessity labor and deal—they who do not pray, do not meditate on Christ's sufferings, do not mourn over their sins and long for grace—they consequently who keep it outwardly only, by their clothes, by feasting, and by external fashion."—*The Ten Commandments, with a brief Exposition.*

4. "Observe that the force and might of this command lie not in the resting, but in the sanctifying, that this day consequently have a special, sacred exercise. . . . God will have this commandment strictly kept, and will punish all those who despise his word, and will not hear nor learn it, especially at the time appointed therefor."—*Larger Catechism*, 1529.

5. "We will now contrast the ten commandments of God and of the Pope, that we may see how under the name of the law of God, he has done nothing but change and pervert the law :

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

GOD'S.

I.

Thou shalt have no other God, &c.

II.

Thou shalt not take the name, &c.

III.

Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.

THE POPE'S.

I.

Say: Thou shalt have no other, &c., but have them nevertheless.

II.

Say: Thou shalt not, &c., but do it nevertheless.

III.

Say: Remember, &c., but don't keep it holy nevertheless."

These extracts are amply sufficient to show how profoundly and accurately Luther judged of this question, on which churches and theologians within the same churches have differed and yet differ. The passages quoted from him to sustain a laxer view, are torn from their proper place in his system, or that is interpreted absolutely which is meant relatively. His free, bold, unqualified style specially subjects him, in common with all authors in whom the affections are powerful, to this species of misunderstanding. Let no man judge of Luther till he has heard all he has to say. No man who compares Luther with himself, who qualifies by one part of his writings what he says in another, can legitimately extract from them one word calculated to diminish his love or abate his reverence for the day of the Lord, the Sabbath of the Christian. If Germany has not enjoyed a Christian Sabbath, it is because she has refused what the principles of Luther would have given her. The Sunday of Luther is an entire day, not a half day—not a morning for the church and an afternoon for the beer saloon or the dance, or idle saunter; but a day for holy works, and holy thoughts, a holy day, not a holiday. When in his own matchless manner he has overthrown the idea of intrinsic or ceremonial or meritorious sacredness in days or places or outward things under the New Dispensation, he regards no language as too strong to mark how blessed and how necessary is the day of the Lord, nor how great is the guilt and peril of those who profane or neglect it.

MELANCTHON'S VIEWS OF THE SABBATH.

I.—*From the "Catechism for Youth."*—(1536.)

"What does the third command teach? The observance of the Sabbath—that is, the preservation of the services which are delivered to us of God. Therefore the law expressly says: Thou shalt keep holy the Sabbath day, that is, shalt employ it in holy things, to wit, in celebrating public service, and in hearing God's word. These are true Sabbath works."

2. "Is not the command in regard to the Sabbath abrogated? I answer: The genus which is embraced in the command is not abrogated, which genus indeed is the principal purpose of this command, *and embraces the ultimate reason*

for the institution of the species. The genus which is embraced in this command is *moral*, and as regards this genus, Christians are bound by this command. *The third command as regards the genus is moral and perpetual, but as regards the species, that is, the observation of the seventh day, it is a ceremonial.*"

3. "Sins against this commandment, . . . to spend sacred days in feasting and sports, not in pious meditation—to lead others by our example from public worship, and give occasion for their thinking lightly of it—contumaciously to engage on the sacred day in works which hinder the ministry of the word and of worship."

4. "Works enjoined by the precept, . . . to employ sacred days for the celebration of the public service—likewise in pious meditation, and in setting an example which will win others to piety. A Christian, therefore, does not violate the Sabbath by taking care of the sick, for those works do not hinder the service; nay, they are testimonies by which the gospel is shown in its beauty and is confirmed. They are, therefore, proper and true Sabbath works."

5. "The necessary duties of love are to be set before ceremonies—and such a duty has a dispensation of the law, not an abrogation of it. . . The decision is now more easy to us, since we know from the gospel that some liberty is conceded to us in regard to the day. For Christ excuses his disciples when they plucked the ears of corn, for they did a work of love, and yet such an one, that the ministry of the word was not hindered thereby."

6. "The law not only enjoins rest, but gives the command to keep holy the day thus left free, that is, commands certain works necessary to show forth and extend the glory of God. In this life there is need for this outward Sabbath."

II.—*From the Augsburg Confession, (the Variata) of 1540.*

"The same articles more copiously and explicitly set forth. . . . on account of the slanderous interpretations and sophistical elusions of the adversaries, but with the meaning unchanged."

1. "There is no need of a long refutation—one thunderbolt of Paul is enough for us: 'Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace.' This sentence sufficiently teaches, that men do not merit remission of sins by their own works, *either of the divine law, or of human traditions.*"

2. "Many in the church are deceived by a false zeal for Levitical ceremonies, and suppose that in the New Testament there ought to be similar rites, and that these are the service of God. . . . This Pharisaic error Christ and his apostles reprove, who teach that the service in the New Testament ought to be repentance, the fear of God, faith and the *works of the ten commandments*."

3. "They (the papists) allege that the Sabbath was changed into the Lord's day, contrary as it seems to the Decalogue. Nor is there any example of which they boast more than of the change of the Sabbath. They maintain that the power of the church must be great, which has dispensed with a command of the Decalogue."

4. "Nor has the church dispensed with the Decalogue, but the authority of God has abrogated the ceremonies of the Mosaic law, and yet it is necessary that the people should know when they were to come together to the gospel and the ceremonies instituted by Christ. And the *genus in the Decalogue* that at certain times we should come together to these holy exercises *remains*. But the species which was a ceremony, is free, *therefore the apostles did not retain the seventh day*, but preferred to use the first, that they might remind the pious, both of their liberty and of the resurrection of Christ."

III.—*From the Loci Communes, edition of 1545.*

1. "The law of nature . . . coincides with that part of the law of God which is called the *Moral Law*. The chief features of the moral laws have by the admirable counsel of God been brought together in one small table, which is called the Decalogue. When we wish to speak of the moral law, therefore, it is usual to style it the Decalogue. . . . As these are the eternal rules of the divine mind, they sounded at all times in the church *even before Moses, and will always remain, and pertain to all nations*."

2. "Of the third commandment. The text does not speak of rest only, but explicitly of sanctification. It means that on that day holy works are to be done, that is, works specially devoted to God, that is, the people are to be taught, and services divinely instituted are to be attended to. *For this end a day is to be established. This leading idea, pertains to all men and all times, for it is a law of nature*."

3. "As regards the observation of the seventh day, it is evident that the Levitical ceremonies being abrogated, the

ceremony also was changed, as is clearly stated, Col. 2, 18. It is rightly said, therefore, that in the third command there are two parts, the one natural or moral, or the genus, the other part or species in regard to the seventh day is a ceremony peculiar to the people of Israel. Of the former it is said, the natural or genus is perpetual, and cannot be abrogated, to wit, the command in regard to the conservation of the public ministry, so that on a certain day the people are taught and services of divine institution engaged in: but the species which speaks expressly of the seventh day is abrogated."

4. "*Sins against this commandment are . . . never or rarely to be present at public worship . . . to turn others either by our example, or in other ways, from public worship . . . to engage in servile works, that is, such as hinder the service on the day appointed for public worship, to spend those days in sports and feasting.*"

5. "That the words of this commandment may be done, it is needful that we should know the Son of God, that we may in faith in God, and in calling upon him, obey this commandment."

IV.—*From the "Earlier Exposition of the Nicene Creed."* (1550)

1. "Moral laws are plainly immovable, for they are the wisdom of God, or immutable rule of righteousness in the divine mind. . . . Though some make a distinction between natural laws and divine laws, yet we say truly and rightly that natural laws are embraced in the divine, for natural laws are a ray of the divine wisdom transfused into human minds. . . The laws of nature, therefore, are divine and immovable. . . The laws of nature, all the moral laws are comprehended in the Decalogue. . . . Moreover, many kinds of ceremonial laws are natural laws, as for example, it is necessary that some fixed times should be devoted to the public ministry of the heavenly doctrine and of the Sacraments, that the voice of God should sound publicly in the human race, and congregations should be associated together testifying of the doctrine of God."

3. "The most perspicuous description of the moral law, is to say that the moral law is the precepts of the Decalogue. But this saying is to be rightly understood. For as regards the Sabbath, it is true, that the command in regard to the seventh day is ceremonial, and was altered. But the genus is

natural and moral, that is, that certain fixed times should be devoted to the public ministry of the heavenly doctrine, the species, that is, the command in regard to the seventh day, is ceremonial."

3. "In the third commandment God has placed as it were, the guards of the commandments that precede it. . . . The Sabbath, since it is a day appointed for these offices, that the voice of doctrine may be publicly uttered, and we may be admonished by public services, and the people may come together to learn, and to the common invocation of God, *is the chief ceremony, and nerve of the entire ministry.* . . The sins conflicting with this third commandment are all the offences of all persons which impede the evangelical ministry."

V.—*From the Later Exposition of the Nicene Creed. (1557.)*

1. "I will make some remarks on the argument, familiar even to children: 'The Levitical ceremonies are abrogated—the observation of the Sabbath is a Levitical ceremony—therefore it is abrogated.' I reply to the minor, the observation of the Sabbath as to the species, that is, as to the seventh day, and the Levitical sacrifices, and the Levitical observation is abrogated, but not as to the genus, which is the leading idea of this command. . . . The third commandment is partly moral and perpetual, partly ceremonial, that is, the Levitical observation of the seventh day and of the sacrifices."

2. "When it is asked, What is the law of nature? it is most right to reply, the law of man's nature is the Decalogue itself, rightly understood, for the Decalogue is the eternal and unchangeable wisdom of God, which is the rule of righteousness."

3. "It behooves us on that day not to do works which hinder the service of the gospel, or lead away others from that service. These are called servile works. The genus is moral. . . . *It is in accordance with this, however,* that the apostles changed the day for this very reason that they might show an example of the abrogation of the ceremonial laws of the Mosaic polity in the seventh day."

4. "There is, therefore, need of the third commandment. Sins against the third commandment are—not to come together to the public assemblies in the churches, &c. In regard to the penalties of these most glaring offences, it is expressly said, Jer. 17: 37, 'If ye will not hallow the Sabbath day . . then will I kindle a fire in the gates of Jerusalem . . and it shall not be quenched.'"

VI.—*From the Annotations on the Gospels for the Year.*

1. "The Gospel for xvii. Sunday after Trinity. Luke 14. A certain day has been constituted for this end, that there might be public assemblies, in which the congregations shall be taught by the preaching of the Gospel. . . . For that public ministry there is need for some fixed time, the observation of the Sabbath, therefore, is not idleness on that day, but as the text says, keeping it holy, that is, spending it in holy works. . . . He who is absent from contempt, or by his example strengthens the negligence of others, *grievously* sins. . . . They sin also, who neglecting the meditations of the teachings of the Gospel, spend the Sabbaths *in secular occupations, or sports, or other things which lead off the mind from holy meditation*. Let any one reflect how wide-spread is the violation of the Sabbath, nor let us regard the contempt of the public ministry as a *light sin*. For these are the proper works, in keeping with the Sabbath, the preaching of the gospel, meditation on the gospel, pious examples, things properly aiding the ministry."

The points to which Melancthon gives most prominence in the citations we have presented, are these :

1. "The Sabbath as to its generic character is primitive in its institution, a requirement of natural or moral law, its obligation is binding on all men, and extends immutably through all time. (III. 1, 2; IV. 1, 2; V. 2.)

2. The Sabbath, as to its ceremonial Jewish species, has been abrogated, as to its genus it is perpetual. (II. 4, IV. 4.)

3. The generic idea of the third commandment is, that all that pertains to the service or worship of God, shall be strictly kept. (I. 1.)

4. The use of a fixed day pertains of necessity to that service, and is, therefore, embraced in the generic idea of the law, is moral and incapable of abrogation. (I. 1; III. 2, 3; VI. 1.)

5. That day of the week which is fixed for this purpose under the New Dispensation, is the first day. (II. 4; V. 3.)

6. The change from the seventh day to the first, was not made by church authority but by *the apostles*. (II. 3, 4; V. 3.)

7. The apostles changed *from the seventh day* to show the liberty of the Christian Church from the yoke of the law of Moses—they changed to the first in memory of the resurrection of our Lord. (II. 4, V. 3.)

8. While, therefore, it was part of the freedom of the New Testament Church to change what was specified and ceremo-

nial in the third commandment, that is, to change from one day to another, and to determine what day she would change to, it was no part of her freedom to reject all days—she could choose between day and day, but not between a day and no day—she was free as to the determination of the day, but not as to whether a day should be determined. (II. 4; V. 3.)

9. The third commandment is binding on Christians as to its moral features, and whosoever neglects or desecrates the day of the Lord is guilty of a sin against this commandment. (I. 2, 3, 4; V. 3.)

10. The works of necessity and love which may be done on the Lord's day, are done not by an abrogation of the generic law of the Sabbath, but by a dispensation of it. (I. 4, 5.)

11. The Sabbath is the great conservative institution—the commandment without which the others would be neglected. (IV. 3.)

12 To the Sabbath, as Christians are bound to keep it, belong rest from labor, abstinence from secular occupation, from feasting and sports, hearing the word, attending divine service, occupation in holy things, the setting of an holy example. (I. 3; III. 4; V. 3, 4; VI. 1.)

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION AND THE LORD'S DAY.

I.—*The relation to this point of the General Synod's Doctrinal Basis.*

The Formula of Subscription proposed by our General Synod does not embrace that part of the Augsburg Confession which touches on the Sabbath. The qualified assent which that Formula demands, is to the "doctrinal articles;" that is, the first twenty-one articles of the Confession, and makes no reference whatever to the articles on abuses, in the seventh of which occurs what is said in regard to the Lord's day. If the views of the Augsburg Confession on this topic be erroneous, we have bound ourselves in no way, as a part of the General Synod, to their adoption or defence, nor is any disclaimer necessary on our part. We have never given even a qualified subscription to the articles on abuses. We need no new basis to renounce what the old basis has never confessed.

II.—*The relation of those to it who subscribe the Augsburg Confession without qualification.*

Nor would it be easy to show that even those who have given an unqualified subscription to the entire Augsburg Confession have bound themselves thereby to what it says on the Lord's day. That subject is introduced incidentally, is briefly handled, and simply as illustrative of another. To the *doctrine* of the seventh article "on church power," no Protestant could object. The unqualified subscription to the article would obligate no man to the reception as a matter of course of all the arguments used in it, or of the illustrations employed in its defence. We may consider a doctrine impregnable, and yet allow that a particular defence of it is very weak and illogical—we may adopt a man's views, and reject his reasons for those views, and it is possible for us to be more deeply wounded by the way in which views we cherish are defended, than we could be by the fiercest assaults on them.

Every word in the article on "church power," which alludes to the Lord's day might be erased, and yet its arguments remain impregnable. If the syllogism on the Lord's day be really this: "The Lord's day is an ecclesiastical tradition; ecclesiastical traditions are not obligatory; therefore the Lord's day is not obligatory,"—it might with perfect truth be replied by one who maintains the obligation of the Lord's day, that if the major proposition be true, the conclusion is certainly true. If, therefore, for the sake of argument, it be conceded to Romanists that the Lord's day is an ecclesiastical tradition, then the Lord's day is not obligatory—but such a person would add: the Lord's day is not an ecclesiastical tradition, therefore it is obligatory—or the Lord's day is obligatory, therefore it is not an ecclesiastical tradition. In a word, either view of the Lord's day equally meets the sophism of the Romanists. Prove that it is an ecclesiastical tradition, and their argument for its necessity is overthrown, for this supposition proves it is not necessary. Prove, on the other hand, that it is not an ecclesiastical tradition, and their use of it to illustrate ecclesiastical authority is annihilated. The most rigid or the most lax views of the Lord's day would equally meet the wants of the argument, presenting opposite yet equally effectual answers to the Papists. But we shall see that the point of the Romish argument was very different from the one here supposed, and that the question

raised by the Confessors was one which a decision in regard to the divine obligation of the Lord's day could not in itself settle.

III.—*The Words in Dispute.*

Briefly and cursorily, and only so far as its relation to the question of church authority is concerned, did the Confessors touch the subject of the Lord's day. The Papistical adversaries had maintained a certain view of the Sabbath, and of the Lord's day, in order to uphold false views of church authority. To meet this falsity, and only so far as it was necessary to meet it, the Confessors touch on the subject. The words in which they speak of the Lord's day separately, are these:

1. IN THE LATIN CONFESSION.

"For they who judge that by the authority of the Church the observation of the Lord's day was instituted in place of the Sabbath as necessary, greatly err. The Scripture which teaches that all Mosaic ceremonies, after the gospel is revealed, may be omitted, has abrogated the Sabbath. And yet because there was need to ordain a certain day when the people might know it was their duty to come together, it is clear that the Church determined (*destinasse*) for that purpose the Lord's day, which seems to have pleased the more for this reason also, that men might have an example of Christian liberty, and might know that the observation neither of the Sabbath nor of another day is necessary."

2. IN THE GERMAN OF THE ORDINARY EDITION.

"For they who think that the ordinance of Sunday for the Sabbath was established as necessary, (*nöthig*,) err much, for the Holy Scripture has put away the Sabbath, and teaches that all ceremonies of the old law, after the revelation of the gospel, may be discontinued, and yet because it was of necessity (*von nothen*) to ordain a certain day in order that the people might know when they should come together, the Christian Church has thereto ordained Sunday, and to this change had the more pleasure and will, that therewith the people might have an example of the Christian freedom, and that it might be known that neither the observation of the Sabbath, nor of another day, is of necessity, (*von nothen*)."

These translations we have tried to make as strictly literal as the idioms of the languages would allow.

IV.—*General Position of the Lutheran Church on the Sabbath Question.*

With the range thus circumscribed by certain assertions of their adversaries, and touching the subject only cursorily, it is not surprising that the language of the Confession on this point has not always been interpreted in the same way. Those nearest their time and reared in the most thorough acquaintance with their views interpreted their language in such a

manner as to find in it no contradiction to the idea of a moral and perpetual obligation to keep a day sacred to the Lord—an obligation whose generic force they regarded as natural and primitive, and confirmed by the fourth (or according to the division then most current, the *third*,) commandment, and the determination of which with reference to the particular day observed under the new dispensation, they regarded as *apostolic*. We think we have demonstrated in previous articles that the declarations of Luther and Melancthon not only involve, but explicitly set forth all this, and a protracted, conscientious and prayerful examination of such works of our greatest divines, as bear on this point, has led us to the conviction that not only do they teach all that is needful to the maintenance of true and evangelical views as to the obligation of the Lord's day, but that they may claim the glory of erecting the safest and most impregnable wall of defence that has ever been reared around that sacred and apostolic institution of Christianity by the hands of men. He who will search the works of Luther and Melancthon, and examine with care what has been said by Flacius, Chemnitz, Lyser, John Gerhard, Franzius, Calovius, Quenstedt, Spener, Carpzov, Buddeus, Mosheim, the Walchs and Baumgarten, not to mention other theologians of our church less renowned, and who, on the other side, weighs all that has been said to weaken what they declare or imply to be the views of our church as to the Lord's day, and the teachings of the Augsburg Confession on it, will feel how immovable is the basis on which is maintained the thesis: *Neither the Augsburg Confession, nor the greatest theologians of the church of the Augsburg Confession, denies the divine obligation of the Christian Sabbath.*

V.—*Great importance of the point discussed.*

Regarding the Lord's day as we do, with an inexpressible fondness, reverencing it as the conservative institution of Christianity, "the very nerve," as Melancthon well styles it, "of the service of God," and marking the assaults which are made upon it, and that difficult questions connected with it have brought some of the purest and greatest men in the Christian Church, who love it, into an apparent association with its enemies, on the general question of its divine obligation, we confess that we should be sorry to see the weight of the sentiment of our great Reformers and theologians thrown into the scale of the laxer view of the Lord's day, to strength-

en the difficulties of doubters, and to give new plausibility to the sophisms of foes.

If the confessors denied the divine obligation of the Lord's day, it is impossible for those who hold to that divine obligation to regard without deep sorrow a fact which may be used so plausibly and forcibly by its enemies, to invest with the associations of the most revered names of modern Christianity an assault on a vital institution of Christianity itself. They will urge that those great heroes in the Christian world, the men who translated the Bible and devoted their lives to the search of it, who lived by it and died by it, did not find in it an institution expressly enjoined of God, an institution whose observance was of all public ones most frequently to recur, that in that New Testament where they could find scores of proofs of the institution of baptism, which is administered but once in a man's life, and of the Lord's Supper, which is but occasional, they missed sight of the divine obligation of that institution whose demands come fifty-two times in every year, and the strict observance of which is essential to a vital christianity, and whose neglect is followed by the most disastrous consequences, and that the equivocal observation of it, which they allowed was based upon the figment of its being an innocent, ecclesiastical tradition, which it might be well enough for the poor and ignorant to observe, but which was not obligatory. They will draw the inference that these men did not find the divine obligation of the Lord's day in the New Testament, because it was not there, or they will excuse themselves, unpretending men, for not finding what these great men could not discern.

Where now is your principle of private judgment? it may be asked, and if you reply that though the divine obligation is *there*, those men could not find it, with what face, it may be urged, can you say that all things necessary for man's spiritual good are sufficiently and clearly revealed in God's word. Here is no abstruse doctrine; it is a question of a positive divine institution, and not captious, heretical or ignorant men, but your great Reformers themselves with their Bibles and their eyes wide open failed to see it. Has it been by some process of modern philosophy, by the growth of human science, the researches of the learned, the advances of the seventeenth, eighteenth or nineteenth centuries in commerce and manufactures, or has it been by getting on the shoulders of the giants, that a specific divine obligation of a certain institution has in late times been found where they could not find it?

VI.—*The horns of a dilemma.*

And here a convenient refuge, in which safety has so often been found from such difficulties, utterly fails. Poor Rome, the universal solvent of all the difficulties of some Protestant theologians, will furnish no solution here. The church of Rome, from which the Confessors went out, teaches in the most decided manner the divine obligation of the Lord's day. A distinguished writer of the Presbyterian Church, (Princeton Essays, 1st Series, Essay xix,) truly says that the doctrine of the Romish Church is as decided on this point as that of the strictest Protestantism in America. She holds to a specific obligation of the Lord's day in no sense less divine than that by which the Jew was bound to the seventh. The causes of the practical laxity in Romish countries as to the mode of its observance, we cannot now stop to examine, for that has no connection with the question as to what is the *doctrine*. Loose however, as are the people, the Romish *saint* keeps the Lord's day with a Pharisaic rigor, and the church books of Casuistry are filled with questions, which have arisen from a strict construction of the Jewish law of the Sabbath and its application to the Lord's day.

The favorite explanation of all the deviations of the Reformers from the current view of any denomination or of any body, is that these peculiar views are the still adhering fragments of the Romish shell out of which they had so recently been hatched. But on this point a new refuge must be found. As to this specific point the position must be taken, that Rome was right and they were wrong. Their private misjudgment had led them into an error on a point on which Rome was in the light and they were in the dark, and in which American Protestantism agrees with Rome and takes side against the Reformers. Is this true? Shall Rome point to such assertions as a foretokening of the time when the Protestant world will again take ground with her, on all the other points on which the benighted Reformers arrayed them against her?

Are we, after being trained to think that the sole danger of the Reformers was that they would be naturally inclined to keep *too near* Rome, now to be told that at the Diet of Augsburg they not only hazarded, but actually ran into the fault of being *too far* from Rome? That in overthrowing her errors they struck a fatal blow at the heart of the truth which those errors encrusted, that they were so radical and so eager to consume the "wood, hay and stubble," that they destroyed "the gold, silver, precious stones," and by convert-

ing a divine institution into a merely human one, endangered the foundation itself. And all this too, in that mild confession, which we are to believe the timid Melancthon composed, under the constant dread that if he said a hard word, or came out decidedly against Romish errors, the emperor would put the Reformation in his pocket, and cut Martin Luther's head off. Now he is a swaggering fellow, so blind with rage that he cannot see that a truth is a truth simply because Rome holds it, and renounces a divine obligation because Rome acknowledges it. This point needs no labored illustration. *The disputed words of the Augsburg Confession, the words in which it is pretended that the divine obligation of the Lord's day is denied, furnish all the evidence that is required.* It is evident that in these words the Confessors deny something which their adversaries affirm. Now the necessity of "the Sabbath or any other day," which is there denied, really is identical with divine obligation, or it is not. *If it is identical*, then since the Confessors are denying what Rome affirms, and since the supposition is that the divine obligation of the Lord's day is denied by them, the supposition also is that the divine obligation was affirmed by Rome. Then Rome was right in affirming the necessity, and the Confessors were wrong. The charge against them here then is, that they were not Romish enough.

But if, on the other hand, the "necessity" there denied is not identical with divine obligation, then in denying *that* necessity of the Sabbath or of any other day, the Confessors by no means deny the divine obligation of the Sabbath or some other day. The dilemma is perfect. They who take the former horn of it, and say the words do deny the divine obligation of the Lord's day, are forced to grant that here Rome was right in her affirmation, and the Confessors wrong in their denial—that here they erred by being too far from Rome. We take the other horn of the dilemma, and say that Rome affirmed a sort of necessity for the Lord's day, *by no means identical with that of divine obligation*—a sort of necessity with which the divine obligation was so far from standing or falling, that in fact to make it identical with that divine obligation, would have overthrown both—the species of necessity which they claimed being in fact, as the Confessors demonstrate, such as to overthrow the whole doctrine of grace, the whole New Testament plan of salvation.

It does not in the smallest degree relieve the difficulty, to say that though Rome was right as to the position of divine

obligation, she was wrong as to the grounds on which she rested it—for this is still to suppose that her position was right, though her arguments were wrong—but the Confessors not only repel her false arguments for the “necessity” in question, but they deny that necessity itself, and moreover if the false *argument* alone of the Romanists is covered by the “necessity,” then the Confessors deny not a divine obligation of the Lord’s day, but a false Romish argument merely. He, then, who will not accept one horn of the dilemma, must accept the other. Either our Confessors went too far against Rome, or the words in dispute do not deny the divine obligation of the Lord’s day. Our affirmation is that the Confessors held that though such distinctions of days as the Levitical dispensation enjoined, were no longer allowable, yet that such a distinction as the physical and religious wants of man demanded, is not Levitical, but original, moral, and incapable of abrogation, of the same force under the New Dispensation as under the Old, that whatever is moral in the command remains in force, and that *all* is moral in that command as it stands in the Decalogue, except the specific determination of the particular day of the week; that the keeping, therefore, of one day in seven holy is not a matter in which the freedom of the New Testament Church has any play whatever; but that in the determination of the day she is free, that exercising that freedom through her inspired leaders, the Apostles, she chose the first day in honor of her Lord’s resurrection, that though that day is not thereby sundered by a Levitical distinction from others, and though there is not thereby constituted in regard to it a prescription in its own nature unchangeable, so that a transfer to another day by the whole Church, under the guidance of God, is *morally* impossible, yet that the morality of a common keeping one day in seven requiring absolutely the determination of a day, that determination being actually made by the Apostles to the first day, no change having taken place, and none being conceivable, and that determination by universal consent being in force, that man sins against God, sins against the fourth command, and is guilty of a violation of the law of the Sabbath, who disregards or does not rightly use the Lord’s day, who does not consecrate it to the service of God, who does upon it servile works, or engages in worldly occupations or amusements, or in anything which interferes with its religious character, except it be a work of necessity or of mercy.

And as regards the Augsburg Confession in its relation to the matter, we affirm that though from the brief notice it takes of the Lord's day, it does not develop in so many words all of this view, yet it not only does not contradict it, but implies it—the only key to its meaning is the theory we have stated.

VII.—*Compressed statement of the points of difference between Rome and the Confessors.*

If we were compelled to state very briefly the points in dispute between the Romish and the Evangelical theologians, as regards the Lord's day, we should say—Rome maintained a Levitical necessity, the Confessors a moral necessity; Rome a Mosaic distinction, the Confessors a Christian distinction; Rome a prescriptive determination, the Confessors a free one; Rome a canonical observance, the Confessors an evangelical one. Rome rested the divine obligation on the necessity of the Sabbath, the Confessors on the necessity *for* the Sabbath; the one laid the foundation of the law in the day, the other in man; the one declared that man was made for the Sabbath, the other that “the Sabbath was made for man.” Just fifteen centuries before, in the “corn-fields” of Judea, “on the Sabbath day,” the adorable Redeemer had laid the foundation of the Evangelical view.

VIII.—*Proofs of the Position taken.*

Let us now look at some of the particular proofs of the general assertions we have made:

1. The Confession does not deny that the sanctification of one day in seven for the service of God is a primitive original institution of God. The *birth* of the generic Sabbath is dated by the authors of the Confession in their writings, in which they discuss the subject more fully, from the completion of the Creation, and prior to the fall. Luther on Gen. 2: 3, says, “God blessed the Sabbath, . . . the seventh day did he sanctify to himself. . . . We may therefore learn to understand that the seventh day specially is due to the service of God, and should be appropriated to it. Even if Adam had remained steadfast in his innocence, he yet would have kept holy the seventh day. . . . On the Sabbath he would have instructed his children, would in a public manner have blessed and praised God. . . . Yea, after the fall Adam kept this *seventh* day holy. . . . Therefore is the Sabbath from the beginning of the world, ordained for the service of God.”

On Exodus 16: 23: "The Sabbath existed before the law of Moses came, and had been indeed from the beginning of the world." In common with Luther and Melancthon, the entire body of Lutheran theologians for two centuries, without a single exception of which we are aware, held to the primitive sanctification of the Sabbath. While among the Jewish, the Romish and the Reformed interpreters, there were some who maintained the opposite view, we cannot for two centuries after the Reformation find a solitary theologian, rigid as was their adherence to the Confession, who did not reject the idea that the words in Genesis 2: 3, were put there by anticipation. All of them contend for the primitive sanctification of the Sabbath.

The inference, therefore, is resistless, that the Confessors did not teach nor imply that the devotion of one day in seven to God, is of Mosaic origin. The seventh day Sabbath of the Jew they declare abrogated—the Sabbath of one day in seven, the Sabbath of the race, they retain.

2. The Confession declares in common with St. Paul (Col. 2: 16), the tenor of the whole New Testament, the assent and actual practice of all Christendom, ancient and modern, Greek, Romish and Protestant, that the Jewish Sabbath or Saturday, and with it the *Levitical* necessity of the distinction of days, has been abrogated. "The Scripture which teaches that all Mosaic ceremonies, after the gospel has been revealed, may be omitted, has abrogated the *Sabbath*," (Aug. Conf. p. 43.) It would be an insult to the reader to think it needful to say that the Sabbath "abrogated," because "*Mosaic* ceremonies . . . may be omitted," is not the generic, original Sabbath which the Confessors teach was not Mosaic, but "was appointed," as Luther on Gen. 2: 3, expressly says, "for *man's* sake" . . . "and God has caused this to be written, that we should do as he does, that we should labor six days, and on the seventh rest,"—"it has been the will of God to let the command of keeping holy the Sabbath remain,"—"the seventh day he will have sanctified,"—"the seventh day he has fixed that they should sanctify it." The remark ought hardly to be necessary that when Luther and other writers of our church speak of the "*seventh*" day as ceremonial, they use the "seventh" as an ordinal number, to designate the definite seventh day of the week, or Saturday—while they declare that the "*seventh*" day, using the word

“seventh” cardinally and indefinitely, to mark one day in seven, is *moral*, not ceremonial.

3. The Romish propositions in regard to the relation of the Lord’s day, to the question of ecclesiastical authority, may be thus stated:

(a.) The Jewish Sabbath was ordained under the Old Dispensation as a necessary means of justifying and saving men—or as necessary. Therefore the observance of days, and not faith alone, justifies—or is *necessary*.

(b.) The Apostles have changed the Jewish Sabbath and substituted in its place the Lord’s day, or first day of the week, with the ceremonial character, otherwise unchanged, and have bound it on men in the same way as the Jewish Sabbath was bound on the Jew, and therefore it equally with that in the Article of justification, is *necessary*. Therefore the Apostles have renewed the principles of the Levitical distinction of days, and have made it of equal necessity under the New Dispensation.

(c.) But the Church of Rome is the Church of the Apostles, swaying the same authority. Their right to change days implies her right. Their right to impose the Lord’s day as necessary to justification, implies her right to command the observance of that day, and to impose others as necessary to salvation. The principle of ceremonial prescription remains in force—on that principle the Church of Rome enjoins by her Apostolic authority the Lord’s day and other days—and they therefore are necessary to salvation—and in view of that necessity were ordained.

4. We have seen that as to her general position, that the Lord’s day is of divine obligation, the Church of Rome is as sound as any part of the Protestant world. On that point our Confessors had no dispute with her, but as to some of her most illegitimate ways of establishing it, and her most pernicious inferences from it, they had something to say.

Comparing their views elsewhere expressed, with the doctrine they were combatting, it is not difficult to ascertain what would be the counter proposition of the Reformers.—Admitting the moral or divine obligation of the Lord’s day as the one in seven, actually chosen or “now fixed,”—they wished to show that no such argument as was urged by the Romanists could legitimately be based on that fact. They make some remarks in regard to the difference between the old dispensation and the new, as to the basis on which the distinction in general, of days, rests; and they then speak

specifically as to the Lord's day. Their thesis is: The obligation of the Lord's day rest not on ceremonial or Levitical grounds, such as the Church of Rome pretends, but on the basis of moral, religious and physical necessity, and the consequent unchangeable prescription of the moral law, that one day in seven shall be kept for rest and for God, but the moral law fixes this ratio of a day in seven not as a ceremonial thing, still less as necessary to justification. One day in seven is the *necessary moral means* to a *necessary moral end*, and is therefore fixed by the fourth commandment. But this necessity does not determine which day should be set apart. One day of the week would meet the moral necessity as well as another. A necessity however arises from the nature of things, that there should be a determination of the day. The day thus determined does not however become obligatory, on the ground that it is thereby separated by the *Levitical* principle from other days, but on the ground that in the very nature of things, the moral obligation of a conjoint keeping of one day in seven, requires that there should be a determination of which day. This day the Church embracing the Apostles, and directed by them, chose. The Apostles chose the first day of the week, but they chose it not in view of such a ceremonial or Levitical necessity, as the Church of Rome pretended, but because obedience to the fourth command required the choice of a day, and though between day and day as such, there could be no choice—one answering the moral demands of the law as well as another—they selected under guidance of the Holy Ghost, and in view of the glorious moral fitness of its association, the first day, the day of the resurrection and of the re-appearing of Christ, the day of the outpouring of his Spirit, "the Lord's day." Brief as it is on this point, the Confession affirms distinctly the generic necessity of a Sabbath or fixed day, holy to God. "It *was necessary*," it says, "to determine a fixed day, that the people might know when they were UNDER OBLIGATION (*Deberet*, 'to be bound to, under obligation to, *in duty bound*.' Freund's Lat. Lex., trans. by Andrews) to come together," "that men might thereon hear and learn God's word.—*Aug. Conf.* p. 43, *Latine and German*.

In these words is expressed first, that the necessity of a time for God's service is a generic one, and consequently that the observance of such a time is not ceremonial or Mosaic, and consequently either on the one side of temporary obligation expiring with the New Dispensation, as on that supposi-

tion on evangelical principles would have been the case; nor on the other of ceremonial obligation holding good under the new dispensation, as on the Romish principle would have been the case, but neither expiring by limitation on the one side, nor living on Levitical principles on the other, but resting on the broad principle that there are wants and duties of man requiring now, as under the Old Dispensation, a day for God. They declare in the second place that this time is "*of necessity*," "*a day*," and that day a "*fixed*" one, and its fixing not to be done by the individual, but from another source, which is to "*determine*" a day to be kept in common by *all*, a day whose observation is a duty, and to the keeping of which men are under *obligation*.

The Confession then argues here against the Romish Levitical idea, that the obligation of the sacred day is one that arises from the idea of the *necessary* sacredness of particular times, or from ecclesiastical prescription. It removes the obligation to keep the Lord's day holy, from a false foundation to its true one. It overthrows the *Romish* principle of necessity, and brings in an evangelical principle of necessity, and rests the observation of the Lord's day on the generic character of the law of the Lord, that law which is natural, moral, primitive, universal, and incapable of abrogation.—"Where the law of Moses," says Luther, "and the law of nature are one thing, there the law remains. Nature gives and teaches that there must sometimes be a day of rest, which natural cause also, Moses sets in the Sabbath, in order that he, as CHRIST ALSO DOES, (Matt. 12 and Mark 3) MAY SET THE SABBATH AMONG MEN." Let the reader mark in the quotation from Luther, first, that when a natural necessity is claimed for the Sabbath, the object is not to weaken its character as of divine obligation, but on the contrary to strengthen the obligation of that command by showing its natural necessity and fitness; secondly, that he speaks of this law as placed by Moses among MEN, in such features as are natural, and therefore moral; and thirdly, that this generic Sabbath he represents Christ as placing among men. "It is good and also necessary," says Luther elsewhere, "that a special day of the week should be kept. . . . It is also the demand of nature, that men should *rest one day in the week, and that both man and beast should refrain from labor*." Mark in this quotation that it is said not only to be good, but "*also necessary*" that a "*special day of each week*" should be kept, it is a "*demand of nature that there should be rest one day*

in the week." Compare this with his principle, "where the law of *Moses* and the *law of nature* are one thing, there the law remains," and the inference would be resistless, even if he had not so often and so clearly expressed it that the law of *Moses* enjoining one day in the week, of necessity, for rest and worship *remains*, and that there is, therefore, a divine obligation to keep such a day. "The command of the Sabbath is in itself a command of all the world. The *proper* idea of the third command is that we shall teach and hear the word on God's day, in order that we may sanctify both the day and ourselves." These words distinctly assert that the Sabbath generically considered, is not commanded to the Jews as such, but to *all the world*. And in the "*proper*," that is the essential, universal and immutable part of it, is embraced not merely the idea of *some* time for God, but of God's day," and that day is to be sanctified. "It is useful and good, yea, *highly necessary* that one day should be kept, *therefore* God has given six days for labor, but on the *seventh* day, servants &c., should have rest, as this commandment runs. For love's sake and necessity's sake, Sunday has remained, on account of our need, that we may rest and learn God's word."

These passages will serve to illustrate the meaning of the Confession, when it says, a "certain day" is "necessary," and that it means not that God has enjoined no particular ratio of time under the New Dispensation, but that, as Luther well says in the last quotation we have given, "it is useful and good, yea highly NECESSARY, THEREFORE GOD has given the "SEVENTH DAY" that we may rest and learn God's word."— This then is the necessity affirmed by the Confessors, and we shall see hereafter how they overthrew the false necessity of the Papists with this true one. They have swept away the sand which Rome had drifted about the base of the pyramid, and on which they pretended it stood, and have left the pyramid itself with its base of rock no longer hidden. Calvin was accustomed to say to Beza: "I retain my baptism, but I renounce the chrism." So did the Confessors retain the pyramid and renounce the sand.

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION

And the Apostolic Institution of the Lord's Day.

If the Augsburg Confession denies the Apostolic Institution of the Lord's day, it arrays itself against the belief of the earliest church, and the sentiment of all christendom up to its date, and takes a false position where the Church of Rome takes a true one. We need not quote the theologians of that Church, to demonstrate what her doctrine has been on this point. A single sentence from the Catechism of the Council of Trent (chap. 4, quest. 7), will decide it: "*The Apostles, therefore, resolved to consecrate the first day of the seven to divine worship, and called it the Lord's day.*"

Is there in the Augsburg Confession a solitary hint of the denial of the Apostolic origin of the Lord's day? Not one. On the contrary, it implies the very reverse, as any one who will read the argument with care, will perceive. But it is wholly unnecessary to go into a vein of inductive evidence of this kind, on a point on which the direct testimony is so explicit and overwhelming.

The entire evidence on which the charge rests is, that the Augsburg says, "the *Christian Church* ordained the Lord's day," the implication, therein, it is alleged, being that the Apostles did not ordain it. We hope to show that the implication really designed, was the reverse—the Christian church ordained it, therefore the Apostles, without resting on whom no church is christian, did ordain it.

When the Confessors say "the *Christian Church* has ordained Sunday," they do not mean to make an antithesis between the Church and the Apostles, as much as to say the Church, *not* the Apostles, ordained it. It is between the *Christian* church, the body of Christ in its primitive purity, including the Apostles, and guided by their infallible direction, and the *Romish* church, they design to make the antithesis, as much as to say, the Lord's day was not ordained by the Romish church, or by any particular church, but by the pure Christian church in its Apostolic time, through its infallible representatives and guides, the Apostles. And this intimation they make, not that Rome claimed to have instituted the Lord's day, for this she never did claim, and would expressly disavow, but because she, claiming a power coördinate with that of the Apostles, sustained by their example her pretended right to establish festival days, and other outward things as of necessity, to the justification of men.

The Confessors design to remind her that though she claimed such powers, they denied them, and that they drew a distinction between an ordinance of the *Christian* and *Apostolic* church, and an ordinance of the *Romish* church, if she did not. You argue in this matter, they would say to their opponents, as if the conclusion from acts of the Christian church to your acts, was valid, but the Christian church is one thing, and the Romish church is another, no inference from what the Christian church has done under the direction of the Apostles, to what the Romish church may do under the direction of the Bishops, will stand. But moreover, if it could stand, your inference as to the power of the Romish church to ordain days as necessary to salvation, would not be valid, for although the Apostles ordained the Lord's day, they ordained it conformably to the law of the Sabbath, as the necessary moral means to a necessary moral end. Our Confessors would not, in a word, allow such a view of the Lord's *day* as would obscure the merit and sacrifice of that Lord himself; having rejected the *opus operatum* of sacraments, they were not going to allow the *opus operatum* of days.

We affirm, therefore, most distinctly as the thesis of this article, that the Confessors held and meant to teach that the Lord's day is an institution of the Apostolic church, that is, of the Apostles themselves, with the concurrence of the whole body of Christ on earth.

Luther on the Apostolic Institution of the Lord's Day.

1. That Luther held to the Apostolic institution of the Lord's day, is easily demonstrable. In his exposition of Gen. xxix. and xx., he says: "Christians have *always* kept Sunday, not Saturday, because Christ rose on Sunday." "I believe," he says, (Tischreden. ch. xxxiii. 10) "that *the Apostles* transferred the Sabbath to Sunday, otherwise no man would have been so audacious as to dare to do it. And I believe they did it specially that they might tear from the hearts of the people the imagination that they were justified and holy through the law, and in order that men might be surely and steadfastly persuaded that the law is not necessary to salvation. But *the Apostles* were moved thereto by the resurrection of Christ our Lord and the sending of the Holy Ghost on Pentecost." If Luther had uttered the words just quoted, for the express purpose of illustrating the part of our Confession now in dispute, he could hardly have said anything

more to the purpose. It shows that his view was that the abrogation of the Mosaic Sabbath, did not destroy the generic Sabbath, but only "transferred it to Sunday," that the change was made by the Apostles, the inspired representatives of "the Christian Church," of which they were a part, and that the "necessity" denied in the Confession is such a one as would imply that justification and sanctification are not through faith, but through the law.

2.—*Melancthon on the Apostolic Institution of the Lord's Day.*

Melancthon is no less explicit. In the Augsburg Confession of 1540 (the Variata) in regard to which he always solemnly protested that no change of *meaning* had been introduced, he says in the part corresponding with that under discussion: "The *genus* in the Decalogue . . . remains. But the species, which was a ceremony, is free; *therefore* the *Apostles* did not retain the *seventh* day, but preferred to use the *first*, that they might remind the pious both of their liberty and the resurrection of Christ."

How luminous this extract makes the whole passage we are considering, need hardly be pointed out. It lays the basis of the Lord's day in the fourth commandment—it explains how far the freedom of the Church extended, that it pertained not to the morality of the law, but simply to the determinative part of it, that the reason of changing from the seventh day, was to show the church her absolute freedom from all in the law delivered by Moses which is not moral, so that the very parts of the Decalogue which were simply circumstantial, were not obligatory on Christians, that the reason of the change to the first day was, the resurrection of Christ, and that the change was made not by uninspired authority, or at a later period, but by the *Apostles* themselves. And this Melancthon solemnly affirms to be the meaning of what ten years before had been expressed less fully at Augsburg. No one will doubt Melancthon's veracity; the plea that he had unconsciously changed in the ten years intervening, would be ridiculous, but if it should be offered, a fact will be brought out before the close of this article, by which such a plea will be annihilated.

A few more words of Melancthon on this point will suffice. "The moral laws. . . . are the eternal rules of the divine mind, they sounded at all times in the church, even before

Moses, and will always remain, and pertain to all nations." (Loc. Com.) "For this end (rest, sanctification, holy works, teaching the people and divine services) *a day* is to be established. The leading idea pertains to all men and all times." (Do.) "The command in regard to the seventh day is ceremonial and was altered. But the generic is natural and moral." (Earlier Expos. Nic. Creed.) "The observation of the Sabbath as to the species, that is, as to the seventh day, and the *Levitical sacrifices* and the *Levitical observation* is abrogated, *but not as to the genus. The genus is moral. . . . It is in accordance* with this that *the Apostles changed the day,*" (Later Exp. N. C.) In these extracts Melancthon represents the generic command of an established day for rest, sanctification, &c., as unchangeable and of universal obligation. He lays the basis of the obligation of the Lord's day in the fourth commandment, and declares it to have been instituted by the *Apostles*. The Lord's day is a day instituted by *the Apostles* in place of the Jewish Sabbath, in accordance with that part of the fourth commandment which is generic, moral and immutable. Such is Melancthon's view. Does it involve a denial of the divine obligation of the Christian Sabbath? Does he who makes the obligation of a fixed day for God's service, rest on the changeless morality of the Decalogue, and who teaches that the determination of what day in the seven it shall be, was made by the Apostles in accordance with that law, does he *deny* its divine obligation, or does he rest it on immutable foundation?

3.—*Views of the Lutheran Theologians.*

The views of Luther and Melancthon on this point, were maintained through all the *purest period of Lutheranism*, without one dissenting voice, of which we are aware.

FLACIUS ILLYRICUS, (Clav. S. S.)—"It is clear that at the very beginning, the Jewish Sabbath was changed by the Christians into the Lord's day. For Paul (1 Cor. 16: 1, 2) says that he had ordained, &c., that on the first day of the week, &c. So Acts 20: 7." Let the reader mark in this passage that the change is said to have been made by the Christians, and both the proofs are taken from *Apostolic acts*.

CHEMNITZ, on Revelations 1: 10: "When the false Apostles urged the free observations of the Mosaic Sabbath, and of other festivals as of the law, with an opinion of their necessity, so urged them as to judge the consciences of those

who did not observe them the *Apostles* determined that those days, months and years were not to be observed. . . . *The Apostles* were unwilling simply to retain the Sabbath; but on the first day of the week they convened to break bread, &c. Acts 20; 1 Cor. 16. But the *Apostles* are not said to have imposed, either by some law or precept, the observation of this day on consciences with an opinion of necessity in the New Testament." This passage illustrates the sense in which the Confession declares that the observation of days under the New Testament is not "of necessity." The *Apostles* changed from the seventh day, to overthrow a false idea as to the nature of the necessity of God's day, and adopted the first, to show that the true idea of necessity was left unimpaired.

LYSER, (Harmony): "We (Lutherans) deny that the change of the Sabbath into the Lord's day originated from the church. *The Apostles*, whom Christ constituted in his own place as teachers of the world, and especially of the Gentiles, and whom we justly follow, introduced this change."

While no Romish writers have denied the Apostolic institution of the Lord's day, some of them, in their inordinate anxiety to establish the necessity of some other rule than Holy Scripture, have maintained that we gather our knowledge of the fact from tradition. William Bail, in his catechism of Controversies, presses the Lutheran theologians with the question: "Where are we taught that the Lord's day is to be celebrated in place of the Sabbath, in the face of an express command of Scripture, which sets before us the sanctification of the Sabbath?" The immortal GERHARD answers the question in the chapter of his "Confessio Catholica," on the "Perfection of the Holy Scriptures." Bail's very question implies that the Lutheran Theologians maintained that the Lord's day is to be celebrated in place of the Sabbath. Gerhard shows that this, their position on this point, does rest on Holy Scripture. His general answer would not be in place here. Quoting a sentence from a great Romish commentator, which speaks of the Lord's day as "instituted by the right of the church," he says:—On this point we will not move a strife with any one, if that right and institution are referred to the *Apostles*, in whose time this day was solemnly observed, and consecrated to the assemblies of Christians, as is clear from Acts 20: 7; 1 Cor. 16: 2." "*The Apostles*," says the same great writer, in his Harmony, "set apart this day." In his Loci, (Cotta's ed. v. 319) he

says again: "The *Apostles* observed the first day of the week," and discusses in his own exquisite manner, the question, "Why the first day of the week was determined by the *Apostles*?"

FRANZIUS (*De Interpretat.*): "What Christ did on the first Pentecost as on the *first Lord's day*, this he still does. . . . On the Pentecostal Lord's Day he poured forth the Holy Spirit upon *the Apostles*. . . . The Lord in Creation and in the law sanctified the seventh day: so now also he has sanctified the Lord's day."

CALOVIVS (*Bibl. Illustrat. in Apoc. 1: 10*): "From which title, 'Lord's day,' it is clear that the day of our Lords resurrection, which we call Sunday, was in the time of the *Apostles*, and therefore by the *Apostles themselves*, sanctified for divine worship in place of the Sabbath."

QUENSTEDT (*System. Theolog. ii. 97*): "*The Apostles*, by their divine authority, established and instituted as the Sabbath of Christians, this first day of the week."

It is needless to quote Buddeus, Spener, Mosheim, Walch, Baumgarten and the later theologians, who not only held, but invincibly maintained the Apostolic origin of the Lord's day.

We might continue to quote our great theologians, and sustain, by citation after citation, the fact of their perfect unanimity on this point. Those we have quoted are not only of the first rank as theologians, but several of them highly distinguished by special works on the Augsburg Confession. Chemnitz, for instance, is not only distinguished as the greatest theologian of the sixteenth century, after Luther, but specially for a master work on "the Controversies agitated about certain articles of the Augsburg Confession," (1594.) He too was one of the great authors of that Form of Concord, in whose Preface the Confessors declare "that they depart not one finger's breadth from the things themselves, nor from the *phrases*" of the Augsburg Confession. The work of Franzius on the Augsburg Confession (1609) still remains a Classic, and Calovius was the author of three works on the Confession, all characterized by immense learning, dialectic skill, and intense devotion to the doctrines of the Lutheran church. From the authors of the Confession, then, and from its greatest theologians and commentators, we have an unbroken chain of demonstration, that the Augsburg Confession does not deny the Apostolic institution of the Lord's day.

But we might have spared ourselves all this labor, and would have done so, if we had not supposed that it would not be profitless to hear our Confessors and theologians at some length upon this subject. We have made our citations for their independent value, as their necessity simply to sustain our position in regard to our Confession on this point, is obviated by a single fact, which makes the soundness of the Augsburg Confession on the Apostolic institution of the Lord's day no longer a matter of argument, but a fact of history.

4.—*The Original Edition of the Confession.*

By the Confession itself, in the authorized form in which it first came before the world, the form in which, in the judgment of scholars it presents itself with the highest critical authority, by the Confession itself we are willing to let our thesis stand or fall.

To enable the reader, whose attention has not been called to the critical history of the Augsburg Confession, to appreciate the *demonstrative* and *unanswerable* character of the testimony we are about to adduce, it will be necessary briefly to recapitulate certain facts.

On Saturday, June 25th, 1530, the Augsburg Confession in the German language, was read before the Emperor and the Diet, by Baier, the Chancellor of the Elector of Saxony. A copy of the Confession, both in Latin and German, was then given by Pontanus to Charles.

The German copy was deposited in the imperial archives at Mayence. The Emperor had forbidden the Confession to be printed without his permission; nevertheless it appeared surreptitiously several times in the year, *printed in no case from a copy of the original, but from copies of the Confession made before it had reached the perfect form in which it was actually presented to the Diet.* These editions of the Confession not only being unauthorized, but not presenting it in the shape in which it had actually been delivered, Melancthon issued the Confession both in German and Latin. The German was printed from his own manuscript, from which the copy had been taken to lay before the Diet. It reached Augsburg and was read and circulated there, *while the Diet was still in session.* Melancthon issued it expressly in view of the fact that the unauthorized editions were not accurate.

The first authorized edition, the editio princeps, coming from the hand of its composer, and presenting not only in the nature of the case the highest guarantee for strict accuracy, but surrounded by jealous and watchful enemies, in the very Diet yet sitting, before which it was read, surrounded by men eager to mark and to exaggerate the slightest appearance of discrepancy, this edition was received by Luther and the whole Lutheran Church. Luther knew no other Augsburg Confession in the German than this. It was received into the Bodies of Doctrine of the whole church. It appears in the Jena edition of Luther's works, an edition which originated in the purpose of having his writings in a perfectly unchanged form, and was there given as the authentic Confession in antithesis to all the editions of it in which there were variations large or small.

In the convention of the Evangelical (Lutheran) Princes at Naumberg in 1561, among whom were two of the original signers, this edition was declared to be authentic, and was again solemnly subscribed, and the seals of the signers appended. Nothing could seem to be more certainly fixed than that this original edition of Melancthon presented the Confession in its most perfect form, just as it was actually delivered in the Diet.

But unhappy causes, which it would not be in place to detail here, led to a most groundless suspicion, that even in the original edition there might be variations from the very letter of the Confession as actually delivered. That there were any changes in meaning was not even in those times of morbid jealousy pretended, but a strong anxiety was felt to secure a copy of the Confession perfectly corresponding in words, in letters, and in points with the original. The original of the Latin had been taken by Charles with him, but the German original, as we have said, had been placed in the archives at Mayence. Joachim II, in 1566, directed Coclestinus and Zochius to make a copy from the Mayence original. Their copy was inserted in the Brandenburg Body of Doctrine in 1572. In 1576, Augustus of Saxony obtained from the Elector of Mayence, a copy of the same document, and from this the Augsburg Confession as it appears in the Book of Concord was printed. Wherever the Book of Concord was received, Melancthon's original edition of the German was displaced, though the same edition of the Latin has been retained. Thus half a century after its universal recognition,

the first edition of the Augsburg Confession gave way to what was believed to be the original.

Two hundred years after the delivery of the Confession, a discovery was communicated to the theological world by Pfaff, which has reinstated Melancthon's original edition. Pfaff discovered that the document in the archives at Mayence was not the original, but a copy merely, and the labors of Weber have demonstrated that this copy has no claim to be regarded as made from the original, but is a transcript from one of the less finished copies of the Confession, made before it had assumed, under Melancthon's hand, the shape in which it was actually presented. While therefore the ordinary edition of the Augsburg Confession, the one found in the Book of Concord, and from which the current translations of the Confession have been made, does not differ in meaning at all from the original edition of Melancthon, it is, nevertheless, not so perfect in style, and where they differ, not so clear. The highest critical authority is that of Melancthon's own original edition.* That edition is explicit as to the Apostolic institution of the Lord's day, and renders it certain that the Augsburg Confession as actually presented, did not by mere implication, but by *positive affirmation*, set forth the fact that the Lord's day was ordained not by fallible men, but by the APOSTLES themselves.

We need but quote the words of the edition, to settle this question forever.

The words of the Augsburg Confession in its original form.

"For the church has not removed or disannulled the Sabbath, but God himself has taught that we, in the New Testament, should not be bound to the law of Moses. Therefore have THE APOSTLES let the Sabbath fall, therewith to remind us that we are not bound to the law of Moses. And yet because it is necessary in order that the people may know when they should come together to determine a certain day, THEY (the Apostles) have ordained Sunday, that men should therein hear and learn God's word."

These words are decisive, and demonstrate that a denial of the Apostolic origin of the Lord's day, involves a deviation from the authentic letter of our great Confession. Only the want of a minute acquaintance with the Confession, can ac-

* For the facts here presented, compare Weber Knt. Geschichle, Hase. Lib. Symb., Francke do. Kollner Symb.. Luther. Kirch.. 342.

count for the fact that some who hold the Apostolic institution of the Lord's day, imagine they are in conflict with the Confession, and that others who deny it, suppose themselves in harmony with the Confession. Neither the assertions of friends or of foes can absolve the seeker of truth from going to its fountains the original authorities.

He who can find in the New Testament a warrant for the divine obligation of the Lord's day, need only apply the same critical process to the writings of our Confessors, and he will find it there. The critical manipulation by which you explain it out of the latter, will explain it out of the former.

They who attempt to meet the mass of evidence we have presented, with the difficulty that some who profess to receive the Augsburg Confession implicitly, do not find the divine obligation of the Lord's day recognized in it, must first meet the difficulty that some who receive the New Testament implicitly, do not find the divine obligation of the Lord's day recognized in it. If our argument as to what the Confessors teach, is to be nullified by the first fact, theirs and ours as to what the New Testament teaches, would be equally nullified by the second, if difference of opinion argues want of explicitness in the one document, it may be urged to show want of explicitness in the other. If there is danger of our reading unconsciously into the Confession what we would like to find in it, there is no less danger of our trying to read into that Holy Book from which there is no appeal, what we would like to find there.

When the dead who are charged with error or crime, are among the common ranks of our race, the reproach may be unanswered till the judgment day; but when the dead are among the mighty who live on in their works, they can still plead for themselves. If the result of these charges against our Confessors shall be that their works shall be more searched, we shall be thankful that they have been made.

Views of the greatest Writers on the Confession as to its meaning.

The view we have attempted to maintain, is the one in which the greatest writers on our Confession concur.

CARPZOV.

Carpzov, whose "Introduction to the Symbolical Books," is a classic, still without a rival in its kind, makes the following remarks in commenting on the Augsburg Confession:

"1. The observation of *a day in a week* is one thing; the observation of *this or that particular day* in a week is another thing. About *the former the Old and the New Testament are agreed as about a moral precept, which exacts and commands the observation and celebration of a day in each week.* About the latter, however, there is a difference between the Old and the New Testament. For in the Old Testament that day was determined by a certain positive law, not *moral* but *ceremonial*, so that it could be no other than the seventh day of the week: but in the New Testament the *determination* of this day was left to the liberty of the church, which in memory of the resurrection chose the first day in the week for public and solemn worship. The Apostles did it from liberty, and not alone, but with the church. . . . Hence the Lord's day has a certain accordance with the "order of public worship" and with "other sacred days" *only with respect to its determination, which is indifferent and free in the church: but by no means as to the observation itself of a day in each week, which is not ceremonial, and is not committed to the liberty of the Church.*"—Isagoge, p. 320.

The same great author in speaking of the part of the Augsburg Confession which we have been endeavoring to vindicate, makes the following observations:

"1. The Lord's day may be considered in a *two-fold* way, either *formally* according as it is the first day in the week, a period of time extending from morning to night; or *materially*, according as it is *a certain fixed day in the week* solemnly set apart for divine worship and the public exercises of religion, and the Augsburg Confession in this place considers it in the *former* way. . . . Otherwise when it is regarded according as it is one day from the circle of the week, *it rests upon the divine institution, by which it has been ordained that a certain day in the week shall be set apart to public worship.*

2. But the Lord's day regarded *materially*, may also be considered in a *two-fold* way. First, as it was instituted before the fall, and pertains to public worship in itself regarded. *Secondly*, as when *after the fall* a certain typical signification was added to it, and which had a certain reference to the rest which Christ was to restore. And in this *latter* respect,

it became a ceremonial rite, to which point also the Apostle (Col. 2: 16; "Let no man therefore judge you. . . in respect of . . . the Sabbath days") has reference."—Do. p. 751.

These remarks of Carpzov are not only valuable, as showing the sense in which our Confession has been understood, but as stating with great clearness that distinction which renders luminous the apparently conflicting expressions in the writings of our Reformers. The key that unlocks the whole difficulty is just this—that we are not to apply to what they considered moral in the law, the remarks which they designed for what is merely determinative.

WALCH.

No less explicit is the language of Walch, whose "Introduction" is the classic work of the eighteenth century on the Lutheran Confessions, as that of Carpzov is of the seventeenth. First quoting the words of the Confession on the Lord's day in full, he says: "If these words are so understood as if the Lord's day was regarded by our fathers as a human institution, we confess that they are by no means to be approved. For it is established beyond a doubt, that the celebration of the Lord's day is not a human but a *divine* institution. . . . The Apostles did it not as men, but moved by the divine will, and instructed by the Holy Ghost. . . . We have thought fit to preface with these remarks, the examination of the question, *what is the true meaning of the Confessors in regard to the Lord's day? They teach nothing injurious to the divine origin of this day.* . . . The error of the Papists was, that the Apostles and bishops had received power from Christ to prescribe rites which should be *necessary and meritorious*. This position the Romanists attempted to prove by the mutation of the Sabbath made by church authority, and thus furnished the occasion to the Confessors for touching on the Lord's day. What therefore they say in regard to it, was specially directed against the Papists, and was designed to show that this day was set apart for holy purposes, not to the end that we might attain a *certain justifying merit* by its observance; nor in order that by it a yoke might be imposed upon Christians which would take away all evangelical liberty."—*Introductio*, pp. 389, 392, 393.

CHEMNITZ.

“In the Old Testament on the sacred days, the people came together; on the Sabbath Moses and the prophets were read—common prayers were offered—psalms, hymns, and thanksgivings were employed. In brief, those holy days were sanctified, that is, that time was spent in the holy duties of religion, all impediments and avocations of an earthly nature being laid aside. Certainly, this genus has not been abrogated in the New Testament. And this is the meaning of that common and correct expression, that in the commandment in regard to keeping holy the Sabbath, the New Testament has abrogated, not the genus which is moral, but the species which is ceremonial.”—*Chemnitz: “Examen of the Council of Trent.”*

LYSER.

“The question is raised, ‘As our Lord Jesus Christ himself observed the Jewish Sabbath, how is it that we Christians have changed it into the Lord’s day, which we keep in place of the Sabbath?’ The Jesuits reply that this change was introduced by mother church, to whom we owe obedience. And hence they argue: if the church has so great authority that she can change what God instituted, and what was observed from the beginning of the world, although she has no word of God to authorize the change, why is not that same authority valid in other articles? And why do not you Lutherans observe the other festivals instituted by the Church? We reply to the Jesuit accusation with the plea of *not guilty, and deny that the change of the Sabbath into the Lord’s day originated from the Church*. The Apostles, whom Christ constituted in his own place as teachers of the world, and especially of the Gentiles, and whom we justly follow, introduced this change.”—*Polyearp Lyser: Harmony of the Evangelists*.

GERHARD.

“On the very day of the Resurrection, which is the Lord’s day, or as we call it, Sunday, Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene, to the women returning from the sepulchre, to Simon Peter, to the two disciples on their way to Emmaus, and to the rest of the disciples. In this place (John 20: 28) he again appears to his disciples on the Lord’s day, and this he does to mark with honor the Lord’s day, which Christ in this

way wished to consecrate and set apart for the worship of God, whence beyond doubt it came to pass that the Apostles set apart this day for divine services."—*Gerhard: Harmony of the Evangelists.*

CALOVIVS.

1.—*The Sabbath primitive.*

"The consecration of the seventh day to divine worship, was made from the time of the divine Sabbath of Creation. This has never been doubted among *our* (Lutheran) theologians, who here agree "with one consent."—*Bibl. Illustrt. I. 56.*

On Gen. 2: 3. "The Sabbath was consecrated from the beginning, and was not first instituted when Israel was led forth from Egypt; and therefore, *even in a state of innocence, the seventh day would have been sacred.* From the very beginning of the world, God has sanctified and instituted the seventh day for his service."—*Do., 232.*

2.—*The law of rest on the Sabbath pertains to Christians.*

"First, it is an error (of Grotius) that rest on the Sabbath refers to the Hebrews alone. It is *moral*, that on the Sabbath it is our duty to rest from ordinary and servile labors, but so that works of *necessity, piety and charity* are not regarded as thereby excluded. . . . This is perpetual, and refers to all men, *that one day in the seven* should be sacred, on which both domestic animals and men should have some rest from toil. This is not only prescribed to the Hebrews, but to *all men*. For God wishes the Sabbath to be observed by *all men*. . . . 'Remember,' says Jehovah, 'the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work. But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work.' *This is by no means restricted to the Jews, nor is it abrogated in the New Testament. It was in force before the Israelites were chosen as the people of God, nay from the beginning of the world.* Gen. 2: 1. Moreover, the reason is a general one, looking to all men. 'For it is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth.' *Therefore Christians also are under obligation to rest, themselves to cease from servile works, as well as to permit all that belong to them to rest.* Christ says the Sabbath was made *for man, not for the Jew only.* Mark 2: 22. . . . The divine sanctification of the Sabbath, then, is first *segregative* from common use,

and then *consecrative* to sacred uses. *Both sorts* of sanctification are prescribed to us also; for the second cannot exist without the first.”—Do. p. 412.

3.—*The Lord's Day substituted for the Sabbath.*

“In the third place, Grotius cannot be acquitted of error, in denying that the Lord's day was substituted for the Sabbath, which he does, doubtless, to gratify the ANABAPTISTS, who regard the command of the Sabbath as entirely abolished, so that in virtue of *Christian Liberty*, they think any sort of work lawful on all days, which seems also to be the position of the SOCINIANS, who are near of kin to Grotius. . . In the New Testament one day of the week has been retained, by virtue of the divine commandment, only the Lord's day has been substituted for the Sabbath.”—Do. 414, 415.

4.—*The Divine Authority and Obligation of the Lord's Day.*

“It is disputed whether *Christ* himself, or the *Apostles*, substituted the Lord's day for the Sabbath, but all agree easily in this, that the observation of the Lord's day derives its validity, not from custom alone, or human constitution, but has been sanctioned by some divine constitution, since those things which the Apostles sanctioned by Apostolic authority, are to be esteemed as *divine institutions*.”—Do. p. 415.

5.—*The Lord's Day instituted by Christ and his Apostles.*

“The two opinions (one that *Christ*, the other that the *Apostles* instituted the Lord's day) are not difficult to be harmonized, if we say that Christ by his resurrection on this day, and by his example, has consecrated it, &c. . . . but the *Apostles* by that divine authority which they possessed. . . . sanctioned and instituted the first day of the week as the ordinary Sabbath of Christians.”—Do. p. 415.

6.—*Coloss. 2: 16, does not remove the moral part of the fourth commandment.*

“What is said in Colos. 2: 16, ‘Let no man therefore judge you in respect of a holyday . . . or of the Sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come,’ does not take away the moral part of the commandment in regard to the sanctification of the Sabbath, but only that which was *ceremonial* in it, and belonged to the *shadow of things to come*: of which

sort is not exemption from the ordinary labors, and divine worship, and a certain day of the week consecrated to them.” —Do. p. 416.

QUENSTEDT.

“By virtue of that in the third command which is moral, there is established for divine worship under the New Testament also, *one day in seven*; not indeed the seventh counting from the Creation, but the seventh in a weekly circle, or *one fixed day in seven*. To the moral essence of the Sabbath pertains not only that some fixed time should be left for the worship of God, but that a certain day of the week should be consecrated to that purpose, because God has consecrated a day entire and as his own, and has blessed it. But that this one day in seven should be the seventh day (or Saturday) is not a part of the moral essence of the Sabbath. The seventh as the cardinal number of the day, is moral, as the ordinal, it is ceremonial. Only the ceremonial part of the precept is abrogated under the New Testament, the moral still is in force; to wit, in place of the Jewish Sabbath, the day which we call the Lord's day has been substituted, *one day in seven, however, being retained by the authority of the command of God*. The Apology of the Augsburg Confession and the Confession itself, speak of the Lord's day as ordained by the church, but ‘when the authority of the church is mentioned, the *Church of the Apostles is included*, on which the church depends.’ The resurrection of Christ occurred on this day, and by his example he consecrated it. He appeared on this day of the week to his disciples, and again to Thomas. On the same day he poured forth his spirit on the assembled Apostles, and by the confession of all ‘the Lord's day’ (Rev. 1: 10) is the name of the first day of the week, as that day which, if not enjoined by express words by our Lord, was consecrated by his example. The antithesis to this view is first that of those who contend that the whole of the command is moral, and that the Jewish Sabbath is therefore to be kept; secondly, of the Socinians, who deny that any part of it is moral, and assert that all has been set aside by Christ, and that no part is obligatory on Christians. With the Socinians the Anabaptists agree on this as on many other points, so as to give rise to the proverb: “The Anabaptist is an ignorant Socinian, and the Socinian is an intelligent Anabaptist.”—Quenstedt: ‘*Systema Theologicum*.’

SPENER.

"I find that the opinion is not well grounded, of those who from Rom. 14: 5, Gal. 4: 10, Col. 2: 16, would maintain that in the New Testament no particular Sabbath is any longer enjoined, but that all days are to be made Sabbaths or holy days of rest by Christians. There is indeed much truth in the sentiment that a Christian should keep a perpetual Sabbath in the soul. . . . But this is not the only Sabbath enjoined in the third commandment, nor can it be asserted that this third commandment, as a part of the moral law, is entirely abrogated; but as a particular Sabbath was already instituted of God in Paradise, (Gen. 2: 2) where also man might have kept that constant spiritual Sabbath, for the same reason also it is still retained in the New Testament. The cardinal feature in the third commandment must certainly remain in the New Testament. There must be one certain time for spiritual works. . . . The divine wisdom has appointed for this time the seventh day.

An earnest sanctification of the Sabbath is obligatory upon us Christians. This sanctification is not a part of the ceremonial features. I feel assured that he who will habitually keep the Sabbath rightly, will discover by experience, and by its uses to his own soul, that this commandment is a benefaction rather than a burden, that God gives us a day of freedom from the toil to which we are condemned, that on it we may secure blessings to our souls."—*Spener. Bedenken.*

A systematic statement of the doctrines of the Sabbath involved in the views of these great writers of our church, may be presented in the following propositions:

1. The law that one day in seven shall be set apart for the service of God, has existed by divine command, from the foundation of the world, and its obligation is a part of the original law of nature.

2. The command was repeated in the decalogue and in the Mosaic law, with specific ceremonial characteristics adapting it to the Jewish nation.

3. The law itself, generically considered, is of perpetual and universal obligation; its specific ceremonial characteristics pertain only to the Jews.

4. The law itself has never been abrogated; the specific ceremonial characteristics have been.

5. To keep one day in seven holy to God, to abstain from all that may conflict with its sanctification, is generic, not specific; moral, not ceremonial.

6. The obligation to keep holy the seventh day, or Saturday, is ceremonial and not binding on Christians.

7. The resurrection of Christ, his successive appearances, the Pentecostal effusion of his spirit, on the first day of the week, together with the example of the Apostles, and of the Apostolic Church, have shown to the church what day in the seven may, under the New Dispensation, most fitly be kept holy, and have led to the substitution of the first day of the week for the seventh, as the Christian Sabbath.

8. To keep holy the first day of the week, to consecrate it to God, and to this end to abstain upon it from all works except those of necessity, mercy and the service of God, is obligatory on all men.

No church can show a purer record than the Lutheran Church, on this very question of sound doctrine in regard to the moral and divine obligation to consecrate one day in every seven to God, and to repose from toil. The greatest leaders of theology in our church, considered a denial of the divine obligation to keep one day in seven as *Socinian*. The Sab-
batarians, harmonizing with the Jews, considered even the determinative part of the fourth command as perpetual, and contended that Saturday should be kept. Our fathers rejected this error. The Anabaptists and Socinians contended that no part of the fourth command is of divine obligation—that all is ceremonial. Our fathers rejected this error, and rested on this point as in others, on the truth removed from each extreme—that the generic Sabbath is primitive and has never been abrogated—that only what is ceremonial in the Jewish Sabbath is abrogated—that the Christian Sabbath is a glorious bond of the sovereignty of God in the law, and of the freedom of the church under the Gospel; *divine in its generic origin and obligation, and apostolic in its specific determination.*

ARTICLE III.

REMINISCENCES OF LUTHERAN CLERGYMEN.

XXVIII.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS GOTTLIEB STORCH.

THE subject of the present sketch, whose memory we desire to honor, was one of our earlier ministers, who in obedience to what seemed an indication of Providence, immigrated to this country during the latter part of the last century, for the purpose of ministering to the wants of his brethren in the faith, who were deprived of the regular means of grace. His heart was moved by the representations he had received in relation to the spiritual desolation which here prevailed, and he determined, in God's strength, to devote himself to this missionary field, which presented a prospect of so much usefulness to one who was anxious to do good, and who, in all his decisions, seemed to be guided by motives drawn from the divine word. Although he knew he was renouncing pecuniary and other advantages, which were within his reach, in his native land, yet he was willing to make the sacrifice, and to forsake everything that was dear to him on earth, for a cause which he loved, and to whose interests he had consecrated his life. He felt that the Good Shepherd's watchful care would be extended to him, that He would sustain him in the hour of trial, and strengthen him for the arduous work, and that in the faithful discharge of what he considered to be duty, he would enjoy that peace of mind "which passeth all understanding," to which an individual, influenced by other principles, is a stranger. We have often been struck, as we have pursued our inquiries, with the strong faith, christian heroism, holy zeal, and self-denying efforts for the salvation of souls and the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, which characterized our earlier ministers. No one can read the narrative of their toils, or contemplate the character of their piety, without instruction and profit to his own soul. They were, indeed, devoted men, who would have adorned the ministry of any church. They possessed the full confidence and unqualified regard of christians of every communion. They are bright models, worthy of our grateful remembrance

and careful study. Their virtues and their graces we should earnestly endeavor to reproduce in our own hearts and lives.

Mr. Storch was born on the 16th of June, 1764, near the town of Helmstadt, in the Duchy of Brunswick. His father, George Frederick Storch, was a merchant of Helmstadt, and seems to have taken a deep interest in the welfare of his son. He not only furnished him with every facility for acquiring an excellent education, but also had him instructed in that knowledge which is of greater importance, and is able to make wise unto salvation. Having in infancy been consecrated to God by parents who justly estimated his higher relations, and who carefully trained him for the great end of his existence, he early became the subject of religious impressions. At the age of fifteen he was received into the church by the rite of confirmation, in accordance with the Lutheran usage, thus ratifying the vows which had been assumed for him. About the same time, he became a member of the High School in his native place, where he continued for the space of three years. Having passed over the prescribed course, and been pronounced as properly qualified by Professor Windeberg, the Director of the Institution, he was admitted into the University of Helmstadt, in 1782. Here also he remained for three years, giving his attention principally to the science of Theology, as the work of the ministry was that to which he proposed to devote himself. His studies being completed, in the year 1785 he became tutor to the children of some nobleman of Hadenburg, an appointment he received through the influence of Rev. Mr. Velthusen, by whom he had, in his youth, been confirmed. He continued in this position for one year, when in consequence of the removal of his patron to Hanover, he accepted the situation of private teacher in the family of a merchant residing in the vicinity of Bremen. This office he held for two years, and was engaged in discharging its duties, when application was made to him to undertake a mission to this Western Continent. A petition from members of our church in North Carolina, had been received, accompanied with a communication from Rev. Adolphus Nussman, who was sent as a missionary to this country, from Germany, in 1773, and who had, for several years, faithfully labored in poverty and privations, earnestly praying that additional help might be furnished, to relieve the spiritual destitution. The harvest was plenteous, but the laborers were few. This request was forwarded to

Mr. Velthusen, whose heart had been, for a long time, interested in the deplorable condition of things that existed in this country. His attention was immediately directed to Mr. Storch, whose qualifications appeared well adapted to this missionary work. The young man, after taking the subject into consideration, expressed a willingness to go, and at once made arrangements for his departure, at the same time receiving from his sovereign the written assurance, that if he were dissatisfied, and returned home, he should retain his claim to promotion in the fatherland. As a candidate for the sacred office, he was then examined, by the permission and order of the Duke—the examination being conducted by five professors—and solemnly ordained as minister to North Carolina, by his pastor, who had from the beginning been his warm friend and generous benefactor. He started on his journey in the Spring of 1788, and after a protracted and dangerous voyage, arrived in the city of Baltimore on the 27th of June. Here he met with a friendly reception from his brethren in the Lord, who gladly welcomed him as a co-adjutor in the work, in which they were engaged. After remaining with them for six weeks, he proceeded onward in his journey to the field designed as the scene of his future labors. He travelled to Charleston by sea, and here having purchased a horse, by an inland route he reached pastor Nussman's residence, in North Carolina, in the month of September. We find him, on his arrival, distinctly recognizing the goodness of God in the preservation of his life, and giving expression to the gratitude of his heart, for the faithful care exercised over him, and the kind protection he enjoyed during his journey to this land. "God's name," says he, "be praised, who has so wonderfully and paternally led me, and kept me safe in the midst of dangers!"

Arrangements were now made by Mr. Nussman, in the congregations which desired Mr. Storch as their minister, and he immediately entered upon his duties. He was elected pastor of three congregations—one in Salisbury, where he took up his abode, the others known by the names of the *Organ* and the *Pine Church*. He also soon after commenced to perform regular service in Irish settlement. In progress of time he established other congregations in Rowan, Lincoln, and Cabarras Counties. In this region he spent his days in active service and self-denying efforts, preaching, exhorting, catechising, consoling the sick, and putting forth his hand, wherever he could do good. Although invited to some of the

most prominent charges in the church, he declined them all, in view of the great need of ministers in the South. The blessing of God was resting upon his labors, and he saw no reason why he should make a change. He lived in Salisbury for seventeen years, regularly performing pastoral duties, and seeing a flourishing congregation gathered around him. The first two years of his residence in this place, he was domesticated in the house of Lewis Beard, Esq., whose daughter, Christiana, he married on the 14th of January, 1790. From this union there were eleven children. Of these, only two survive—Anna, wife of Frederick Brougher, Esq., of Tippah County, Mississippi, and Theophilus Stork, D. D., of Philadelphia.

In the year 1787 he made a visit to the North, and attended the annual Convention of the Pennsylvania Synod, "to strengthen himself," as the record says, "to renewed exertions in the service of his divine Master." At this time there was no Lutheran Synod in the South. The only ecclesiastical bodies in our connexion were the Synods of Pennsylvania and of New York, the former of which was organized in 1748, the latter in 1785. The Synod of North Carolina, of which Mr. Storch was the first President, was not formed until the year 1803. Our clerical register, at the beginning of the present century, could be readily counted—the names were easily recollected. Our church has grown rapidly. The little one has become a thousand. Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which we labored, God has prospered us. The efforts of his servants have been accompanied with the divine benediction.

Mr. Storch, on his return from Synod, not only continued to give his services to the congregations, gathered in the districts of his immediate residence, but also paid several visits to churches in South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, which were unsupplied with ministers. He felt a deep concern for the members of our church who were deprived of the ministrations of the sanctuary, who had no one to break to them the word of life. He was willing to endure any amount of labor, or to submit to any inconvenience, that he might be useful to his fellow-men, and fulfil the great mission in which he had enlisted.

During the latter period of his life, Mr. Storch removed to a farm, ten miles south of Salisbury, a central point between his congregations, where he continued to dwell till his death. The last six years of his existence, however, physical infirm-

ities prevented him from attending to the regular services in the house of God, but he embraced every opportunity to speak a word for Christ, to counsel his people, and to comfort the afflicted. During his last illness, which was extended to several weeks, he was patient and resigned. He remained firm until the end in the profession of his faith, and gave to his family and friends the clearest assurance of his unshaken hope of everlasting life, and his strong desire that true piety and the religion of the heart might become general among mankind. His final testimony to the value and efficiency of Gospel truth, and in honor of the Master who was calling him to himself, was unequivocal and decided. Jesus Christ was to him everything, the alpha and the omega, the beginning and the end of eternal salvation. All his consolation arose from his deep convictions of the all-sufficiency of his Redeemer's sacrifice. Religious thoughts lingered in his mind, when it seemed to have lost its hold of all other subjects. When the hour of his departure came, he was ready. Death to him had no terrors. It was completely disarmed of its sting. Leaning on the arm that is mighty to save, without any trepidation he "walked through the valley of the shadow of death," and his disembodied spirit gently passed from earth to heaven. He died March 29th, 1831, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His remains were interred at the Organ church, so long the scene of his ministerial labors. A notice of the solemn occasion, in a secular sheet published at the South, says: "The deep and unrestrained emotions of the assembly of his spiritual children, at the grave of their departed friend, evinced the magnitude of their loss, and the extent of his worth."

There was in the subject of our narrative, the happy union of the scholar and the christian. He was a man of learning, as our earlier ministers generally were, who received their education in Germany. He was trained from his youth, and devoted many years to his preparation for active duty. He had the reputation of being a superior linguist. He was familiar with the Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and it is said he could converse fluently in five or six different languages. Such was his thirst for knowledge, that he kept pace with the improvements of the age, and was constantly adding to his stores of information. His mind was active and discriminating, and so well disciplined, that he had no difficulty in grasping any subject that claimed his attention. It is said his library was large and valuable, embracing quite a number of

distinguished German authors. Many of these he bequeathed to our Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, of which he was elected one of the first directors, and in whose prosperity he always manifested a deep interest. The most of his books are, however, in the possession of the Collegiate Institute, at Mount Pleasant, Cabarras Co., N. C.

He was regarded as a devout, earnest, and eloquent preacher in the German language. He had the rare talent of interesting, in the truth, the minds of his hearers—the well informed as well as those of more limited education. He could render the subject intelligible to the most illiterate, and yet attractive to the most accomplished audience. As a pastor, he inspired perfect confidence by his love and sincerity. He was most faithful to the congregations over which he had been appointed Bishop. His aim was to secure their union and fellowship with the Son of God, as revealed in the Scriptures, and thus to cheer them with the bright hopes of an endless life—

“A skilful workman he,
In God’s great moral vineyard !”

His pastorate was one of constantly increasing interest and delight to him. With apostolic zeal, he strove to do all the good he could, while he lived, and succeeded in performing an almost incredible amount of labor. His missionary tours to South Carolina are still held in grateful remembrance, and spoken of with the deepest reverence and affection, by many who, through his instrumentality, were first brought from darkness into light, and from the kingdom of Satan into that of the living God. He never seemed happier than when laboring for the salvation of immortal souls, and for the extension of Christ’s kingdom. He was always, when present, chosen as the President of Synod, and frequently had with him, young men pursuing their studies with the ministry in view. He possessed the confidence of the church. Writes one* who succeeded him in one of his churches, “Mr. Storch was truly a man of God! Many are yet living who formerly sat under his preaching, in whose hearts he is sacredly embalmed, and who still cherish for him the most profound respect.” No one ever questioned the genuineness of his piety, or the sincerity of his actions. Stern in his integrity, exemplary in his deportment, he awakened respect. The world acknowledged him to be an honest man, and paid to him as

*Rev. Samuel Rothrock, Rowan County, North Carolina.

such, its tribute of regard. He was a pious, humble christian, devoted to his Master's work, cheerful yet devout, tender yet earnest, zealous without bigotry or fanaticism, sprightly without levity, grave without moroseness, a model of meekness and every christian virtue. He was decided in his views, and fearless in the discharge of duty—

“Yet he was humble, kind, forgiving, meek,
Easy to be entreated, gracious, mild.”

His piety was of that simple-hearted, child-like nature, so characteristic of the pious German. He had, too, a large christian heart—a heart that loved the Savior, and beat warmly to every great interest of humanity, and took delight in tracing the Redeemer's image in all his followers. His manners were unobtrusive, and the modesty which characterized his beneficence, reminded one of the noiseless course of a rivulet in a meadow, which discloses its presence only by the rejoicing verdure of its banks. He illustrated in his daily practice the principles which he professed, and was a living epistle of the Gospel, “known and read of all men.” No blemish ever sullied his conduct, no stain can tarnish the fair name he has left behind him. He is now joined to the host of honored witnesses who have fulfilled their ministry, and who with silent lips, being dead, speak the word of endless life to those, that yet remain upon the earth.

XXIX.

GOTTLIEB SHOBER.

This aged and venerable father in the ministry, who only a few years since passed from among us, and upon whose labors the verdict of the church has set its approval, is also deserving of a place in our series of departed worthies. He was long known as an active and useful man in the church. It is right that we should pay a tribute to his various excellencies as a christian and a minister of the Gospel. Deeply interested in Zion, he labored zealously to promote its prosperity. Faithfully devoted to the people, so long the objects of his pastoral care, his services are still retained in affectionate recollection. His memory should be preserved from forgetfulness, his virtues handed down to posterity as a legacy, his example permitted to have its salutary influence on the church!

Rev. Gottlieb Shober, the son of Andrew and Hetwig Regina Shober, was a native of Bethlehem, Pa., and was born on the first of November, 1756. He died at Salem, where he located soon after his removal to North Carolina, on the twenty-seventh of June, 1838, in the eighty-second year of his age, and was, at the time of his death, the only survivor of those who had commenced the building of that place.—His parents were exemplary christians, in connexion with the United Brethren church, who, with other members of their communion, removed to the South to a new settlement, that had just been commenced, by the church, in Bethabera. They had consecrated their child in infancy to his Lord and Redeemer, in the holy sacrament of baptism, and amid the perils of his early years, the vows which they had assumed, they endeavored to observe. They strove to instruct the young immortal committed to their care, in the doctrines and duties of the Gospel, and to bring him up in the fear of God. The hallowed influences which surrounded this period of his life, were productive of the happiest results. He became the subject of serious impressions, and early devoted himself to the Lord. The instructions of his youth had been carefully treasured up, and his mind so stored with truth, that error in all its forms had been resisted. He himself remarks: “In the years of my childhood the Savior drew me to his side, so that I loved him tenderly, and often prayed to him sincerely. I could frequently repeat to him the infant prayer, ‘keep me near to thee.’ Especially as I passed into the period of boyhood, did the tears flow all the day long, because I was concerned with regard to the future, and knew not what would befall me in the world. Then I promised my Savior to be his, and entreated him to take me away from earth whenever he should see, that I was inclined to wander from him. Never shall I forget that day! In my thirteenth year, as I left Nazareth Hall, where I had been attending school, and went in company with others to North Carolina, I was often consoled during the journey, and on my arrival to our new home, to think of this time, and to believe that my Savior would not forsake me.” He seems to have been a serious youth and his mind continued to be exercised on the subject of religion. He felt a great concern in reference to the evidences of his acceptance with God and his prospects for eternity. He tells us that, on one occasion, when stretched upon his bed at night, his thoughts were very much occupied with his spiritual condition, and his probable future career. He wished

to know what was in reversion for him, and whether he would be finally happy in the world to come. Whilst thus engaged he fell asleep, and during the night he had a remarkable dream, which left upon his mind a most vivid impression. His future life appeared revealed to him, and he saw, how all his difficulties from within and without, his perplexities and troubles had arisen from his ardent temper and inflexible disposition. Yet he thought he could see, in the distance, a meadow green and redolent, where all was rest, peace and happiness. He remarks in this connexion, "how often I might have been preserved, and how many vexations I might have escaped, if I had not been so headstrong, and inclined to follow the promptings of my own nature, regardless of the consequences! It is certain that he who is, in disposition, a child, who loves like a child, believes everything, hopes everything, and puts the best construction on everything, spares himself many unhappy hours. But I was always anxious to live a life devoted to the Lord, and I know that he often made himself manifest to me, and afforded me extraordinary consolation. From this time I could say, 'the Lord is my shepherd, I shall want nothing.'" We have been very much interested in the early experience of this man of God. We here get some glimpse of his natural disposition, and the mental conflicts through which he passed, as well of his earnest yearnings to be brought completely under the influence of grace, and transformed, by the renewing of his mind, into the image of his divine Master. He united with the church when he reached his seventeenth year, and partook of the Lord's Supper for the first time, on the 23d of November, 1773. Although he at this time believed that the work of his salvation was accomplished, he soon discovered that remains of sin were still dwelling within him, that spiritual enemies were yet to be encountered and overcome. He writes, "that peace I once experienced, passed away; I found faith was every day required; love for sin again manifested itself, always, however, accompanied with fear; error of every kind presented itself to my mind, and as I grew older, I was even tempted to deny Jesus, and to declare the teachings of the Bible and all religious experience as false. But how grateful I am that nothing could induce me to yield to the evil suggestions, and to doubt the reality of what I had myself felt." In all that he has written respecting his early religious experience, he speaks like one who had felt, in his own soul, the power of the truth. Referring to the necessity, on the part

of the sinner, of renouncing all self-righteousness, and relying solely for acceptance on the merits of the Redeemer, he uses the following language: "He who does not humble himself at the very cross of Jesus, although in the bosom of the church, continues a servant of sin in all his attempts to render easy the way of salvation." Again, in speaking of our dependence upon the Holy Spirit, and the insufficiency of our own unaided efforts, he says: "When, after a long, patient waiting, I was permitted, for the first time, to partake of the Holy Supper, I anticipated heavenly things, and earnestly prepared myself for the occasion, by prayer, singing, attendance at church, and the like, and I believed I would thus worthily partake of the ordinance. But the result disappointed my expectations. I was distressed and quite perplexed. The next time, however, I came as a poor worthless being, and I cannot describe what my heart then enjoyed. The same frequently afterwards took place; but on many other occasions it would have indeed been better if I had not gone to the table of the Lord."

From the beginning of his christian career, he tells us that he was impressed with the conviction that he owed body and soul to the Savior. He therefore employed all his time, not devoted to necessary business, to the acquisition of useful knowledge, so that he might be qualified for the service of God. As there was to him, at this time, no prospect of entering the ministry—although he did not feel satisfied to be diverted from this purpose—"it remained for me," he says, "to delight the congregation with music—a science always very important, in my estimation—a knowledge of which I acquired by my own diligence, almost without any instruction."

The subject of our sketch was brought up in indigent circumstances. In his early years it was his lot to struggle with adversity. This training proved to him an excellent discipline for the future. It made him "self-reliant, versatile and the master of expedients."

"Strengthened and braced by breathing, in content,
The keen, the wholesome air of poverty,
And drinking from the well of homely life,"—

he was better fitted for the work for which Providence seemed to design him, and his future efficiency and usefulness were increased. For several years he was engaged in teaching a school, but the salary, thus furnished, being inadequate for the

support of a family, he sought employment as a clerk in a store. In this position he remained for three years. He found it necessary, however, to engage in something else, as he was getting into debt. He therefore determined to pursue some mechanical art. "Although the occupation," he says, "was to me entirely new, with the blessing of God upon my unwearied efforts, I succeeded." We find him, during all this period, active as a christian, and constantly recognizing God in all his ways. His belief in divine Providence was very decided, and his cordial acquiescence in the occurrences of life, ever apparent. "When I met with losses in my business," he says, "I clearly saw that it was best for me, in order that worldly pride might not become the chief aim of life, which, with my active disposition, could easily be the result." Some time after this he built, in the vicinity of Salem, a paper-mill (the first establishment of the kind south of the Potomac), and also opened a book store, serving at the same time as Post Master of the place. Here too he was successful. He did not, as the consequence however, suffer his interest in spiritual matters to diminish. Although prospered in worldly concerns, he did not forget God. His love for the cause of religion was not impaired, and great was his anxiety to promote the good of the people with whom he stood in church connexion. It was a feeling of this kind that prompted him to study law, and engage for some years as an advocate. His Moravian brethren were involved in suits in reference to their land affairs. He was desirous of aiding them in adjusting these difficulties. He practiced law with success for several years, and was repeatedly elected to the State Legislature, of which he was a prominent member.

Having become tired of public life, and lost all relish for secular business, after he had passed his fiftieth year, he dedicates himself to God in the ministry of his Son. In entering upon the work, at this advanced age, he was only carrying out an inclination, and obeying an impulse, which had followed him from his youth, and which had strengthened with his years. The Lutheran church was selected by him, as a field of labor, because he believed that in this connexion he could be of greater service than in the Moravian church, in whose bosom he had been reared. He saw the great destitution that prevailed among our people in North Carolina. There were so many congregations unsupplied with pastors, flocks without shepherds, wandering away from the fold, because there was none to care for their souls. The Moravians,

who felt an interest in their Lutheran brethren, preached occasionally to those in their vicinity, to whom the means of grace were not regularly afforded. Our laborers were at this time few and scattered.* When Mr. Shober, encouraged by the leadings of Providence, and a special answer to prayer, offered his services to the Lutheran church as a minister of the Gospel, he was received with great joy.

In the Spring of 1810, in company with Rev. Mr. Storch, he visited South Carolina, during which occasion he preached his first sermon. The following autumn, at a meeting of the Synod of North Carolina, in the presence of a large congregation, he was set apart to the work of the ministry—

“By Jehovah chosen and ordained
To take into his charge the souls of men!”

he immediately became pastor of several churches in Salem and the neighborhood, where he continued to labor with great activity and unabated zeal, until a few years before his death, without receiving any pecuniary remuneration—with no other reward for his services than that which flows from a consciousness that we are engaged in the path of duty, and that the smiles of heaven are resting upon us. As the Lord had blessed his industry, and provision had been made for his family, he rejoiced that he could devote himself and his time to him who had redeemed him with his own precious blood.

* “From Pennsylvania and other States the Germans migrated also to North Carolina. The same difficulties which opposed the establishment of regular churches and regular clergymen in Pennsylvania and Maryland, also existed in North Carolina, in an eminent degree. The deplorable situation having been made known in Europe, the Lord stirred up the heart of the Rev. Mr. Velthusen, who sent over Rev. *Messrs.* Nussman and Arndt, and who faithfully labored in poverty and privations, until they groaned for assistance; and on application by them to their generous helper, Mr. Velthusen, he warmed the hearts of our members in his sphere, so as to enable him to send over Rev. *Messrs.* Storch, Roschen and Bernhard, and they arrived about fifteen years after *Messrs.* Nussman and Arndt. Mr. Roschen went back in a few years. Mr. Bernhard died, and also Nussman and Arndt. The Rev. R. J. Miller, a member of the Episcopal church, was received and ordained as a minister, and Rev. Paul Henkel, a member of the Pennsylvania Synod, also united with them. A new era for our church commenced, when the ministers met in Synod, for the first time, in 1803; here they formed a constitution, entered into rules and regulations, and deliberated and succeeded in providing how our church, with the blessing of God, might be supplied with Gospel ministers. In the year 1817 the Synod consisted of *ten* ordained ministers, nine candidates and fourteen catechets.”—*Shober's History of the Lutheran Church.*

In the brief notes concerning himself, which he wrote in 1816, he remarks, "In my labors in the Lutheran church, whose doctrine of reconciliation through Christ, corresponds so entirely with the instructions I received in the Moravian church, I have found the greatest satisfaction, when engaged in the prosecution of my studies, in the exercises of public worship, or in the administration of the ordinances. Whether however, I have been a benefit to the souls of others, I do not know. It may be, that I will not ascertain this fact until eternity discloses it. Then will I also ascertain the many errors which I have committed in my ministerial service. If anything be recorded against me, I implore the Savior, through his meritorious death, to wash my guilt away, that I may, at last, behold him." In the same autobiography, we find also the following reflections with regard to his past life, whose end he supposed was, at this time, drawing nigh: "After one has lived sixty years, and reviews the by-gone period, it appears like a dream; examined from a christian standpoint, it is worthy of the most careful remembrance; it presents countless evidences of the way in which the great, the merciful God and Savior condescends to guide and nourish, protect and preserve a poor, helpless, mortal being, and how his patience and mercy neither grow cold nor old, until his purpose has been accomplished! This is particularly my own experience; for the patience which has been exercised towards me, the kindness which I have experienced, and the faithfulness with which I have been guided, often awaken, in such a review, great humiliation and self-condemnation. My life has been extended to a period of sixty years, but according to many indications, it has almost reached its termination. It has been surely long enough! Should it be protracted, I commit it to the care of the Lord. If it be his will that my life should be continued, it will be for the attainment of some end!" Although he so cordially acquiesced in what was the will of God, yet he seemed anxious to depart, and anticipated with great delight, the change in his condition, and the joys of the future world. It pleased heaven, however, to restore him to health, and to prolong his life upwards of twenty years. He continued his active services as pastor of the charge which had so long claimed his attention, until a few years before his death, when he resigned in consequence of the growing infirmities of age. Although it frequently caused him pain that he did not see those fruits from his labors which he expected, yet he cherished the humble hope that his efforts

were not in vain, and that his Lord would say to him at the Great Day, *Here are they, that thou hast been the instrument of bringing to an acquaintance with me.* His last years were devoted to daily preparation for the change which he felt so soon awaited him. His thoughts dwelt much upon heaven, and he desired to speak of his hope of eternal life. He was conscious of his unworthiness, and acknowledged his sinfulness; he trusted only in the meritorious sufferings of his blessed Redeemer. Just before his last illness he said, with unusual cheerfulness, to a brother, "When you shall hear of my death, you may be sure that I have gone to my Savior." He appeared to entertain no doubt of his happiness in another world. Although his health had been gradually declining, he was confined to his chamber only a short time before his death. Without much suffering, he was permitted to exchange this life for another. He breathed out his happy spirit into the hands of his Savior, whom he had endeavored in life faithfully to serve. His remains were committed to the silent tomb, where his "flesh shall rest in hope." They are in the safe keeping of Him who will quicken them in due season, and show them to us, when recovered from the grave, in all their improvement!

The ecclesiastical association with which Mr. Shober had been so long connected, and over which he repeatedly presided, seemed to appreciate his worth, and on the occasion of his death adopted the following minute: "*Resolved*, That the Synod has heard with deep regret of the death of Rev. Gottlieb Shober, who has, for many years, been an efficient and useful member of this body. *Resolved*, That the Synod will ever cherish in grateful remembrance, the active zeal and eminent services of father Shober." One of our ministers in the South, in a recent communication to us, thus writes: "Mr. Shober was, in his day, one of the pillars of the Lutheran church in North Carolina, a zealous minister, and a warm hearted christian; of a very charitable and benevolent disposition, and a devoted friend of Sunday Schools, of Bible, Tract, Missionary and Education Societies. He gave liberally of his means to the support of these institutions. He preached to a small congregation in the neighborhood in which I was raised, where he also established a Sunday School, with which I became connected in my youthful days, and which continued in successful operation for a number of years after I entered the pastoral office. He aided me in getting into the ministry. I was poor. He gave me money to defray

my expenses as a foot-traveller to Gettysburg. Never can I forget his kindness to me !”

From all that we have been able to gather, relative to the subject of our memoir, we infer that he was a good man, very much under the influence of christian principle, and anxious in every way to do good. His life, even before he entered the ministry, was spent in untiring activity and useful labor. After he commenced the work of preaching, he labored in every department, in which a minister of the Gospel could labor, so long as his strength permitted him. He was an active working man, whose presence was felt in every enterprize with which he was identified. He was the warm friend of every object designed to elevate the character of our Zion, and he was not easily discouraged in the pursuit of measures which he believed conducive to the prosperity of the church, and the extension of the Savior’s kingdom. He was the efficient and generous patron of the benevolent institutions of the day. Until the period of his death, he was one of the most active defenders of our General Synod, as he had also been prominent among its early founders. Regarding a general union of the Lutheran Synods in the United States as a matter of great moment, he labored very earnestly for its organization. Although the proposition was not at first generally received with favor, he did not, on that account, desist from the effort. He did not relax his labors until they were crowned with success.* He was elected President of the General Synod at its convention in 1825, at Frederick, Md., and was also placed upon the committees chosen to prepare a Hymn Book for our churches, and to publish the Translation of Luther’s Catechism. He also took a deep interest in the establishment of a Seminary for the training of young men for the ministry of reconciliation, and was appointed one of the first directors of the institution by the General Synod of 1825, which adopted the preliminary measures for the formation of the Seminary, at Gettysburg, Pa. In his last will and testament, he remembered this School of

* The convention which organized the General Synod, assembled in Hagerstown, Md., Oct. 22d, 1820. The initiatory step towards this union was taken by the Synod of Pennsylvania, convened in the city of Baltimore in 1819. At this meeting, Rev. G. Shober appeared as a delegate from the Synod of North Carolina, for the express purpose of suggesting and urging the formation of a General Union among the Synods. He had prepared the outline of a plan, which constituted the basis of the discussions held on this subject.—*Vide Evangelical Review, Vol. V. p. 240.*

the Prophets, and left it three thousand acres of land, and although the institution did not derive any special advantage from the bequest, as the land did not increase in value, as the donor anticipated, yet the act is an evidence of his attachment to the cause, and his desire to give some substantial testimony of his affection for the Seminary. He was much devoted to the Sabbath School enterprise, and took an efficient and practical interest in all its operations. He was regarded as the founder of the system, in the region in which he lived, and principally through his efforts an auxiliary to the American Sunday School Union was established in North Carolina, of which he was for many years the active President. He considered the institution as a nursery of tender plants for the heavenly garden, and labored most successfully to extend its influence and increase its usefulness. He visited these schools from time to time, even until old age, and always seemed in his element when he was speaking to children on the love of Christ. He was a man of considerable zeal, great energy, glowing enthusiasm, and deep sensibilities. He had a heart warm at its centre, enlarged by an expansive humanity, and devoted to truth, justice and integrity. He was distinguished for his undisguised frankness and unaffected sincerity. He maintained his own opinions without fear or hesitation. He pursued no crooked course, no serpentine policy to attain an end he had in view. He abhorred equivocation in every form. With a mind that knew no dissimulation, a lofty independence, an ardent temper, and a character decidedly affirmative, he frequently experienced difficulties, and encountered points other than pleasant, in his pilgrimage through life, and which a disposition more pliant could have averted, yet upon such occasions, in the conscious rectitude of his intentions, and the purity of his aims, he ever found a solace. His integrity was his strong security.

Hic murus aeneus esto,
Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.

A conscientious and absolute surrender of the life to the guidance of duty, will always bring us into the possession of a peace more valuable than the world, with all its treasures, can bestow. The man who fearlessly discharges his duty, who never yields to dishonesty in conduct, but in every vicissitude of fortune, and in every relation of life, in all his plans and purposes, his words and his actions, is guided by a rigid, unbending integrity, deserves, and will secure, in the end, always

the homage of our hearts. He enjoys too, the approbation of his own conscience, and is certain of the favor of heaven. The meekness and condescension which Mr. Shober manifested, in seeking out the ignorant and the poor, the kind and constant care which he exercised over their spiritual interests, the generous sympathy which he extended to them, and the eagerness and assiduity with which he brought the entire resources of his holy office to bear on their improvement, were also striking attributes of his character.

In person the subject of our sketch was rather above the medium stature, and in his advanced years decidedly corpulent. He had an expansive, good forehead, and the lineaments of his countenance gave indications of a strong and active mind. God had endowed him with good natural parts, and he was a remarkable example of sound, practical wisdom. The rudiments of his education were all christian. Although he was not a learned man, and did not enjoy the advantages of instruction usually afforded candidates for the ministry, his good sense and unaffected piety made him a useful laborer in the vineyard of the Lord. We would not undervalue education or learning in the ministry, but we may say that humble piety will often accomplish more than splendid talents, or the most extensive erudition. The real power of the minister is concentrated in his piety, and without this, his ministry will be a barrenness and a curse. No one, however, felt more strongly than this excellent man, the defects of his intellectual training; no one was more anxious to repair the disadvantages under which he had labored, and to furnish to those who regarded themselves as called to the Gospel ministry, the best facilities for acquiring the necessary preparation.

Mr. Shober preached, as may be inferred from his character, boldly, pungently, and pointedly. His purpose always seemed to be to exhibit and enforce the truth, and not to direct attention to himself. His delivery was earnest and forcible. There was an ardor in his manner which awakened attention and touched the heart. He was interested in his work. He did not preach because he had been ordained, but he had been ordained that he might preach. He was very fond of music, and possessed a high degree of musical skill. He was, for several years, an organist, and he often remarked that he enjoyed many a blessing whilst discoursing sounds upon the instrument, particularly on communion occasions. He thought that the solemn tones of the organ were devo-

tional, and assisted in preparing souls for those important seasons.

Mr. Shober prepared two volumes for the press, the one, translated from the German of Stilling, called "Scenes in the World of Spirits;" the other entitled "A Comprehensive account of the rise and progress of the Blessed Reformation of the Christian Church, by Doctor Martin Luther: Interspersed with views of his character and doctrine." The latter work was written at the request of the Synod of North Carolina, and after an examination of the manuscript, was highly approved and recommended to the public.

Mr. Shober was married in the year 1782, to Maria Magdalena Transu, to whom he seemed most affectionately devoted, and with whom he was permitted, on the 17th of December, 1832, to celebrate a matrimonial jubilee. They were blessed with seven children, three sons and four daughters—three of whom, with their mother, preceded the father into the eternal world. Three of his daughters married clergymen, Rev. Messrs. Van Neman Favely, John G. Herrman and Peter Walle. The testimony of the children who survive is, "That God gave them a faithful and an affectionate father, whose constant desire it was to render them useful members of society, and who availed himself of every opportunity to lead them to Christ."

ARTICLE IV.

QUERIES IN REGARD TO DR. SEYFFARTH'S LECTURES ON EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

I was much interested in the perusal of an article, in the July number of this Journal, by Dr. Seyffarth, on Egyptian Antiquities. It contains many new things, and treats on subjects of grave importance. I hope he has been conducted to correct and safe conclusions upon his main subject. A thorough investigation, and correct understanding of the historical and scientific value of the antiquities of Egypt will, no doubt, shed an important light upon the early history of mankind, and especially upon that portion of it which constitutes the great stream of biblical history.

I cannot, however, conceal the fact, that some portions of that article did not prove as satisfactory as was desirable, and that quite a number of difficulties arose in my mind during its perusal. I especially regretted that Dr. Seyffarth did not, for the purpose of enabling us to follow him, give us the data for the results which he has obtained, and which, to so great an extent, differ from those at which other investigators have arrived. The enquiring mind is not satisfied, unless it is aided in its efforts to gain, for itself, intelligible reasons for the conclusions to which it is asked to come. If the proofs are not furnished, so far as the subject admits of them, we are inclined to look upon the effort as a display of mere dogmatism, and to turn away with indifference.

Without referring to all the difficulties which presented themselves to my mind, and which Dr. Seyffarth will, perhaps, have the kindness hereafter to aid us in overcoming, I will direct attention, in the first place, to a statement which he makes under section XX.

I. On the ninety-fifth page he states: "That the Hebrews, until after the destruction of Jerusalem, reckoned by fixed solar months of thirty days, we learn from Josephus, the earlier Rabbis, many passages of the Old Testament, and the dates of the Jewish Sabbaths assigned to certain days of the month. The first day of the month Nisan, of the ecclesiastical year, began on the 6th of March, Julian time." By *Julian time*, it is presumed, he means the year as regulated by Julius Cæsar, and which consisted of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, or three years of 365 each, and a fourth of 366 days. This being a little too long, caused the months to advance slowly in the year, so that, at the time that Gregory reformed the calendar, there was an error of ten days. This produced the difference between Old and New Style. We understand him, then, to assert that the month Nisan began on the 6th of March, O. S. How this can take place yearly, is a mystery to us, unless the Hebrew ecclesiastical year was a solar year, like the Julian, and its months solar months. And here our difficulties increase.

(a) Josephus (lib. I. cap. X), describing the Hebrew festivals, in substantially the same manner in which they are described in Leviticus 23, states what sacrifices were offered at the *new moon*, what additional offerings were made at the beginning of the seventh month (which was the first of their civil year), and on the 10th and 15th of the same, which he expressly calls a *lunar month*; and also informs us that the

paschal lamb was slain on the 14th of the *lunar month* Nisan, which was the 1st in the ecclesiastical year. Whilst the Hebrews may have derived their civil year from the Egyptians, among whom they so long dwelt, the ecclesiastical year was divinely ordained or enjoined upon them, and expressly made to begin with the month Nisan, which was just six months from Tisri, the beginning of the civil. Their year, regulating all their festivals and religious ceremonies, was to begin with the regular return of the time of the year in which they left Egypt.

In Numbers 28: 11, we read: "And in the beginnings of your months, ye shall offer a burnt offering unto the Lord," &c. In Isaiah 1: 14, we further read: "your new moons and appointed feasts my soul hateth," &c. These and numerous other passages, which we find scattered throughout the Old Testament, make it plain that the "*new moons*," and the "*beginnings of your months*," mean the same thing, and constrain us to regard the Hebrew months as lunar, consisting alternately of twenty-nine and thirty days. We are also told by various authorities, that the new moon was carefully looked for by persons specially appointed by the Sanhedrim, that the month began on the evening next after its first appearance, and that the fact was proclaimed to the people by the sound of the trumpet.

(b) The lunar month, most probably consisting alternately of twenty-nine and thirty days, would make the year to have only 354 days, or $11\frac{1}{4}$ days less than the solar year. This would cause the lunar to run backward in the solar month of each year, a little more than eleven days; so that if the month Nisan (lunar) were to begin, as the Dr. observes, on the 6th of March, in one year, it would on the next year begin on the 23d of February, and the 14th of Nisan, the day on which the Passover was to be slain, would be subject to a like fluctuation. When Josephus, in the chapter above referred to, states that on the 14th of the month Nisan, "when the sun is in Aries," the paschal lamb was slain, he cannot mean that on that day in every year, the sun was in the *first point* of Aries, or exactly in the Equinox, but merely in the sign of Aries; for neither the solar nor the lunar month will admit of it, except after the lapse of some years. In the solar calendar, the new and full moons happen at very nearly the same times of the year after the expiration of nineteen years, which is called the lunar cycle. We shall find it necessary to refer to this point again.

The whole design, moreover, of the introduction of a thirteenth month, *ve Adar*, or second *Adar*, was to keep the lunar months in as close correspondence with the same seasons of the year. It was important that the festivals and offerings should occur as regularly as possible. The offering of the first fruits, which always took place on the second day of the Paschal festival (Levit. 23: 10-12, and Jos. An. III. 10. 5), must always precede the harvest. No one was allowed to reap before that offering was made; and consequently, the festival must not be permitted to deviate many days from the ripening of barley and wheat. Accordingly, to accomplish this purpose, a thirteenth month, or a second *Adar* was added every third year, or more accurately, four times in eleven years.

(c) But still it may be maintained, that the *civil* year of the Hebrews consisted of twelve solar months, of thirty days each. As we have no positive evidence upon this point, we are not prepared to assert or deny the truth of the supposition. It is asserted that this was the year with which they were familiar in Egypt, previously to their exodus; that five days were added to the last month, in imitation of the Egyptians, in order to make the year to consist of three hundred and sixty-five days; and that with the use of this year they entered Canaan. This seems to be confirmed by Gen. 7: 11, and 8: 3, 4, where it is said that the waters of the flood prevailed five months, or one hundred and fifty days, making each month to consist of thirty days. These are probably two of the passages of the Old Testament to which Dr. S. refers, as proving the Hebrew reckoning to have been by solar months. But in opposition to this, it may be said, that Moses might have mentioned one hundred and fifty, not as the absolute, but as the approximate number of days, just as we are in the habit of using the number ninety for that of the days in three months. And further, Moses, in the passages referred to, expresses his dates and time elapsed in terms of the ecclesiastical, and not the civil year. As the civil year began just six months after the ecclesiastical, it is improbable in the highest degree, that two kinds of month were employed. The lunar reckoning of alternate months of twenty-nine and thirty days, with the addition of an intercalary month as often as necessary, without doubt formed the basis of the Hebrew chronology.

(d) As far, therefore, as Josephus and direct passages from the Old Testament are concerned, it is difficult to see how

Dr. Seyffarth makes out his case. But he says that "the dates of the Jewish Sabbath assigned to certain days of the month" sustain his conclusion. We would really be very much obliged to him, if he would tell us how. Assuming, as he does, the solar month to be that which regulated their festivals, we do not see that, if Nisan always began on the 6th of March (Julian), and if the beginning of the festivals held a *fixed* place in the several months, as they did, the Sabbath could occur on the same day of the month, except at intervals five, six, eleven and twenty-eight years. We all know that the solar cycle restores the days of the week and those of the month to their original position again. How then could any Sabbaths occupy an invariable position in their festivals? Was it not, however, customary among the Hebrews to designate, as Sabbaths, such of the festival days as were wholly devoted to rest, and to religious services? Such, for instance, were the first and the last day of the Paschal festival (Levit. 23: 7, 8, 11, 15, 21, 24, 25, &c.).

II. In the second place, it is to be regretted that Dr. S. was not more careful to inform us of the precise year in which our Savior was born. He tells us on page ninety-seven, that Christ came into the world "in the sixth year thousand (millenium);" that Luke states that he was born during a "census year," or lustrum; that one of such lustra "occurred in the year 9, A. C., and another in the year 6, P. C.; and that such a census was taken in the year 1, A. C.; and that 'Christ was really born during the first census of Quirinus.'" On page ninety-nine he further informs us that John the Baptist was born in the year 2, A. C., on the 22d of June, and our Savior on the 22d December following, or six months afterwards; in other words, the latter must have been born in the year 2, A. C. But he had just proved that he was actually born in the year 1, A. C. This apparent discrepancy may have been no more than a slight inadvertency. But as positive dates are professedly given, we look for something definite and certain.

He observes that a census of the kind referred to, "was taken once every seven years." Now if one was taken in 9, A. C., then the next should have been taken in 2, A. C.; but he asserts that it was taken in 1, A. C. Again, if, as he states, the christian era began with 0 (naught), then 6, P. C. being time elapsed added to 2, A. C., would make 8 years; and reckoning from 9, A. C. to 6, P. C., would comprise fifteen instead of fourteen years. This confusion doubtless

arises from the fact, that he has confounded current with elapsed time. Every body understands the year 1856 not to be past or elapsed, but current time; that 1855 years have passed since the birth of Christ, and that the 1856th is now passing, and the year 1, A. D. is understood to have been the first *passing* year of our Lord's earthly life. Every one knows that the years, months, and days of civil reckoning are passing time. We do not say November eleven months, but the eleventh month; and not November one day, but the first day of November. With the hours and minutes it is different. We say half past ten o'clock, that is, ten and a half hours of the day have already elapsed.

But Dr. Seyffarth ought to have favored us with his authority for telling us that the lustra occurred at intervals of seven years. Roman writers inform us that, as a rule, they occurred at intervals of five, and rarely of four years. Several exceptional cases occurred, in which the interval was seven, and even nine years. Taking five years as the length of the interval, and assuming that a census occurred during 9, A. C., as Dr. Seyffarth asserts, then the next would have occurred in 4, A. C. This accords admirably with the commonly received opinion, that our Savior was actually born four years before the vulgar era.

Referring to a lunar eclipse (p. 97) which happened two months before the death of Herod, and one month after the birth of Christ, he says that it "can have taken place only on the 9th of January of the year 0, A. C., therefore Christ must have been born shortly before the commencement of our era." Hence we have established for us, with "*mathematical certainty*," three birth years of our Lord, viz: 2, 1, and 0 before our era.

Lastly, on page one hundred and one, endeavoring to prove that our Lord was born on the 22d of December, Dr. Seyffarth informs us that the vernal equinox, March 22d, 33 A. D., fell on Sunday, and that the same day of the same month being the vernal equinox, in the year preceding the commencement of our era, also fell on Sunday; "from which," he says, "it is again manifest that the birth-day of Christ was on the 22d of December." It is difficult to see the connection between the conclusion and the premises. But it happens that the 22d of March, 33 A. D., fell on Tuesday, and that the same day of March, in the year preceding the commencement of our era, fell likewise on Tuesday. If we are in error, we hope we shall be corrected.

III. *The death of Christ.* Concerning the time of the death of our Lord, Dr. Seyffarth says (p. 101): "It is well known that this took place on the 14th of the month Nisan, on the day before the feast of the Passover, which was called the *preparation*, and this always corresponded, as we have already seen, with the 19th of the Julian March. "The solar eclipse of Dionysius Areopagita confirms that as the day of Christ's death, with mathematical certainty." "This solar eclipse, on the 14th of Nisan, could have taken place only in the year 33 after Christ: it occurred at two o'clock in the afternoon, consequently during the very same hours in which Christ expired on the cross. Christ died, therefore, precisely on the same day on which the paschal lamb had been typically slain in Egypt; that is to say, three days before the vernal equinox." And thus it is proved with mathematical certainty, that the darkness which, at the time of our Lord's crucifixion, prevailed over the whole land, from the sixth (12 M.) to the ninth hour (3 P. M.) was nothing more than a solar eclipse, and consequently, it must have happened at the time of new moon. If the precise time of its occurrence is capable of mathematical calculation, then it was nothing but an ordinary eclipse, for if it had been miraculous, it could not be brought under mathematical laws. Now, in regard to these statements, several difficulties may be presented.

(a) It is a matter of surprise why Dionysius, who is represented as having been witness of this eclipse, in Egypt, and who must have seen many others of like character before, should have exclaimed, "either God himself suffers, or he sympathises with the sufferer," if this phenomenon had happened at the time of new moon, and according to ordinary laws. It could not have been regarded as miraculous, or as indicating anything extraordinary, if it was nothing more than a solar eclipse. If this account of Dionysius be not wholly spurious, as it is generally believed to be, then we wonder at him, as we may likewise do at many of those at Jerusalem, who were spectators of the scenes of the crucifixion, for having looked with astonishment upon that obscuration of the sun, if it was simply an *eclipse*.

(b) The early christians were clearly of the opinion that the darkness referred to was miraculous; and such has also been the opinion of the christian church down to this day. Hence she has been singing in her passion hymns:

“Well might the sun in darkness hide,
And shut his glories in,
When Christ the mighty Maker died,
For man the creature's sin!”

It would now seem that, in regard to one theme, at least, of her pious and holy admiration, and in which she thought she was joined by the mute external world, she was sadly mistaken. The event, which was thought to have testified so strongly in behalf of the divinity of Jesus of Nazareth, turns out at last to have been but an ordinary eclipse of the sun, which may be traced backwards, by astronomical calculations, to the time of new moon, at two o'clock, P. M., on the 19th of March, 33 A. D. If, however, the christian church has hitherto been deceived, it is well that the truth should at last be made known, and that she should no longer praise God for only a supposed sympathy in behalf of his suffering Son, when she has so many real acts of signal favor to thank him for.

(c) And yet it was very natural for the church to have fallen into this error, if error it be. The Jews had, all along, been in the habit of celebrating the Passover at the time of *full moon*, in the month Nisan, which always *began* with the first appearance of the *new moon*, next preceding the vernal equinox. On the evening of the 14th, being the time of *full moon*, between the hours of three and six P. M., the paschal lamb was slain; and on the fifteenth day, which began at six P. M., or sunset, the lamb or the paschal supper was eaten, between the setting of the sun and its rising on the next morning. Now as no eclipse of the sun could take place at the time of *full moon*, the darkness referred to has been regarded as altogether miraculous. It was, therefore, perfectly natural that the christian church should make itself joyful in view of such significant testimony in favor of its Lord and Savior.

(d) Dr. Seyffarth further states that the vernal equinox always occurred on the 19th of the Julian March, or the 14th of the month Nisan. Here then we encounter an insurmountable difficulty. As the full moon occurred constantly on the 14th of the month Nisan, and as the full moons run backward yearly about eleven days, if the paschal feast in one year, had been held at the time of the equinox, on the next year it would have necessarily been held eleven days earlier. In fact, the paschal festival was kept vibrating backwards and forwards about the time of the vernal equinox, so that it was

only approximately true, that it was held at that astronomical epoch. It seems, therefore, that Dr. Seyffarth here committed a capital mistake, and that this has vitiated the whole network of his New Testament chronology.

(e) "Finally," he remarks, on page 102, "since Christ died on the 19th of March, and rose again on Sunday, the 22d of March, A. D., 33, he must have remained in the grave three days and three nights: for this 19th of March, A. D. 33, was a *Thursday*. This is evident already, from the testimony of the Evangelists." We respectfully ask Dr. Seyffarth whether the 19th of March, A. D. 33, did not fall on Saturday, and whether it did not fall on Thursday in A. D. 37? That is, we ought to write 37 instead of 33, and refer the Savior's birth to the year A. C. 4. This would accord with the almost universally received opinion that our chronology should be dated backward by four years. "They (Evangelists) make minute mention of all the events of the sacred week, and expressly refer Christ's death to Thursday, the fourth day after Palm Sunday, and the third before the resurrection."

IV. *The last Passover of Jesus and the day (of the week) of his death.*

In the last sentence above quoted, Dr. Seyffarth has authoritatively pronounced upon several questions which have divided the opinions of the ablest commentators, from an early period of the christian church, down to the present time.

(a) Dr. Seyffarth stands almost alone in maintaining that our Lord was crucified on *Thursday*. The almost universal opinion has been, and yet is, that he was *crucified* on *Friday*, the day immediately preceding the Jewish Sabbath, that his body was, before the close of the day, laid in a sepulchre near by, by Joseph, and, remaining there until the dawn of the first day of the following week, he arose, having been in the tomb one whole day, and a portion of two others. He thus, in a *legal* sense, remained "in the heart of the earth three days and three nights." Nor does Dr. Seyffarth's view *literally* fulfil the words of the prophecy; for, from Thursday evening until Sunday morning, there are wanting twelve hours to complete the three entire days and three nights.

(b) The question which has mostly been in dispute among commentators is, whether the paschal supper was, in that

year, eaten on Friday or on Saturday. *Some* have maintained that the 15th of Nisan fell on the Jewish Sabbath, and that the Jews ate the paschal lamb in the night, between Friday and Saturday, having crucified Jesus on Friday—the day previous. By far the larger number, however, have maintained that Friday was the 15th of Nisan, and that on that day the Jews also crucified Jesus. But here again, opinion has been divided; some asserting that the Jews ate the lamb on the night of Thursday, according to the requirements of their law, and others asserting that the lamb was not eaten at the legal time, but that the supper was deferred a day later. Those who have embraced the opinion that Saturday was the prescribed paschal day for that year, of course maintain that Jesus either omitted the paschal supper for that year, or anticipated the day, in view of the fact known to him, that he must die before the arrival of the legally prescribed time.

If we, however, confine our attention to the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, there does not seem to be any room for diversity of opinion.

1. That he *actually ate the paschal lamb* with his disciples, is plain from Matt. 26: 27. “Now the first of the unleavened bread, the disciples came to Jesus, saying where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the Passover?” The day before the eating of the lamb was called the *first of unleavened bread*, because on that day the Jews were obliged to remove all leaven from their houses, and not permitted to use any until the close of the festival.

2. The *time* at which he ate it was the *regularly prescribed* time. He did not *anticipate* the legal requirement. “Now the first day of unleavened bread, *when they killed the Passover*, his disciples said unto him, where wilt thou that we go and prepare,” &c.—Mark 14: 12. The lamb was killed on the 14th of Nisan, between the hours of three and six P. M., that is, just before the beginning of the 15th, which was at sunset of the 14th. In the beginning of the 15th of Nisan, at night, the paschal lamb was eaten, according to the requirements of the law. Accordingly our Lord, who was always found honoring the law, by strictly observing its requirements in time, place, and manner, not on a preceding evening, but on that very evening as required, kept the Passover. “Now when even was come”—the evening of the first of unleavened bread—“he sat down with the twelve” (Matt. 26: 20). “And in the evening he cometh with the twelve” (Mark 14: 17).

3. Immediately after Supper, Jesus retired with his disciples to Gethsemane. There he was apprehended, and before the rising sun he was subjected to a mock trial. About the middle of the day, he was crucified, at three o'clock he expired, and at the close of the day he was laid in Joseph's new tomb. If the next day after was the Jewish Sabbath, then this, the day on which he was crucified, was Friday.

4. Was the following day the Sabbath? There are very strong reasons for the conclusion that it was. In Luke 23: 54, after the statement that Jesus' body had been taken down from the cross, we are informed that "that day was the preparation, and the *Sabbath drew on*." Now the common sense interpretation of this passage is, that the Sabbath was just about to begin; the sun was rapidly declining, and bringing on the sacred day. If the Evangelist intended to express the fact of such nearness, he could not have used language more to the point; but if another day yet intervened, his language was most unfortunately chosen, as every reader is liable to mistake his meaning. In Mark 15: 42, we find these explicit words: "And now when the even was come, (because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath)." Here we are positively told that the day on which Christ was crucified, and on the evening of which Joseph laid his body in the tomb, was the day before the Sabbath. Again, in Luke 23: 55, 56, we are informed that the "women, which came with him from Galilee, followed after" (Joseph) "and beheld the sepulchre, and how his body was laid; and they returned and prepared spices and ointments, and *rested on the Sabbath day*, according to the commandment." *Rested* from what? From embalming his body. This they could not do, because the next day was the Sabbath. "And when the *Sabbath was past*," Mark 16: 1, "they brought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him." These passages can mean nothing else than that the day following the death of our Lord was the Jewish Sabbath; consequently he died on Friday, and not on Thursday.

Besides, there was reason for special haste in taking down the bodies of Jesus and the malefactors that were crucified with him. To hasten the death of the latter, their limbs were broken, Jesus having died at an earlier hour. The reason was, that "the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath day."—John 19: 31. If the following day had not been the Sabbath, why could the bodies not have been taken down on that day, and thus have been still out of the

way on the Sabbath, which was a high day? On the sixth day of the week, especially in the afternoon, as the Sabbath approached, the Jews were accustomed to make ready—to perform all necessary labor, and to do all that could not be lawfully done on the next day, and hence the later hours of the afternoon were called the *preparation*, and afterwards the whole sixth day was often called the *preparation day*. *Because* therefore this was the preparation, the proper time in which to take the bodies away, so that the sanctity of the Sabbath, even in its early evening hours, might not be broken, they were in such haste to take the bodies down before the setting of the sun, John 19: 31 and 42, “for the sepulchre was at hand.”

5. But naturally and simply as these conclusions seem to flow from the narratives, by the Evangelists, of the death of our Lord, and its attendant circumstances, some distinguished critics, not however agreeing with Dr. Seyffarth, but conceding that that great event transpired on Friday, have found great difficulties in perfectly satisfying their minds on this subject. They are disposed to come to the conclusion that Christ and the Jews ate the Paschal lamb on two different nights. Admitting that our Lord ate it in the night between Thursday and Friday, they are of opinion that the Jews ate it on the following night. It is alleged that John 13: 1, “before the feast of the Passover,” justifies the conclusion that he partook of it in advance of the regularly appointed time. But such a conclusion would contradict the express language above quoted, Matt. 26: 17 and 20; Mark 14: 12, 17, &c. A more consistent interpretation is to be found in regarding “before the feast,” as meaning “in the commencement of the festival,” or at the “festival eve” (Robinson's Harm. Gosp., p. 200).

It is further inferred from John 18: 28, “and they themselves went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover,” that when Jesus was on trial before the high priest, the passover was yet future. But this inference, which is in the face of the explicit statements of Matthew and Mark, assumes that when the word passover is used, it always means the paschal supper.—Numerous passages might be cited, from which it appears, that it is sometimes used merely for the eating of the lamb, at other times for the whole seven days' festival, and at others for the numerous free-will sacrifices and offerings which the Jews brought during the festival. Such sacrifices are

referred to in 2 Chron. 30: 22, 24; 35: 7, 9, and those only might partake of them, as likewise of the passover, who were ceremonially clean.—Num. 18: 11, 13; 2 Chron. 30: 18. In Lev. 15, 17, and 22 chapters, we see how easily one could be rendered unclean by touching a great many objects, and we can easily see that the Jews would fear to go into the judgment hall of a heathen magistrate, lest they might be defiled by doing so, and thus be disqualified for participating in any of the festival offerings for *that* day. If, however, the paschal lamb was yet to be eaten in the following night, that is, on a succeeding day, they could, if they had gone into the judgment hall, easily have cleansed themselves yet beforehand; for during that day, they could yet have undergone the requisite ablution. It must, therefore, have been from participating in the “sacrificial offerings and banquets,” customary on the 15th of the month, and the first of the festival, that they were anxious not to deprive themselves.—(See Robinson’s Harmony, p. 201, 202.)

But the Doctor takes for granted that, because the day on which our Lord was crucified was called the “preparation,” it was the day immediately preceding the passover, p. 101. And in John 19: 14, we read, “and it was the preparation of the passover, about the sixth hour.” But in Mark 15: 42, we read: “When the even was come, (because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath),” &c. As these two passages must be consistent with each other, the *same* day must have been *preparation day*, both for the Sabbath and for the passover, that is, if the Dr. is right at all in referring the *preparation* to the latter. The crucifixion, therefore, took place on Friday, and not on Thursday. If, however, we admit that the *preparation* had any specific reference to the passover, then we are compelled to admit that the passover for that year was celebrated on the Sabbath day or Saturday, the day after the crucifixion. As a proof that this was the fact, John 19: 31, “for that Sabbath was a high day,” is quoted. But if this had been the passover day, why were the Jews so fearful of rendering themselves unclean *early* on Friday morning, by going into the judgment hall, when such uncleanness would have been removed by evening, that is before the passover day? These apparent difficulties, however, vanish at once, when we receive the natural explanation, that the preparation here referred to, was primarily and properly the preparation of the Sabbath, as Friday, especially the afternoon of it, was commonly called; that John

called it the preparation of the *passover*, merely because it fell on passover day; and that that Sabbath was a *high day*, because it fell in the week of the paschal festival. By adopting this view, all difficulties are removed, and John is made to agree perfectly with the other three Evangelists.

It may however be objected, that if the day of our Lord's crucifixion was the first day of the paschal feast, the Jews would thereby have violated their law. To this it is sufficient to reply, that the Sanhedrim were not particularly scrupulous upon such a point, when they were bent upon the destruction of one whom they intensely hated, for it is a matter of fact, that on several other occasions, they made efforts to have him arrested, John 7: 22, 37, 44, 45; that the reason they assigned for not wishing to arrest him "on the feast" day, was not because it would be unlawful, but because they feared lest there should be "an uproar among the people;" and that having delivered him into the hands of Pilate, they considered themselves as having nothing more to do with the act of his death.

V. *The death of Methuselah and of Lamech.*

Another point which demands some enquiry, is the remark of Dr. Seyffarth concerning the death of Methuselah and of Lamech:

It must seem strange to the ordinary reader of the Bible to be informed, that "according to the present reckoning of the Hebrew text, Methuselah and Lamech must have survived the flood," pp. 91, 93. For in neither the English or the German Bible does he find any such difficulty. Methuselah was one hundred and eighty-seven years old when Lamech was born; the latter was one hundred and eighty-two years of age when Noah was born, and Noah "was six hundred years old when the flood of waters was upon the earth."—(Comp. Gen. 5: 25, 28, and 7: 6.) If these three numbers be added together, they make nine hundred and sixty-nine years, which (Gen. 5: 27) was the age of Methuselah when he died. From this it would appear that he died during the year of the flood, and if, as Dr. Seyffarth states, it began in September, we may reasonably believe that God kindly removed him in the early part of the year, before the day of vengeance came. Again, adding one hundred and eighty-two, the age of Lamech at the birth of Noah, to six hundred, that of Noah when the flood came, we have seven hundred and eighty-two years. But Lamech was seven hundred and

seventy-seven years old when he died (Gen. 5: 31), so that he must have died five years before the flood. These are the results we obtain when we consult our English and German Bibles.

But we are led to suppose that there is a difficulty with the Hebrew text. Let us then look at it. What do we there find? Why precisely the same numbers or dates that we found in the translations. We look for Dr. Seyffarth's difficulty, and cannot find it. Does the Dr. found his difficulty upon a reading different from that contained in the ordinary Hebrew Bible? Or where is his difficulty to be found? He should, by all means, have informed us. Professing to vindicate the Bible, and to inspire us with an increased confidence in it, he ought not to carry us out into the wide ocean of uncertainty, and there desert us. Until sufficient reasons can be offered, we prefer remaining at our old safe anchorage, rather than to permit him to draw us away to a stormy coast.

He, however, suggests that the age of Methuselah at the birth of Lamech should be read three hundred and forty-nine instead of one hundred and eighty-seven years, thus making him, his son, and his grandson, live one hundred and sixty-two years later in the history of the world, than the Hebrew text teaches. These additional years will not, however, relieve any difficulty with the Hebrew text, for we have seen that none exists. But we may just as well state the reason why he has brought the one hundred and sixty-two years into requisition. He has made up his mind, from other sources, that there were just twenty-four hundred and twenty-four years between the creation and the flood. The Hebrew text gives but twenty-two hundred and sixty-two years. The Septuagint, the chronology of which he, on other occasions, quotes with approbation, allows of but twenty-two hundred and forty-two, for it makes Methuselah one hundred and sixty-seven, instead of one hundred and eighty-seven years of age at the birth of Lamech. If now we can throw the birth of Lamech forward one hundred and sixty-two years, we shall have the flood to occur in the year 2424, just as it ought to do. Would it not be more simple if we were to amend the Septuagint, by adding two hundred years, for it is more probable that the numeral *two* was omitted before hundred, than that so different a number, three hundred and forty-nine, should have been inserted instead of one hundred and eighty-seven. Why, however, go back to Methuselah? Why not interpolate the one hundred and sixty-two years in the age of

Lamech, at the birth of Noah, and make it read three hundred and forty-four, instead of one hundred and eighty-two years. But unless it can be *clearly shown* that errors have crept in during the act of transcribing, we protest against any such liberty being taken with the sacred text.

VI. *The Universality of the Deluge.*

The greatest difficulty, however, with which we met in the perusal of Dr. Seyffarth's instructive paper, was to conjecture the authority upon which he asserts the universality of the deluge. The Bible has been the only reliable authority to which recourse has hitherto been had, in proof of that opinion. But we are led, from a remark which he has made on page forty-one, to infer that some new light has been recently obtained, perhaps from the study of Egyptian Antiquities. "It has been asserted," he remarks, "in numberless books, that the deluge was only partial. It has *now* been *positively* ascertained that it was universal." If some new information has been obtained, positively settling the question, the world would be greatly indebted to him if he should point out where and how we can obtain that definite information. For it must be confessed that the opinions of the learned are, as yet, greatly divided on that subject.

Some there are, who, like Lepsius, to whom he refers on page eighty-seven, ignore the Bible history, and, following the dim light of their own reason, adopt opinions directly opposed to its positive teachings. Others there are, whose infidelity or whose hostility to revealed religion, leads them to the adoption of opinions adverse to the statements of the Bible concerning facts or events of far-reaching importance. But there are yet others, whose reverence for the Bible is profound, who drink from it daily as from a well of living water, and who bow submissively to its clearly ascertained declarations and instructions, but who do not think that a correct interpretation of the terms and intention of the sacred history renders it necessary to adopt the commonly received opinion that the flood prevailed literally over the whole earth. Considering the design of that divinely ordered visitation, they do not think it necessary to assume its strict universality, or that anything will be gained for the cause of truth, or for the glory of God, by maintaining such a view, whilst they find difficulties of the gravest character continually staring them in the face.

1. Manifestly the design of that terrible visitation was the sweeping away of the race of man from the face of the earth, by one great retributive act, which, whilst it would put a present stop to heaven-daring iniquity, and at the same time remove the evidences of it which were numerous, would also afford a sufficient warning to future generations against a similar course of sin. The destruction of other air-breathing animals could not have been primarily intended; it must have been only incidental. If the posterity of man did not at that day yet extend over the whole earth, and if other animals then existed beyond the range of his habitation, we can see no reason why God should have caused the flood to extend farther than to reach and destroy him; and why he should also have destroyed them. We do not see any object to be gained by such an extension of the flood, especially as it would then, as we shall presently see, have been necessary to create new races in the majority of cases, instead of the original ones, which must have been destroyed.

It is not probable that the Antediluvians extended over the whole of the eastern continent. They probably occupied that portion, of which Ararat was the approximate centre; that is, the middle and western portions of Asia, together with the parts of Europe and Africa lying adjacent. The whole population, at the time of the flood, did not, probably, amount to over one hundred millions; it is most likely that it was less. For, remembering that polygamy, which is agreed to be unfavorable to increase of population, existed before the flood, and that licentiousness and kindred vices were prevalent, we cannot assume that the increase was more than three times as fast, in proportion to the number of parents, as at present. Assuming, therefore, a six to seven-fold increment for each parent, we should have in ten generations, if none died except from old age, the cotemporaries of Lamech and of Noah amounting nearly to the number above named. These all could have been easily accommodated within the range of territory already designated. Indeed, it must have been so, for how otherwise could Noah have been a "preacher of righteousness," a rebuker of their sin, if they had been scattered abroad all over the world?

2. The Bible contains the only reliable information we can obtain upon this subject. It is true, the traditions of all nations contain accounts which evidently refer to a flood that destroyed the whole human race, with the exception of sever-

al, who were divinely favored. These traditions and fables even teach that the whole earth was overwhelmed by the catastrophe. But they are mere fragments of truth, and are interesting and valuable, inasmuch as they show that the Bible narrative has a real basis in the history of all nations, and that all these have descended from a common stock. Beyond this they are utterly worthless. Even the monuments of Egypt, if they contain anything in reference to the flood, cannot speak more clearly and positively than the Bible. No historic monuments to be found in that region of the world, where the event in question without doubt took place, and where the Bible also was penned, can afford us any more information concerning its universality, than that book. We, therefore, cannot appreciate the Doctor's assertion, when he says: "but now it is positively ascertained that it was universal," as though something more reliable, or to the point, had been discovered. We will venture to say, if the Bible is not sufficient to set this question at rest, neither will the Antiquities of the land of the Nile.

But it may be asked, "does not the Bible *positively* assert that the flood was universal?" In Gen. 6: 13, we read:—"And God said unto Noah, the end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them: and behold I will destroy them with the earth." In Gen. 7: 19, we find: "And all the hills that were under the whole heaven were covered;" also in v. 23, we read: "And every living substance was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man and cattle, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth, and Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark." Can anything be more explicit than this? In reply it may be said, that in ascertaining the meaning of language, whether sacred or profane, we must consider how much of it is language accommodated to the knowledge, condition, or circumstances of the persons addressed, or what was the nature of the case, or the design of the event recorded. In Gen. 41: 56, 57, we read: "And the famine was over all the face of the earth;" . . . "and all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn." Does this mean that all Asia, Europe, Africa, America, and the isles of the ocean were then inhabited, and came to Egypt to buy corn? No one in his senses will suppose this to be the meaning of the universal terms here employed. The countries known to Egypt, and within reach of it by caravans, are without doubt

meant, and no others. But when the Scriptures assert that Christ died for all, the *nature* of the *case* does not limit the merits of his death to a part of mankind, either in the value of those merits, or in the necessities and salvable capacity of men. The availability of that salvation was designed to extend as far as the human race of sinners, and no farther. Just so, we suppose the flood was designed to extend as far as the human race extended, and no farther; for if it had, God would have had in view the accomplishment of other objects besides that which was assigned, viz: the destruction of sinful man.

3. A difficulty, upon the supposition of a universal flood, must occur to every reflecting mind, in regard to the quantity of water requisite to cover, fifteen cubits deep, the top of the mountains, of which the highest has been recently ascertained to be more than twenty-nine thousand feet above the level of the sea. Unless they had been torn from their bases and spread out over the bed of the ocean, this could not have been effected with all the water that belongs to our planet. But the mountains are spoken of as rising out of the waters again after the flood; and hence we conclude that the general outlines of the world have been the same since, that they were before that event. To suppose a universal deluge, therefore, would be to require the miraculous creation, and the subsequent annihilation of water sufficient to accomplish this object. But though the flood was in time and place miraculous, God yet appears to have used the means at hand for its accomplishment, as he is accustomed to do in nature and in grace, if there be such means within reach. For the production of the flood, he used rain, and the rushing in of the waters of the great deep, probably by causing the slow subsidence of that portion of the earth inhabited by man, and again its slow upheaval after the intended destruction was effected.

4. If the ark of Noah had been a thousand times larger than it was; it would have been impossible to afford room in it for a pair of each species of the more than one hundred thousand species of air-breathing animals and insects, which naturalists have described, or to store up provision for them—vegetable food for some, and animal food for others—for the space of an entire year. It may indeed be asserted, that the most of these have been created since the flood. But we have nowhere any intimation of a subsequent creation; and why, upon that supposition, was it necessary to preserve any, ex-

cept such as were necessary to Noah's wants? If we must conjecture, let us make such a supposition as is most natural and consistent with the case, namely, that the great mass of animals escaped destruction, being inhabitants of countries beyond the range of the flood; and that Noah was called to make provision only for himself and family, and for such animals as occupied the regions inhabited by man.

5. But probably the *positive* information, which Dr. Seyffarth has *now* obtained, is derived from Geology. We undertake to say, in behalf of that science, that in its present state of advancement, it knows nothing about Noah's flood as a distinctly marked event; and that in all probability it never will know enough to speak positively. It knows much of floods, of deep erosions of the earth's surface, and of extensive and long-continued ice and water currents, but concerning that particular flood, it will neither affirm or deny any thing. The existence, the circumstances, and the effects of that event, must be received purely upon the testimony of the Bible.

At one time, it was thought that the earth's crust afforded the most striking evidences of the existence and effects of the deluge. The numerous fossils, which abound in the seven to ten miles of thickness of the stratified rocks, were supposed to be the entombed remains of the animals which lived at the time of Noah. But a careful examination of these fossils has dissipated this supposition. Beginning at the top, and going downwards, we may group the stratified materials as follows: 1. Alluvium and Drift; 2. Tertiary; 3. Secondary; 4. Primary or Palaeozoic; and Hypozoic or non-fossiliferous rocks. In the *Alluvium*, which is accumulating on the banks of streams, and at the mouths of rivers, we find imbedded animals and plants, identical in species with those now occupying the earth's surface. This we would naturally expect. In the *Drift*, or Diluvium, as it was long called, because it was supposed to have been deposited by the flood, we find very few remains of animals or plants, except such as have been derived from the broken strata beneath. The *few* species, which were first fossilized in the drift, are marine shells, such as inhabit the cold waters of the high latitudes. In fact the drift, which consists of materials, generally coarse, but varying in size from the huge boulder rock of many tons weight, down to the minute pebble, has been carried from high to low latitudes, and scattered along for many hundreds of miles. The rocky surface of the earth and the mountain sides, have

also been scratched and furrowed, and worn by these materials, as they were carried forward. Now these effects could have been produced only by long-continued water currents, bearing masses of ice, or icebergs on their bosom, the masses of rock frozen to their bases acting like diamonds, and marking their course by tearing and scratching the surface over which they were carried. No person, who has devoted himself to the study of Geology practically, that is, who has left his study and his books, and gone to the personal examination of these effects, will any longer maintain, for a moment, that these results were produced in a single year, or even in a decade of years. In the *Tertiary strata* we find immense numbers of fossils; but only a few species, comparatively, are the same as those we find now existing, and these are almost entirely marine. If, however, the tertiary strata had been deposited during the deluge, why do we not find the remains of the species of animals and plants, now filling air, earth and seas, imbedded together with those which are extinct? And in the *Secondary* formation, though abounding in fossil remains, thereby showing that the earth teemed with life when these rocks were deposited, we do not find even a trace of any species of animal or plant now living. These rocks could not, therefore, have been deposited during the flood, unless we make the bold assumption that, as God destroyed all animal and vegetable life, except the animal life which was preserved in the ark, he afterwards created new species, instead of those that had become extinct. This, at best, would but be a *positive* assumption.

But we will pursue this argument no farther. The Palaeozoic or Primary fossiliferous strata carry us still farther from the present order of life, and can afford no evidence whatever of the fact of the deluge, or of its universality. Geology, indeed, proves that there have been, in the past history of the earth, numerous great and extensive cataclysms, which produced important changes in its surface and its denizens; but it furnishes no evidences, by which the flood of Noah, so *gradual* in its rise and its subsidence, can be separated from the rest as a distinct event. Our belief in its historic existence is derived, not from Geology, but from the positive testimony of the Bible. The Bible, however, when correctly interpreted, we do not believe teaches its universality. We are, therefore, anxious to learn whether the *positive* testimony referred to is to be found in the prolific information afforded by the study of Egyptian Antiquities.

There are several other points yet remaining, principally astronomical in their character, to which we would like to advert. But having already occupied more space than we intended, we will withhold them, hoping that our minds may be relieved of their difficulties on those which have been presented.

ARTICLE V.

THE LORD'S SUPPER PRACTICALLY CONSIDERED.

By Rev. A. H. Lochman, A. M., York, Pa.

The duty of members of the church regularly to partake of the Lord's Supper.—“Do this in remembrance of me.”

THE sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is one of the most solemn, impressive, and important ordinances of our holy religion, instituted by Christ himself. It is intimately interwoven with the very existence and life of the church, and with the spiritual life of the individual christian.

It is, in the church, what the fire and hearth-stone is in the hallowed associations of the family circle—the centre of attraction. There is an invisible power there, which creates a trembling anxiety, an ardent longing, a real home-sickness, which cannot be satisfied and healed, until the weary wanderer arises, returns to his Father's house, and sitting around the domestic fireside, beholds its cheerful light, and feels its genial warmth. There heart responsively beats to heart, and the loved ones are drawn together in holiest bonds. There hallowed feelings, tempered with sadness, are awakened, and affectionate remembrances of those who loved us, and have done so much for us, are revived. There we are cherished, warmed, and invigorated with new life, to carry out the holiest resolutions in our daily walk. There we are fed with food, such as love and affection only can prepare, of which strangers can have no conception.

Who! who! would not hasten to this hearth-stone, this fireside in our Father's house, in the family of God's children, to have the ardent longings, the holier aspirations of the soul, hushed in peace by him, who can as easily calm the troubled spirit, as he stilled the raging tempest of Genesareth's waters.

Who would not hasten to the place, where holier ties than those of nature, bind heart to heart. Where the liveliest remembrances chastened with a mellow sadness, of him who died for us, are brought to mind so vividly, that our hearts begin to kindle, and glow, and burn with love to him to whom we owe our all. Where we are fed with food prepared on that hearth-stone, such as Jesus Christ alone can prepare and give. Who would not hasten thither as often as the sacred table is set, and as often as the Master affectionately invites: "Do this in remembrance of me."

The Lord's Supper is not a mere human, but a divine institution, for it was instituted by Christ himself. The apostle Paul informs us, that though he was not among the apostles at the original institution of the Lord's Supper, he had received what he knew of it, and what he was about to communicate to them by a special revelation from Jesus Christ. 1 Cor. 11: 23; "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it and said, take, eat: this is my body which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, this cup is the New Testament in my blood: this do as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me."

Viewed then merely as an institution of the Savior, independent of its symbolic significance and its hallowed influences, the Lord's Supper is worthy of our highest regard and our due observance.

The time and circumstances under which it was instituted, however, stamp upon it additional value, and impress it with a peculiar sacredness. It was in the night in which he was betrayed. The last and most memorable act in the circle of his disciples. The betrayer is in consultation to deliver him into the hands of his enemies. The bloody sweat and the fearful death by crucifixion are in full view—ere another sun shall set, he must bear the weight of the guilt of countless millions—yet with the consciousness of all this, he loses sight of himself, and all the agonies which he is about to endure. Wholly absorbed with the one great master passion of his soul, the happiness and welfare of his disciples and of the world, he institutes this royal feast in commemoration of his infinite love, a love stronger than that of life, and superior to the fear of the most ignominious and cruel death, in order that the great cardinal doctrine of his religion, salvation

through his atonement, might not only be kept constantly in view, but also really offered to the children of men.

And can we esteem this ordinance, instituted under such solemn and affecting circumstances, lightly? Can we transgress this dying command of our blessed Savior, without self-reproach, and without incurring guilt? How fondly do our affections cling to the dying expressions of our friends, and how sacredly do we attend to their last requests; bold must be that heart, dead to all these tender sympathies of our nature, that can view with indifference the command:—"Do this in remembrance of me."

The Lord's Supper was not, however, designed to be only a commemorating, but also a communicating ordinance.

If, in this ordinance, external symbols are merely placed before us, to aid the mind, to quicken the memory, and to affect the heart through the medium of the sense, then it would serve the purpose equally as well to have them placed before us, merely to look at them.

When a dying friend leaves me something to keep him in remembrance, my remembrance of him becomes vivid, when I take these precious tokens from their casket, and behold them. But when Jesus Christ places these appropriate and significant emblems before us, he says, take and eat, take and drink, evidently implying that we are to receive and partake of something.

This idea is suggested and supported by the name with which this ordinance is designated. It is called a supper, and with emphasis, "the Lord's Supper."—1 Cor. 11: 20. Now at a special supper, to which guests are invited, great preparations are made, not only to excite expectations, to create a longing appetite, and then to mock the guests by withholding from them the provisions placed before them. No, they are to eat and drink, to partake of the preparations made. So also in the Lord's Supper, Christ crucified is not only set forth, but imparted and received.

The preparations made are generally in accordance with the rank, wealth and liberality of the person who gives the supper. When a prince or king, it will be a princely or royal feast. But here Jesus Christ makes a supper for his friends, and he does nothing mean. He gives as he alone can give, he gives like a king, yet like a God, not according to what we are worthy to receive, but what is worthy of him to give.

Here then is a royal feast. Simple are the emblems, but mysterious the hidden efficacy which lies, not indeed in the

bread and wine, but which is connected with the participation of the ordinance, and is derived from its divine author. And should professors of religion lightly esteem this ordinance, in which Christ offers and imparts himself, with all the blessings of his salvation? Should they refuse to accept his kind and gracious invitation, and either neglect it altogether, or partake of it but seldom? Have we no wants to be supplied? no hunger to satisfy? no thirst to assuage? no sorrow to be alleviated? no sin to be forgiven? no faith to be strengthened? no love to be inflamed? no hope to be animated?

O! we stand in need of so much. We have so many wants—and yet how many neglect the table so richly laden with all that is needful for us. Again and again has the invitation been extended to us: “Come, for all things are now ready,” and shall we grieve the Savior, and rob our souls of all the offered mercies, with the reply, “I pray thee have me excused.” Why do we find so many weak and sickly among us, and many that sleep?—1 Cor. 11: 30.

One reason, no doubt, is, because many neglect this holy ordinance, and consequently receive not its strengthening and healthful influence, so necessary to the maintenance and strengthening of spiritual life in the soul.

Another reason is, because some approach the table of the Lord in a careless, thoughtless, irreverent manner, without the necessary, self-examination, and consequently without a feeling sense of their sinfulness, or of their wants, and without an ardent desire after the blessings Christ designs to bestow.

And finally, because they view it merely as a historical representation and acknowledgment of a fact, and not as a sacramental representation and offer of the body and blood of Christ as an atonement (sin offering) for our guilt. Of such the apostle says, “they eat and drink unworthily, not discerning (because they do not discern) the Lord’s body.”

If I therefore approach the Lord’s table, without a feeling sense of my need, without desiring anything of the Lord, without an upright and ardent desire after that grace and mercy which he has purchased for me, and which he desires to impart and to renew at his table. Without a desire to delight and feast my soul in him, it will be of but little advantage to me. I rob this sacred ordinance of its intrinsic worth and great importance for my soul.

No! no! my friends, at his holy table Jesus reveals himself to his own, in a special, most intimate manner. He gives himself with all he is and all he has.

Who then, would deprive himself of all these blessings set forth and offered, either through an entire neglect of this sacred ordinance, or by venturing to approach without a careful self-examination. With a cold and unfeeling heart, without a sense of his wants, without being penetrated with the believing consciousness that Jesus can and will give him all his soul needs? Who would approach thus, and render himself guilty of the body and blood of Christ?

There is a sacred and hallowed influence thrown around every communion season, which cannot be accounted for, unless upon the ground of a special presence of the Lord.

Whence is it, that whenever the table of the Lord is spread, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is administered, a peculiar solemnity, an almost fearful stillness pervades the whole assembly? The feelings of all seem to be chastened and hallowed as by some invisible, divine influence, and the hearts of all penetrated with a reverential awe, which the presence of God only can inspire.

Even those who do not partake of the ordinance, if their hearts are not entirely dead to every virtuous and holy sensibility, if they are not past feeling, feel as they never do at an ordinary service of God's house. A kind of fear lays hold of them, as though they felt the place was consecrated afresh, and baptized with a holy baptism.

And with what feelings are those who cluster around the table, penetrated? How unworthy do they feel themselves! What a reverential awe lays hold of them. Behold! a holy tremor seizes them, as though the Almighty, concealed in some burning bush, were about to reveal himself as he did to Moses. There tears of penitence flow. There winged sighs fly to the throne of all grace.

Whence all this? How can we account for it? There is nothing new, nothing unusual about to take place. They have, from their earliest years, witnessed communion seasons. For upwards of eighteen centuries it has been a standing ordinance in the church of Jesus. It is not surrounded with dark, mystic, fear and awe-inspiring ceremonies. Everything is plain and simple. The emblems employed are not strange and unusual, we behold them in every day life. In the consecration of these elements, no enchanting incantations are employed. Whence then this awe and reverence, these hallowed feelings, those sighs, those tears? Must there not be more in this ordinance, than many are willing to admit? Can we account for all this, without admitting a special, incompre-

hensible nearness and manifestation of the Deity? And if the celebration of this ordinance exerts such an influence upon those who are only witnesses, and upon the communicants ere they approach the table, what a hallowed influence must not the participation have, and what blessings must not the true disciples of the Lord receive!

There they are often constrained to exclaim, "surely the Lord is in this place: and I knew it not." "How dreadful is this place: this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven."—Gen. 28 : 16, 17.

There we, as it were, touch the hem of his garment, and feel the efficacy of the virtue that flows out of him.

But how can those who profess to be the followers of Jesus, absent themselves so frequently, and refuse to meet him who presents himself to them, clothed in all the richness and freeness of his grace, and thus grieve and insult the Savior, rob themselves of its blessings, give the world occasion to mock, and be a stumbling-block to sincere but weak christians.

That it is the duty of professing christians to partake of the Lord's Supper, is apparent from what has already been advanced. But we have the express command of the Savior himself: "This do in remembrance of me." Can any command be more clear, more positive, more reasonable than this? It is not a matter which is left to our choice, whether we esteem it right and necessary or not. "Do this" is his express injunction. It is as authoritative as any other command the Savior ever gave.

And this we are to do, not once or twice in our whole life, nor yet once a year, but often, as often, at least, as the table of the Lord is set before us, in the congregation of which we are members. The command is, "Do this as *oft* as ye do it in remembrance of me. For as *often* as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come."

It was designed to be a standing ordinance of the church to the end of time. Not merely for the apostles and their times, but for the church in all future ages, and shall and will be celebrated until the Lord shall come.

But why do so many professing christians commune so seldom? What reasons can they assign? Some do not pretend to assign any reason whatever. They are careless and indifferent, not only in regard to the Lord's Supper, but in regard to the high and momentous interests of their immortal souls. They care nought for Jesus and for what he has suffered for them, nor for what he is willing to bestow. They have united

themselves with the church by the most solemn vows, and yet possess not one trait of christian character. Such either were vile hypocrites, or have since stifled the convictions, and counteracted and banished the serious impressions then made upon their hearts.

Some have never, or but once or twice partaken of the Lord's Supper since they attached themselves to the church. O, what a burning shame! What a reproach they bring upon the church! What a daring insult to the Savior! How shall such abide the judgment of the great day? How answer for their awful guilt? O! ye careless, thoughtless, dead formal christians, reflect seriously upon your conduct, and your perilous condition. O, be concerned about the things that make for your peace. Seek forgiveness and mercy; then you will no longer slight the table of the Lord. It will be a place dear to your soul. With an ardent desire will you long after its rich, glorious, and soul-satisfying provisions, and hail with gladness the gracious invitation, "Do this in remembrance of me."

If the inquiry be made of some members of the church, why they absent themselves from the table of the Lord, they reply, I cannot go as long as so many go, whose lives correspond not with their profession. We admit and lament that this is the case. But, we ask, will the conduct of others exculpate you for your neglect of it? You might as well say, I will not go to the house of God, because so many ungodly persons go. See to it that your heart is right in the sight of God—that you have the appropriate dispositions, feelings and desires, and the attendance of others will not harm you.

Another replies, my neighbor and I are at variance, therefore I cannot go. To such an one the Savior gives the necessary direction: "Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way: first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift."—Matt. 5: 23, 24.

The excuse of another is, "I am not prepared to approach and partake of so holy an ordinance." This is the language of two entirely different classes of persons. With the one class it serves merely as a convenient plausible excuse, to satisfy their own consciences, and to palliate their conduct before others. They are careless and indifferent about the salvation of their souls. This excuse they have made for years, and yet with this professed conviction, they continue

in their sins, estranged from God. They resist all the influences of the truth and Spirit of God, sin against light and knowledge, and perhaps live in the direct violation of the moral precepts of the gospel, in the indulgence of gross improprieties. That such are not prepared to partake of the Lord's Supper, admits of no doubt whatever. They would be guilty of the body and blood of Christ, do themselves, the church, and the world, great injury. But whose fault is it, that they are not prepared, but their own? Their excuse proclaims their guilt. They make one sin the occasion for committing another. Such an excuse will not justify their conduct before men, much less before the righteous Judge of the universe.

If such persons go to the Lord's table they sin, and if they do not go they commit sin, for they transgress a positive command of the Lord. Some one may inquire, what am I to do? according to your view of the case, I may do as I may, if I go I sin, and if I stay away I sin. It is even so, and you cannot gainsay it. There is but one course which can help you out of this dilemma; and that is, to learn to know and feel your guilt, penitently to confess and resolutely to forsake your sin, and to turn to the Lord, who will have mercy, and to our God, who will abundantly pardon. Seek to become a new creature in Christ Jesus. Then you can approach the table of the Lord without committing sin, and then you will not incur the guilt of transgressing a positive injunction of the Savior, by staying away; for you will be constrained, by a sense of your need, by the ardent longings of your heart, and by the love of Jesus, to partake of the rich provision of the master's table, not only now and then, but whenever an opportunity is presented.

The other class, from whom we hear the excuse, "I am not prepared, not worthy to appear at the Lord's table:" consists partly of awakened, penitent, seeking souls, and partly of weak, fearful, and desponding christians. They have such a thorough, self-pervading sense of their own nothingness, of the sacredness of the ordinance, and the richness of its provisions, that they fear lest it might be presumption in them to venture to approach.

But for such it is specially designed, and peculiarly appropriate. To such the Savior specially draws nigh. For such it is written, "To this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word."—*Isa.* 66:2. Such are most affectionately invited to come to

Jesus: "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest; take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light."—Matt. 11: 28, 30. And again, "He giveth grace to the humble."—1 Pet. 5: 5.

If our approach to the Lord's table depended upon any merit or worthiness in us, none would dare to come. And if any presume to come, decked in his own fancied righteousness, the Savior will address to him the cutting reproof:—"Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment?"—Matt. 22: 12.

We are to come, not with a feeling of worthiness, but under the conviction of our utter unworthiness of so great a privilege, so great an honor, so great goodness.

Hence we are to examine ourselves, that we may learn to know and feel our need, and come deeply humbled and penitent, on account of our sins and unfaithfulness; and yet with an ardent desire after mercy, and a filial confidence in the mercy of God in Jesus Christ. Thus we may come, and though unworthy, we shall not be unwelcome at the Savior's table.

ARTICLE VI.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Signs of the Times: Letters to Ernst Moritz Arndt on the Dangers to Religious Liberty in the present state of the World. By Christian Charles Josias Bunsen, D. D., D. C. L., D. Ph. Translated from the German by Susanna Winkworth, author of "The Life of Niebuhr," &c. New York: Harper & Brothers, 329 to 335, Pearl St.—1856.

THE chevalier Bunsen is well known in the learned and literary world, in which he has achieved a great and most honorable distinction. In the present work he communicates to the public, in a series of letters addressed to Professor Arndt, his views concerning the religious state and prospects of the world, but more particularly of Germany. The book bears unmistakably the impress of its parentage: like all the author's productions, it is written with great ability, and proves him the possessor of great stores of learning. He opens the great discussion with which

his pages are occupied, with the following statement: "When on my return to my German fatherland, in the summer of last year, I began to compare what I saw there in traversing its various districts, with the result of similar observations and studies during my fourteen years' residence in England, two phenomena immediately arrested my attention as universal and significant characteristics of the age. *I refer to the spontaneous and powerful development of the spirit of association, and the evident increase of the power of the clergy or hierarchy.* I had long since fixed my eye on both these facts, and endeavored to understand their workings, particularly in England." p. 28 sq.

These leading alleged facts form the warp into which he weaves his observations and speculations, his reasonings, deductions and reflections. A great deal of historical matter of deep interest, connected with the christianization of Germany through that strenuous papist, Boniface, and others, is presented with a view to exhibit the unsoundness or baselessness of the pretensions of the papal hierarchy to universal ecclesiastical, as well as political dominion, both in Germany and elsewhere. As regards Bunsen's views respecting the arrogant assumptions and daring encroachments, and the graspingly ambitious ulterior designs of papal Rome and all its prelatical minions, we find nothing to which we could take exception. It is well, probably, for the world, that the Romish church has, of late years, time and again, so palpably and glaringly shown, that she is not a whit changed from what she was in those piping times, when she burned heretics by hecatombs: it is well that she has recently, in repeated instances, thrust forth, both in Europe and in this country, her cloven foot from under her scarlet mantle, so that a book like the one before us, abounding in startling statements derived from recent history, could be written to warn protestant nations and communities against the wiley schemes and the unscrupulous measures of the hierarchy of Rome, the bitteest enemy on earth of human rights, of the mind, the conscience and the happiness of man. We hope that our author's facts, and the sound reasonings and profitable reflections based upon them, will be attentively considered, candidly weighed, and judiciously improved, both in our republic and in foreign lands, where Jesuits and Romish priests are indefatigably at work in sapping every institution, connected with human freedom and national welfare. With the author's opinions and general reflections upon religious toleration we agree in the main: he occupies, on the whole, the same position, in this respect, that every consistent citizen of our free States must occupy:—there is here much acute and sound reasoning, much profound and elaborate discussion and apt illustration, which will be profitable both here and abroad. Yet even here we must enter our protest against the extreme into which the author runs in respect of the general principle which he so forcibly advocates: we think every considerate and practi-

cal American will agree with us, when we characterize some of the following positions as extravagant: "We preach toleration; what a contradiction if we should be intolerant! No, we will be tolerant toward the intolerant, and intolerant only toward intolerance. Motives of personal ill-will have, thank God, always lain far enough from either of us." Very well thus far. But he proceeds: "Indeed we are not concerned with the ever-changing actors in the scene, *nor yet with the religious and political convictions or systems which now divide the world. We recognize them all as Christian, and as having a right to be there, in so far as they obtain credence. Nay, on the domain of theology, we are ready to concede to the theologians who wish it, that according to their system, they are in the right:*" Truly, this is preaching tolerance with a wamion.

But as a Lutheran, we have further to protest, most solemnly, against the one-sided opinions which the author expresses, and the partial statements which he makes, with reference to the relative positions sustained by the Lutherrn and by the Reformed church toward the general principle which he discusses, and against the unjust aspersions which he casts upon the Lutheran church. Be it that, in evil hours of days gone by, the Lutheran church did, *where she was a State-church*, allow herself to be betrayed into acts of persecution against those who differed from her doctrinal system: be it that, even recently, she has again, in sundry places of Germany, after having herself been oppressed, persecuted and afflicted with disabilities, exhibited a spirit of intolerance toward those who, to say the least, had done much to try her charity and weary her patience: admitting these things, how extremely unjust is it in a man as thoroughly read in history as Bunsen, not only utterly to ignore the same sort of action and spirit, when manifested by the Reformed church, but actually to claim, in the most unequivocal language, that the Reformed church has ever been perfectly free from all these offensive demonstrations of spirit and practice. The skill with which he manipulates and sugars over the notorious affair of Servetus, is simply amusing. But surely he must have read certain sections of history with one eye closed, if he does not know, that the Reformed church has, at sundry times and places, persecuted Lutherans and others. The Reformed church of England has at all times persecuted dissenters, and does so now, in the disabilities which she inflicts upon them: in the same way, the Reformed church of Holland persecuted Lutherans in the earlier days of her Reformation, and not a very great while ago: that same Reformed church persecuted Lutherans most scandalously in the city of New York, in the palmy days of Dutch rule on Manhattan island; and what else has the introduction of the Union in Prussia been, than a coercive movement on the part of a king whose sympathies were all with the Reformed, in behalf of the Reformed church? Did not the measures adopted by the government for the purpose of *forcing* the Union

upon a nation of which the vast majority was Lutheran, run into the most disgraceful and oppressive persecutions? Those who need evidence on this subject, will find it in Guericke's church history. We would not have adverted to these things, had not Bunsen, to whom the Prussian Union is the beau ideal of religious tolerance, treated the Lutheran church with such glaring injustice as regards this matter. We know very well, that two wrongs can never make one right; and if the Lutheran church has, in the unfortunate position into which the politico-ecclesiastical arrangements of Germany have brought her, betrayed, at any time, an intolerant spirit, we are quite willing that she should be lectured for her misdemeanors; but we do insist that the lecturer should, with even-handed justice, deal out his rebukes and blows to his own favorite church, when she has been guilty of the same offences. Among other rash assertions of Bunsen, we find on page 231, where he speaks of the defects of education in the United States, the following: "The once famous Columbia College is in decay." This assertion, which could proceed only from downright ignorance, is, in view of the actual state of the case, positively ludicrous. Columbia College has, for a number of yeas past, had larger classes than ever before, and at no previous period of her history has she exhibited such vitality and vigor, and enjoyed such prosperity, as at the present.

Having thus corrected some of the author's mistakes, and entered our protest against his partiality and injustice in one particular, we are free to say, that his book is, in general, written in a candid spirit, that it is rich in valuable information, in sound argument, in momentous truths, and in important warnings and admonitions. It is well adapted to open the eyes of many who are supinely slumbering in the midst of danger, and to do much good in countries and communities whose political, civil, social and religious rights, privileges and interests are bound up in the maintenance of the protestant faith.

The old Regime and the Revolution. By Alexis de Tocqueville, of the Académie Française, author of "Democracy in America." Translated by John Bonner. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square.—1856.

To those who have read the first work that made M. de Tocqueville very generally known in this country, the volume before us will need no other recommendation than his name. Both works afford abundant evidence, that he studies nations with a most sagacious inspection of their respective characters, with a keen and nice discrimination of their distinctive peculiarities, and with a comprehensive view of their points of resemblance and contrast in their natural and political constitutions, their social, civil, and religious institutions. The work named above is

not a history of the Revolution. His object has been to examine, in the grave to which the revolution consigned it, the France that is gone, and to show how greatly, even in spite of its strenuous efforts to efface every lineament, modern France still resembles it. He has endeavored to grope into the heart of the old regime, which the revolution strove to abrogate entirely : he has subjected its principles of state policy, of civil and social organization with all its institutions, its habits of thought, feeling and action, to a searching and minute examination, to show, at the same time, to how great an extent these have survived the agony and the death-throes of the revolution, and are still found existing in the state of modern France. Every intelligent and reflecting reader will at once perceive with what a truly philosophic eye he scans these national and political elements, and with what acute and cautious judgment he draws his deductions from the extensive and accurate observations and inquiries which he thus carries into the very vitals of the subject he has undertaken to dissect. He shows, in a distinct and instructive chapter, how irreligion became a general ruling passion among Frenchmen in the eighteenth century, and what influence it exercised over the character of the revolution, in which connexion he refers to the firm conviction held by the American mind, "that civilized society, especially if it be free, cannot exist without religion."

Although not a large work, it is the fruit of great labor. The chapters are short; and yet, more than one short chapter cost the author over a year's work. Of course, the style is terse and concise: there is no needless verbiage: elaborate discussions, acute reflections, profound deductions, strikingly just generalizations, march along before the reader's eye like compact battalions, encumbered by no useless trumpery, ready for action. It is a thoughtful and wise book, and thinking and wise men will read it with deep interest and substantial profit, while to the general reader it offers many attractions and much valuable instruction.

Human Physiology, Statical and Dynamical: or, The Condition and Course of the Life of Man. By John William Draper, M. D., LL. D., Professor of Chemistry and Physiology in the University of New York. Illustrated with nearly 300 Wood Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers—1856.

BETTER judges than we can pretend to be, have pronounced most favorably upon the merits of this work. It comes before the public with very modest pretensions, by no means claiming to be a complete treatise on physiology. It announces itself as the "Text of the Lectures on Physiology which the author has given for many years at the University," published at the repeated solicitation of his pupils, and primarily, of course, for their benefit. Having been prepared directly for the instruc-

tion of medical students, the work is distinguished by a very natural arrangement and close analysis of the several subjects, and a lucid method of treating and illustrating them. The first book is devoted to statical physiology, commencing with the general conditions of life, and treating successively of food, digestion, and all the other animal functions and the organs by which they are performed, under distinct sections discussing each subject very elaborately, under a great variety of subdivisions. The second book treats, under appropriate heads, of dynamical physiology, exhibiting the course of life under its various aspects, agencies, processes and phenomena. The whole is copiously and most admirably illustrated by means of engravings obtained by the aid of microscopic photography, this being, we believe, the first work in which this beautiful process has been extensively employed for the purpose of illustration. As the author printed this book chiefly for the sake of aiding in the removal of the mysticism which has pervaded the science, it will not only commend itself to every sound understanding, but be all the more intelligible to those who seek for solid and correct instruction. Every opportunity has been improved to direct the reader's attention to those arguments which the subject offers for elucidating the moral nature of man, and, while much valuable information is communicated in this connexion, the claims of religion are duly honored and enforced. The seventh chapter of the second book, treating "of the influences of physical agents on the aspect and form of man, and on his intellectual faculties," will, by its facts and reasonings, have a tendency to counteract the absurd and mischievous opinions which have, for years past, been brought into circulation respecting the unity of the human race. Divested, so far as practicable, of the learned verbiage intelligible only to professional men, the work has special claims to the attention of general readers, whom it is well calculated to instruct upon subjects which ought to interest every human being, and which man is seriously concerned to know and understand. This quality renders it an excellent book for general circulation, whilst the rigidly scientific method of treating its great and important subjects, commends it to the favorable attention and careful study of those to whom physiology has a professional value and importance.

The Kingdom which shall not be destroyed: An Exposition of Prophecy. By Rev. J. Oswald, A.M. York, Pa. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

THIS is a very readable and entertaining volume, on a most thrilling subject. The exposition is based, principally, upon the seventh chapter of Daniel. The topics are, when, where and how is the kingdom which shall not be destroyed, to be established? The time, the author places in this latter half of the present century. Its locality is the earth, its king is Christ, and its subjects are christians of all times. The first

thousand years of it are the Millenium. The personal reign of Christ is advocated, and the return of the Jews denied. All probation is to cease at the beginning of Messiah's reign, at which time the righteous dead are to rise, but the wicked are still to be trodden under foot a thousand years. The book is written in a chaste and lucid style, and deserves a place in every Lutheran library.

The Last Times: An Earnest Discussion of Momentous Themes. By J. A. Seiss, A. M., Author of "Lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews," "Baptist System Examined," and Pastor of the Lombard Str. Lutheran Church, Baltimore, Md. Baltimore: T. N. Kurtz.

THIS volume, written in a clear and vigorous style, is a valuable addition to the increasing amount of our Lutheran literature. The following positions are assumed and cleverly argued: The author maintains that the Scriptures, when properly interpreted, plainly reveal the speedy coming of Christ, to judge the world, subdue his enemies, and establish his Millennial reign. He holds that Jesus will reign in person on this earth, after the resurrection of the righteous, a thousand years before "the rest of the dead shall rise," and that he shall continue thus to rule forever; that the Judgment has already commenced, that the Jews are to return to the promised land, and that the time for these things is now very near at hand. He has fortified these positions by arguments drawn from the prophets, the fathers, the theologians of the Reformation, and by citations from numerous authors of the present day. The book has been read with much interest and pleasure, and with the forcible conviction that there is too much truth in the points advanced, to reject them without due investigation. No reader can fail to receive salutary impressions from a perusal of the work.

The Church of Christ in its Idea, Attributes, and Ministry. With a Particular Reference to the Controversy on the Subject between Romanists and Protestants. By Edward Arthur Litton, M. A., Perpetual Curate of Stockton Heath, Cheshire, and Late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. First American Edition, revised by the Author. Philadelphia: Smith & English, 36 N. 6 Str.

A capital work, learned, thorough, and in an excellent spirit. Without endorsing everything, we cordially recommend it.

Smith and English have published a new edition of Bishop M'Ilvaine's *Evidences of Christianity*. Tenth thousand, revised and improved by the Author, with the addition of a preface by Olinthus Gregory, D. D., LL. D. A well known and excellent treatise.

Long's Classical Atlas, published by Blanchard & Lea, 1856, Philadelphia.

THIS beautiful and exceedingly valuable Atlas contains, by the American editor, a sketch of ancient geography and other additions. It is both cheap and useful.

Lindsay and Blakiston have published recently, another work from the prolific pen of Dr. Cummings, entitled *Last of the Patriarchs*, or lessons chiefly from the life of Joseph. It has the well known characteristics of its popular author, and is adapted to do good.

The Inner Life of the Christian. By Rev. Frederick A. Rauch, D. P. First President of Marshall College, and Author of "Psychology, or, a View of the Human Soul." Edited by Rev. E. V. Gerhart, President of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston—1856.

President Rauch was a fine scholar, a polished man, and, judging from these discourses, an earnest christian. The discourses are, by no means, commonplace. They are philosophical, with an occasional streak of poetry—always practical. For those who can appreciate them they will be useful.

Harper's Magazine has commenced (December) its annual round with an attractive face, and we believe it will continue to be popular.

The Peace of the Church. By Rev. J. Ulrich, A. M. Gettysburg: Printed by H. C. Neinstedt—1856.

This discourse, delivered at the opening of the West Pennsylvania Synod, at its recent meeting in Chambersburg, and published by a resolution of the Synod, is a faithful exposition of the duty of the church at present. The author has well presented the truth in the subject discussed, and we cannot but believe that his counsels will be salutary. Let this sermon be read and pondered. "Blessed," said Jesus, "are the peace makers."

Former Days, and these Days: A Discourse delivered in the First English Ev. Lutheran Church, Pittsburg, Pa. on Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 20, 1856. By C. P. Krauth. Printed by W. S. Haven, Corner of Market and Second Streets, Pittsburg—1856.

Published by the congregation. Well conceived and well executed.

The third number of Herzog has just appeared as we leave the press. Dr. Herzog approves the plan and execution of the American Translation.

Annals of the American Pulpit: or Commemorative Notices of distinguished American Clergymen of various denominations, from the earliest Settlement of the Country to the close of the year eighteen hundred and fifty-five. With Historical Introductions. By William B. Sprague, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.—1857.

THE first two volumes of Dr. Sprague's great work have, at length, been issued from the press, and it is with no ordinary pleasure that we welcome their appearance. The author has been engaged in the preparation of the work for the last ten years, and if the volumes that follow are at all equal in their execution to those now before us, we may well congratulate him upon the successful accomplishment of his task. Much was expected, but we are confident that those expectations have been more than met. It is a production of great interest and value, and will be regarded by all who become acquainted with its merits, as a most important contribution to the literature of our country. When completed, the work will embrace six large octavo volumes, containing sketches of prominent deceased clergymen, connected with the leading denominations of the land, who are worthy to live in the future, and whose memory it is the duty of the church to preserve from oblivion.

We are not only delighted with the conception of the work, but we regard its execution as admirable, and worthy of the high reputation which its gifted author enjoys. Throughout we discover evidences of the indefatigable industry, delicate taste, graceful style and excellent spirit, which characterize all the productions of his pen. In the preparation of the material, a patience was required which few possess, and an amount of labor which would have appalled ordinary men. Dr. Sprague was well qualified for the undertaking. A man of enlarged views and liberal spirit, extensively and favorably known in the christian community, of kind feeling and christian love, we know no one so competent as he for the task. By this effort he has rendered the church a most valuable and permanent service, and he deserves, as he will undoubtedly receive, the sincere gratitude of all christian denominations. We are sure he has reared a memorial more lasting than brass, which will transmit his name to future generations and distant ages, and perpetuate his usefulness, when he is sleeping in the grave.

With great cordiality we commend the work to our readers, as a comprehensive library of religious biography. It should find a place, in all our public libraries, and no clergyman's collection should be considered complete without a copy. A careful examination of the work will satisfy any one, of its claims upon public favor, and we earnestly desire that it may meet with a circulation corresponding to its merits.

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THE EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

NO. XXXII.

APRIL, 1857.

ARTICLE I.

DR. SCHMUCKER'S LUTHERAN SYMBOLS.

American Lutheranism vindicated; or, examination of the Lutheran Symbols, on certain disputed topics: including a reply to the "Plea" of Rev. W. J. Mann. By S. S. Schmucker, D. D., Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary of the General Synod at Gettysburg, Pa. Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz, 151 West Pratt Street. —1856.

THE attempt to introduce a new confession of faith into the Lutheran church of the United States, has already been noticed in this journal, in various ways. The author of the work to which we are now about to direct attention, has displayed great literary, as well as personal activity in this effort. From the appearance of his "Popular Theology" [in 1830], to the book now before us, all his publications bearing upon the Lutheran church, have had this tendency, either directly or indirectly. The whole of this, however, culminated and took its most distinct and proper form in the "*Definite Platform*," which, although endorsed by others, was properly his work, both in design and execution. The opposition with which the "*Platform*" met, not only from our theologians, but from the great mass of the church, being everywhere promptly rejected and condemned, except by a few Western Synods, and a few of our Eastern ministers, trained under peculiar influences; this almost unanimous opposition to the "*Platform*," we say, necessitated not only reiterated apologies and defences of the Platform, by its authors and advocates,

but even a very considerable modification of the Platform itself. The Platform, as originally prepared, not only contemplated, but almost in so many words, proposed a division of the Lutheran church. Professing to be written in the spirit and in the interest of the General Synod of the Lutheran church, and to be only a legitimate and consistent application of its principles, "constructed in accordance with the principles of the General Synod," says the title, ("perfectly consistent with the doctrinal test of the General Synod"—Preface to Def. Plat. p. 2,) or rather, the proper explanation and application of them (Platform p. 4), it was here proposed (by resolution III) to ostracise all who would not unconditionally receive the Platform, and its interpretations and misrepresentations of the Augsburg Confession and other symbols of the church; in a word, to divide the General Synod, by refusing fellowship to a certain part of its members. So prompt and decided was the rejection of this feature of the Platform, by the great mass of the church, lay as well as clerical, wherever it was understood, that the leaders in this movement found it necessary to disavow the project, and it was declared that this was not the design, or the proper sense of the article, and that it was only intended that ministers should receive all the doctrines set forth in the altered confession, but that their adherence to the unaltered Augsburg Confession, should be no bar to synodical fellowship! And yet one of the prominent reasons urged for adopting the Platform was, that the Lutheran church was rendered odious by being represented as holding certain doctrines of the Augsburg Confession, and other symbolical books, and that they wished to have no connection with so called "Old Lutherans."*

To meet this, a revised edition of the Platform was soon published, with some verbal alterations and notes, which only rendered its inconsistencies the more glaring. Thus, for example, whilst it is said in the last paragraph of the "Preface" that "Part II of this Definite Synodical Platform, is not a part of the pledge, or doctrinal basis, to be individually subscribed," &c., the preceding paragraph tells us that, "any District Synod connected with the General Synod, may, with perfect consistency, adopt this Platform, *if the majority of her members approve of the Synodical disclaimer contained in part II,*" showing very clearly that the second part is essential to the whole plan. The clause which we have itali-

* See Essays of Dr. Sprecher, and others, in the late "Ev. Lutheran."

cised, is also added to the revised edition, as the absurdity of expecting a District Synod which received the Augsburg Confession entire, to adopt the Platform, was palpable.

But as all this was not sufficient, in the work before us we have not only another defense of the Platform, but a third edition, and a new metamorphosis of the "Definite Platform," which thus, after all, appears to be very indefinite, and to need more alterations than the old Augsburg Confession and the other "*former Symbolical Books*," so much decried by this Chameleon-like document. Here, in an Appendix, we have a "Definite Platform, being the doctrinal basis or creed — — constructed in accordance with the principles of the General Synod." To say nothing of the new Preface, which is, however, a very different thing from both its predecessors, we only observe that all traces of the ostracising and excising process, so zealously and definitely urged in the two editions preceding, are here carefully removed—part second is omitted bodily—and the whole is razed down to a simple avowal of belief in certain articles, altered and unaltered, of the Augsburg Confession, together with the presentation of some motives for this alteration of the long established faith of the church.

We cheerfully admit that this is some improvement, so far as regards, not only the style and language of the article, though these are not yet rendered, by any means, faultless, but still more the matter, of which the less we have the better. And, in view of these facts, we should think that few will regard the omens of permanence in this new confession, as by any means promising.

But our main object at this time is, briefly to examine the new reasons here urged in defense of this somewhat fluctuating Platform, which seems to have been called "*definite*," upon the principle of the Roman etymologist, who says that "*lucus*" is derived "*a non lucendo*."

We should be utterly inexcusable, if we were here to indulge in any personalities. The author is so complimentary to his principal opponent, so greatly deprecates the failure of "*both parties*" heretofore conducting "this discussion, to exhibit christian comity, and abstain from personalities," that we should be very dull scholars indeed, if we did not profit by his example, as well as by his warnings. Men are indeed responsible for their personal acts, to all who are affected by them, and those occupying public stations, are always liable to be called to an account by their constituents, and those

whom their actions affect. But we have nothing of this kind now in view, and speak simply of the book before us, and of other literary productions and public documents connected therewith, involving great principles, affecting the faith and order of the church, as well as our relations to the same in the past, the present and the future.

Our author admits the importance, and even the necessity of a creed, calls the Augsburg Confession "venerable," but reiterates the assertion of the Platform, that it contains many very serious errors, and calls upon the Lutheran church to correct these errors, and reform its creed. These are very serious charges, and involve most momentous consequences, and before we act upon them, we owe it to ourselves, to the good name of our church, and to her usefulness and position in the world, to ascertain how far they are well grounded, whether our creed does really contain the errors alleged, or is open to the objections urged. We must, therefore, carefully examine our author's statements, both in order to ascertain how far he is a reliable witness, and to understand the nature of the errors thus charged upon this fundamental Confession, not only of Lutheranism, but of Protestantism itself. We cannot, of course, follow him into all his details, but we can give various specimens, which will both show the nature of his argument, and satisfy every impartial mind how little dependance is to be placed upon any of his reasonings. We shall show that he fails in a correct statement of simple matters of fact, which would be sufficient to invalidate reasonings far more lucid and logical than any which are presented by him.

We might join issue with him, in regard to his preliminary matter, especially the statement upon page nine, where it is said that, "This principle" (of doctrinal indifference) "pervades the Constitution of the General Synod and of her Seminary." The Constitution of that Seminary is very specific in its acknowledgement of the authority of the Augsburg Confession, and of *both* the Catechisms of Luther. (See Res. I, of Statutes of the General Synod, and Art. III, Sect. 2, of the "Constitution of the Seminary," where the Professor is required to declare his belief, that the Augsburg Confession and Catechisms of Luther are a summary and just exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the word of God.") But we pass on to topics more immediately connected with the Augsburg Confession itself.

Our author begins his attack upon the Augsburg Confession by stating (p. 22) that, although Luther "approved the

Augsburg Confession, as drawn up by Melanchthon, he told him that he had yielded too much to the Papists." This charge he endeavors to establish, in his *third chapter*, where he undertakes to show the great "disadvantages under which the Augsburg Confession was prepared," in setting forth which, he labors with a zeal worthy of a Maimbourg or a Bossuet. Our most learned and most acute historians, such men as Mosheim and Merle d'Aubigne, have seen the hand of God in the Reformation, not only in its great movements, and in the gradual preparation of the world for that grand event, but even in its minute details, and especially in the selection of such instruments as Luther and Melanchthon, and in their mutual adaptation to each other. But our author can see nothing of all this—he can only deplore the weakness, not to say the wickedness and treachery of Melanchthon! We used to regard it as a special interposition of divine providence, that Luther's harshness was tempered by Melanchthon's mildness; yea, even Luther himself, seems to have felt something of this kind;* but now we are told that it was thus that the Reformation was arrested and betrayed!

The evidence mainly relied upon to establish the fact that Melanchthon had made improper concessions to the Romanists, and that Luther was, on that account, greatly dissatisfied, both with him and with the Augsburg Confession, is contained in a letter of Luther's, written from Coburg on the 29th of June, 1530, and so, four days after the delivery of the Confession. No one will doubt that, in order to convey a correct impression of this letter, the first, and most important step is, *to quote it correctly*. This, we are sorry to say, our author has entirely failed to do. How far this is his fault, and how far he has been misled by his authorities, we are unable to determine. But certainly, when he was making so serious a charge, not only against Melanchthon, but against the whole Lutheran church, which has adopted this Confession, and for centuries regarded it as one of the most powerful bulwarks that was ever erected against Romanism, it might reasonably

* So we understand his letter of the 15th of May, where, in reply to the inquiry of the Elector of Saxony, as to his opinion of the first draft of the Confession, as prepared by Melanchthon, he says: "Most illustrious prince! I have carefully read (über lesen) M, Philip's Apology: it pleases me exceedingly, and I do not know that I could improve it in any way, or change it—nor would it besecm me: for I cannot move so mildly and quietly. May Christ our Lord aid, that it may bring forth much fruit, as we hope and pray—Amen."

be required of him that he should examine the original of this letter, and not rely, in a matter of such vital importance, upon *garbled extracts from a translation*. Instead of examining the *original* of this letter, which is so accessible in De Wette's collection of Luther's letters (Vol. 4, No. 1236, pp. 51—54), he seems to have relied upon a second hand citation of a *translation* which professes to be taken from the Leipsic edition of Luther's Works, B. XX, p. 185. But in this professed quotation there are two most serious defects; first, the connection is destroyed by *the omission of a whole sentence* which is material to the full understanding of the passage; and secondly, only a part of the last sentence is given. Accordingly, Dr. Schmucker's citation reads thus: "Your Apology I have received, and wonder what you mean when you desire to know what and how much may be yielded to the papists. As far as I am concerned, too much has already been yielded to them in the Apology." But the original runs thus: "I have received your Apology, and wonder what you mean, when you ask, what and how much may be yielded to the papists? *As regards the Elector*, it is a different question as to what he may yield, if danger impends over him. *But as for me*, more than enough has been conceded in that Apology, *which if they refuse, I see nothing more that I can yield*, unless I shall have seen their arguments and citations of scripture clearer than I have hitherto seen them. I spend day and night in reflecting upon this subject, and examining it in every direction, carefully searching all the scriptures, and my assurance in our doctrine constantly increases, and I am more and more confirmed in it, so that (by the will of God) I will now permit nothing more to be taken from me, let the result be what it may."* Now who does not see that Luther here intends merely to say that, *as far as he is personally concerned*, the Confession (which is here called an "Apology") has made all the concessions that are to be thought of, more, perhaps, than he would have been willing to make, if

* "Accessi Apologiam vestram, et miror quid velis, ubi petis, quid et quantum sit cedendum pontificibus. De Principe est alia questio, quid illi concedendum sit, si huic periculum impendeat. Pro mea persona plus satis cessum est in ista Apologia, quam si recusent, nihil video quid amplius cedere possim, nisi videro eorum rationes et scripturas clariores, quam hactenus vidi. Ego dies et noctes in ista causa versor, cogitans, volvens, disputans, et totam Scripturam lustrans, et augescit mihi assidue ipsa *πληροφορία* in ista doctrina nostra, et confirmor magis ac magis, *Daß ich mir, ob Gott will, nu nichts mehr werd nehmen lassen, es gehe drüber wie ihm welle.*"—De Wette L. B. 4, p. 52.

he had stood alone. But he knew himself, and the impetuosity of his own feelings, and was therefore glad to have this document drawn up by his cautious friend, as we have seen above. Moreover, he did not wish to be a dictator in this matter, or in anything else that concerned this mighty work of the Reformation. This is a charge that has often been made by Romanists, and other enemies of the gospel. But this very letter affords an ample refutation of this aspersion. In a passage which almost immediately follows the one just cited, he says: "I dislike it in your letter, when you write that you" (the Evangelical party in whose name Melanchthon drew up the Confession) "have followed *my* authority in this matter: I am unwilling to be called your leader (*Autor*), although that might be satisfactorily explained; but I object to this term. *If it is not, at the same time, and equally your cause, I am unwilling that it should be called mine, and be spoken of as if imposed upon you.* I will manage it myself, if it belongs to me alone." Hence it is manifest that Luther had no intention of making the Augsburg Confession conform at all points to his own personal feelings and views, and he would not, therefore, object to it that it made concessions which he, in the heat of controversy, would have been unwilling to make. He wished it to be the confession of the church, of the whole body of protestants, and not of himself merely as an individual. This is still clearer from a *Postscript* which he adds to this same letter, and which is absolutely necessary to the understanding of the passage cited by our author, who, however, seems unconscious of the existence of such an elucidation of the point at which he was laboring. We give it entire: "After my letter was closed, the thought occurred, that you might perhaps think that I had not replied to your question, how much and how far we should yield to our opponents: but you also have not inquired or indicated what demands are likely to be made upon us. *I, as I have always written, am prepared to yield everything to them, if only they will but leave the gospel free to us. But that which is opposed to the gospel, I cannot yield. What else can I answer?*"*

Here we find Luther checking and correcting himself, as if fearful that he had been too hasty in seeming to charge Melanchthon with a disposition to make improper concessions. And, in fact, Melanchthon had merely inquired what they

* Ubi supra p. 54.

could do in this direction; that is to say, whether it was possible for them to make any kind of a compromise with the church of Rome. He did not say that he believed that they ought to do so, or that anything of the kind was possible, but simply asked Luther's opinion in the premises, so that he might be prepared for any movement which the opposite party might make.

But it is said that "the various charges made by Melanchthon, between the 15th of May and 25th of June," had led Luther to express his dissatisfaction with the Augsburg Confession, as finally adopted by the protestant party, and presented to the Diet. On the contrary, we know that Luther most cordially approved of that confession, and rejoiced in it as one of the most glorious triumphs which the gospel had ever achieved. Thus we find him, on the 3d of July, four days after the date of the letter so confidently cited as condemnatory of the confession, thus distinctly expressing himself to Melanchthon: "*I have to-day read over the whole of your Apology, and it pleases me greatly.*"* And on the 5th he writes with evident satisfaction to Nicholas Hausmann, in regard to the delivery of the Augsburg Confession, among other things, "One bishop is reported to have said, 'this is the pure truth, we cannot deny it.' And on the next day he writes to Cordatus, 'I have a copy of that confession and rejoice exceedingly to have lived to this hour, in which Christ was publicly preached by these, his own most illustrious confessors, in so great a public assembly, and in a confession undoubtedly most glorious (*plane pulcherrima*).'" Luther was too candid, ever to bestow such an eulogy upon a document with which he was dissatisfied, or which he was disposed to denounce as "yielding too much to the Romanists." But he goes on to add to this strong language: "Thus is it fulfilled, '*I will speak of thy testimonies before kings,*' and that also shall be fulfilled, '*I was not confounded.*' Because, '*Whoso confesseth me before men,*' saith He who cannot lie, 'him will I also confess before my Father who is in heaven.'"

On the following day (July 6) he writes to the Elector Albert, the archbishop of Mainz: "Your Grace has, doubtless, as well as others, read and understood the Confession presented by our friends, and I am bold to say that they have expressed themselves in such a way, that they can joyfully say with Christ their king . . . It does not shun the light, but

* Briefe IV. p. 68.

can sing with Psalm 119: '*I speak of thy testimonies before kings*' our opponents can find no fault with our doctrines, and *we, by this Confession, clearly testify and prove, that we have not taught anything wrong or false.*'* What else does Luther here do, but make the Confession his own, and declare his full conviction of the truth of all its doctrines? This too, we take it, is very nearly equivalent to a formal subscription of the Confession.

In the same spirit he writes to the Elector of Saxony, on the 9th of July (just two weeks after the delivery of the confession, and when he had had ample time for considering it in all its aspects): "Our opponents suppose that they have gained an important point, by having had preaching prohibited by his Imperial Majesty's command. But these poor people do not perceive that by the answer of our written confession, more preaching has been done, than any ten preachers could have uttered. . . . Verily, Christ is not silent at the diet; and however they may rave, they must hear more from the confession than they could have heard in a year from preaching."†

Finally, on the 15th of July, he writes in the same vein to Spalatin, Melanchthon, Justus Jonas and Agricola, when urging them to leave the Diet and return home: "More has been done than was hoped: you have '*rendered unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are Gods*;' to the Emperor perfect obedience, by attending the Diet at so great expense, labor and trouble; to God the chosen sacrifice of a Confession which shall force its way into all the courts of kings and princes, rule in the midst of its enemies, and go forth with its sound into all the earth, so that those who will not hear are inexcusable. . . . May Christ thus confess us as you have confessed him, and glorify those who glorify him: Amen."‡

At a still later date, Luther expressed himself as follows: "So great is the power of the word of God, that the more it is persecuted, the more it flourishes. Consider the Diet of Augsburg, which is the final triumph before the last day . . . There *our doctrine* so came forward into the light, by means of our Confession, that in a very short time it was sent to all kings, by the command of the Emperor himself. At those

* Briefe IV. p. 72-75.

† Ib. 61-65.

‡ See this and all the other letters of Luther under the date given, in De Wette's "Briefe Luthers."

courts were gathered many of the brightest intellects, and they received this doctrine like tinder, by which a conflagration was then kindled in every direction. Thus our Confession and Apology were published with the greatest glory, whilst their confutation rots in darkness.

Augustae statibus fidei Confessio cunctis
Exposita est; Christi gloria laeta redit."

[At Augsburg was explain'd to all the realm
Our faith's Confession; thus returns Christ's glory.]

Again he writes to the people of Frankfort on the Mayn: "The glorious Confession and Apology are now published to all the world, first confessed and proclaimed at Augsburg before the emperor and highest orders of the Roman empire. In this the papists (although exceedingly hostile to us) can charge us with no fanatical articles. We have not been mum, or guilty of any jugglery, but there stand our clear, free words, without any subterfuge or evasion."*

The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible, that Luther was most fully and thoroughly satisfied with the form which the Augsburg Confession finally took, and in which it was presented to the Diet, and that if he ever did feel any difficulty in regard to it (of which there is no satisfactory evidence), this was entirely removed by his subsequent and mature reflection.

It is, however, alleged that "Luther and his coadjutors, subsequently, still further changed their views on some subjects in that Confession, such as the Mass,"† and that it was the specific object of the Smalkald Articles, which were prepared by Luther, to express these new and clearer views, and thus, as it were, supersede the Augsburg Confession. Such, we are told, were the views of the Elector of Saxony, by whose order Luther drew up the Smalkald Articles. How utterly destitute of all foundation this statement is, is shown by the fact that, at this very time, all the preachers who attended the convention at Smalkald, where these Articles were presented and adopted, at the same time, reaffirmed and subscribed the Augsburg Confession, as follows: "By the command of the most illustrious princes, and orders, and cities, professing the doctrines of the gospel, we have read over the articles of the Confession, exhibited to the Emperor at the Diet of Augsburg, and by the blessing of God, all the preach-

* Coelestin II. 168.

† Luth. Symbols, pp. 56, 57.

ers who are present at this convention of Smalkald, unanimously declare that they believe and teach, in their churches, in accordance with the articles of the Confession and Apology. . . . And they therefore subscribe their names." This declaration, thus signed by Melanchthon and over thirty of the leading theologians, directly contradicts the assertion that "no pledge to the Augsburg Confession, or to any other symbol, was required of the ministers of the church during Luther's lifetime" (p. 22), in regard to which we have also the additional and explicit testimony of Melanchthon, that this regulation of requiring subscription to the Augsburg Confession, had been introduced at Wittenberg by the advice of Luther, as early as the year 1532 (almost coeval with the publication of the Confession), and continued until the time at which he wrote (1553). So he tells us, in reply to Osiander, who at that time objected, as our author now does, to such a subscription of the Augsburg Confession. "This is not a recent pledge, devised by us," says Melanchthon, "but was established by our Faculty, over twenty years ago, that is to say, by Luther, Jonas, and Pomeranus, the pastor of our church."* In view of such facts, we are at a loss to understand what our author means by asserting the contrary—are we to understand that he has overlooked this appendage to the Smalkald Articles, and has never seen Melanchthon's positive statement?

But this subscription to the Augsburg Confession at Smalkald, in 1537, has a bearing still more important. It refutes most conclusively the charge of opposition between these two Confessions, and that the latter was designed to supersede the former, for all the leading theologians of the day signed both documents, which they could not have done, if they intended the one to abrogate the other. It is true that Luther's name is not here subscribed to the Augsburg Confession, but for this Carpzov, who wrote in the century following the delivery of the Confession, gives the following sufficient reasons. "Luther did not subscribe, not only because no one doubted of his fidelity, and *inasmuch as this subscription had been undertaken at his suggestion, and by his advice*; but also because he was at that time very sick," unable in fact to leave his bed. Of course, there can be no doubt that Luther was willing himself to do that which he recommended for others.

* See Harless "*Votum über die adliche Verpf.*" p. 7.

† Isagoge in *Libros Symbolicos* p. 933.

It is, moreover, to be borne in mind, that this Convention had express directions, "to read over the Augsburg Confession, from beginning to end, and if they found in it anything differing from the sacred Scriptures, and that doctrine which they set forth in the churches and schools committed to their care, *they should change and correct it.*" Whence it is evident that if either Luther or any one else had regarded the Augsburg Confession as containing any error, he here had a fair opportunity of pointing it out and having it corrected. So too, if there had been any idea of a discrepancy between this and the articles just prepared, it would have been very easy to make the one conform to the other. But although we have very full accounts of all the proceedings at Smalkald, we have not the slightest intimation of anything of this kind.

But it is curious to find this question of the agreement or difference of the Augsburg Confession and Smalkald Articles, again revived in our day, three hundred years after it had been so definitely settled by the Lutheran church, and by all her soundest theologians. The incorporation of both these documents into the Form of Concord, is sufficient evidence of the assurance of the great body of the Lutheran church, as to the entire agreement of these two Confessions. But the fact is, that Lutherans never seem to have had any doubt upon this subject: it was only the enemies of the church, Romanists, Zwinglians or Calvinists, who suggested difficulties. And to all these objections, the defenders of the church replied with the greatest promptness and decision. Thus Calov, in his Introduction to the Symbolical Books,* gives the state of the controversy as follows: "*Do the Smalkald Articles derogate from the authority of the Augsburg Confession?*" which he answers in the negative, giving as his authority, "the Preface to these Articles," which, says he, "shows that the Smalkald Articles explain the Augsburg—so also the history of the Augsburg Confession." In like manner he gives a negative answer to the question, "*Are the Smalkald Articles diametrically opposed to the Augsburg Confession, and do they contain doctrines plainly contrary thereto?*" He also answers in the same way, the question, "*whether the article on the Mass, as here set forth by Luther, is inconsistent with the twenty-fourth article of the Augsburg Confession?*" But surely it never occurred to this profound theologian, whilst thus answering the cavils of Romanists and other opponents, of his day, that these identical objections to

* Pp. 774, 830, etc.

the confessions of the church would, *three hundred years afterwards*, be brought forward by men bearing the name of Lutherans!

It is worthy of notice, that whilst the "Platform" and its defense, which we are now considering, both maintain in broad and general terms, that "Luther and his coadjutors still further changed their views *on some subjects* in that Confession," they do not make the slightest effort to prove this in reference to anything, except "the mass." The reason of this doubtless is, that they could not find the shadow of evidence in regard to any other point. It was also only by degrees that they could make up their minds to take their present position in regard to the mass. The "Platform" does not directly charge upon the Augsburg Confession, "*the approval of the Romish doctrine of the Mass,*" but only "*of the ceremonies of the Mass,*" and those who charged this upon the Platform, were at first represented as slandering that document by such a statement of its position. But the book before us comes out more boldly, and devotes its longest chapter (V. pp. 63 to 96) to the argument of this point. Here also, the author at first approaches his subject very charily, denies that the "Platform" charges the Confession with anything more than an "approval of the *ceremonies* of the Mass," but finally comes to the conclusion, that the Augsburg Confession uses the term "Mass," in what he calls "its specific sense" (p. 91) which he defines (p. 70) as "that long ceremonial, including the consecration of *the elements, elevation of the host, and self-communion of the priest, as an offering of the body of Christ a sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead, which preceded the distribution of the sacrament to the people.*" This ceremony, it is asserted, the Augsburg Confession approves and proposes to retain! And yet, in the very same breath, our author is compelled to confess that "*what the Romanists considered as the essential doctrine of the mass, viz: its being a sacrifice of Christ, offered by the priest, and its being offered by him for others than himself, either living or dead, and its being performed at any other time, or for any other purpose than as a preparative for sacramental communion, the Confession rejects!*" This doctrine, it is admitted, the Confession rejects, "*but the outward rite*" it professes to retain. And yet, in the premises by which he endeavors to establish this conclusion, our author himself tells us (p. 71) that Luther, in his "method for conducting christian mass," published in 1523, and serv-

ing as the model for public service in the Protestant church, until the delivery of the Augsburg Confession," *rejected such portions of the Romish mass as he thought wrong;*" how then could the confessors at Augsburg say that they approved of this ceremony, and retained it?

But the sophistry of this self-contradictory argument, is most clearly exhibited by the first three sentences of the very article of the Confession here assailed. We there read:—"Our churches are falsely accused of abolishing the mass. For the mass is retained among us, and is celebrated with the greatest reverence. Nearly all the usual ceremonies are also retained."* Here a clear distinction is made between the *Mass* and its *ceremonies*, and whilst it is positively asserted that the *mass* itself is retained, it is admitted that its *ceremonies* were somewhat changed. This is exactly the opposite of the position taken by our author, who maintains that the ceremonies were retained, whilst the substance or doctrine of the mass was rejected. Of course, they speak of the scriptural, not the Romish mass.

The great point aimed at by our author, is to establish a distinction between the terms "Mass" and "Eucharist," or "Lord's Supper," and to prove that the term "Mass" in the Augsburg Confession, designates the Romish ceremony, and not the Protestant sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This we shall first refute out of the Augsburg Confession itself, and then glance at his other authorities.

It is said (p. 83) that "Melanchthon, in translating the Latin original into German, always renders the Latin term for mass (*missa*) by the German term *messe* (mass); whereas, if he had used the Latin term in its more general sense, in Art. XXIV, he would, at least sometimes, have translated it Eucharist or Lord's Supper. But so far as we have examined the word mass (*messe*) is always employed in this article, where the German is a translation of the Latin." It is to be regretted that our author did not examine this subject more carefully than he here professes to have done, as he could not, in that event, have failed to perceive that Melanchthon, or his translator, has here done the very thing which he himself admits would have shown that the terms "Mass" and "Lord's Supper," "Eucharist," or "Sacrament," are synonymous or convertible terms. Thus in the fifth paragraph of this Art. XXIV., the Latin reads: "*Quare missa instituta*

* My translation is made from the Latin text.

est," (wherefore *the mass* was instituted) whilst the German is, "So ist das heilige Sacrament eingesetzt" (*the Holy Sacrament* was instituted). And a little further on, it is said in the Latin, "Est igitur ad hoc facienda missa,"* which the German renders, "Derhalben fordert dies Sacrament Glauben." Now it is well known that neither Luther nor Melancthon made two sacraments, one of the Mass, and the other of the Lord's Supper. Neither of them would, therefore, have thought of calling a mere ceremony a sacrament, so that it is evident that no other sacrament than that of the Lord's Supper, can here be meant. The terms "Mass" and "Sacrament," or the Lord's Supper are, therefore, evidently convertible terms.

But still more plainly we are told in the following paragraph that the Mass is nothing else than the "*Communion*," by which term we also designate the Lord's Supper.

"Inasmuch now as the Mass is not a sacrifice for others, living or dead, for the taking away of their sins, but is to be a *communion* in which the priest and others receive the sacrament for themselves: this custom is observed by us, that our holidays, as also at other times, if communicants are present, mass is held, and *those who desire it commune*."† Observe how positively and diametrically this is opposed to our author's statements: *he* says that the Mass was that ceremony which preceded the communion; *the Confession* says that the mass is the communion, and that if no communicants are present, there is no mass. But the Latin text puts the case still more strongly. - In this, the seventh paragraph of the article upon the Mass, commences with the sentence: "But Christ commands us to *do it in remembrance of him*" (Luke 22: 19), which are, of course, the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper, and being applied to the Mass, show that it was regarded as the same thing.

This view is abundantly confirmed by the Apology, which is, of course, the very highest authority for the determination of the meaning of the Confession. Having been written at the same time, and by the same person, words are undoubtedly used in the same sense. A few instances will here suffice. The Latin text of the seventh paragraph of the chapter "*On the Mass*," here says: "For we have shown in our Confession that the Lord's Supper (*Coena Domini*) does not con-

* Müller's Symb. Buecher, p. 53

† See the German text of the Confession as above.

fer grace *ex opere operato*." But here the contemporaneous German translation renders the phrase "*Coena Domini*," "*das Abendmahl oder die Messe*" (Lord's Supper or Mass). Again (p. 222 of Müller's Ed.) we have this passage in the German text: "And we have no great objection to any one's applying this to the ceremonies of the Mass, if he do not say that the mere ceremony reconciles to God *ex opere operato*. For as we call preaching a sacrifice of praise, so the ceremony of the *Lord's Supper* may be a sacrifice of praise." And a little further on, in the same paragraph (on p. 256) the phrase *Coena Domini* (Lord's Supper) is again translated, "*Messe oder Abendmahl*" (Mass or Lord's Supper).

There are at least a half dozen other places in which the Apology either speaks of the Mass and the Lord's Supper as equivalent to each other, or gives the phrase "Mass or Lord's Supper" as the translation of the Latin "*Coena Domini*" (Lord's Supper); but we can only refer to the places in which they are found in Müller's edition of the Symbolicall Books: the first and the last paragraphs on page 257; last paragraph on page 259; page 263, next to last paragraph; page 264, 71, 72. On page 269, 94, 95, occurs the passage, "but we object to the performance of the *Lord's Supper* for the dead," instead of the usual phrase "*Mass for the dead*." In a word, we might almost think that the Apology had been careful to translate the phrase "*Coena Domini*," "*Mass or Lord's Supper*," in order to nullify our author's criticism about "*and*" and "*or*" (pp. 83 and 84), and to fulfil his demand that "if he had used the Latin term in its more general sense in Art. XXIV, *he would at least sometimes have translated it eucharist or Lord's Supper*" (see p. 83).

These passages, we think, prove beyond all doubt that the Augsburg Confession, and its legitimate and authorized exposition, the Apology, regard the terms Mass, Lord's Supper, Sacrament and Eucharist, as synonymous, and that there is no foundation whatever for our author's argument to the contrary.

Much less is there any ground for believing that this Article favors what we now properly designate as "the Romish Mass." On the contrary, *it is the design of this twenty-fourth article to protest against this very doctrine*, and this is the reason why we have here a second article on the Lord's Supper. Every tyro in church history and theology, ought to know that the Augsburg Confession is divided into two parts, the first of which is positive, giving a plain statement

of the doctrines which they believe, and the second negative, and setting forth the corruptions and abuses of both doctrine and practice which they reject. Hence various subjects are taken up twice. Thus we have two articles (XI and XXV) with the same title, "*of Confession*;" two (VII and VIII) "*of the Church*;" three with titles and matter very little differing; XIV, "*of church government*;" XV, "*of church ordinances*," and XXVIII, "*of church power*." So that there is nothing peculiar in the fact that we here find the same number of articles relating to the Lord's Supper, namely, the Tenth, on "*the Lord's Supper*;" the Twenty-second, on "*both kinds in the Sacrament*," and the Twenty-fourth, on "*The Mass*," where it would be just as reasonable to say that "*Sacrament*" meant something different from the "*Lord's Supper*," as that "*Mass*" does. But it is the evident intention of this twenty-fourth article to point out the abuses of the Lord's Supper, practiced under this name. To remove prejudice, the protestants commence by declaring their reverence for the solemn ceremony and ordinance of the Lord's Supper or Mass, and give the assurance that they have no intention of abolishing it. But they do not deny that they had made various changes in the prevalent mode of its celebration, although they put this in the gentlest terms possible. "*Nearly all the usual ceremonies are retained*;" "*public ceremonies, for the most part similar to those in general use, are preserved*."* But they very strongly and decidedly condemn the existing practice of the church of Rome. Thus they say, "*inasmuch as the Mass has been abused in various ways—nor are the bishops ignorant of these abuses—that the Mass is regarded as an atonement for actual sins—a sacrifice for the living and the dead—and Masses are multiplied for purposes of gain*." These are some of the abuses which they endeavored to reform. But in this they maintain that they had the sanction, both of scripture and of the purer ages of the church: "*Christ*," say they, "*commands to do this in remembrance of him*" (Luke 22: 19), "*the Mass as celebrated by us, has the example of the church, as shown by scripture and the fathers*; we have only abolished unnecessary Masses and *priestmasses*" (Pfarrmessen—in which the priest alone communes). Hence it is plain that neither the ceremonies, nor the Mass here retained, are those of the corrupt church

* Latin text.

of Rome, as existing either at the time of the Reformation, or in our day; but where the church of Rome is appealed to, it is expressly declared to be the Rome of early days, not the modern Babylon.* In a word, it was the avowed object of the Reformers to free the Mass from its corruptions, and restore the celebration of the Lord's Supper to its primitive purity.

So much for the teachings of the Confession itself, on this point. Let us now show, as briefly as possible, the sense in which Luther and his cotemporaries use the term Mass in their private writings.

In 1520, ten years before the presentation of the Augsburg Confession, Luther wrote that most celebrated of all his productions—“*On the Babylonish Captivity*,” the object of which was, to show how Rome had corrupted the sacraments, which he declares that she thus held captive. Here having maintained that the cup should be restored to the laity, and refuted the idea of transubstantiation, he proceeds to show the true nature of the Lord's Supper as follows: “OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE ALTAR. In the first place, that we may attain a true and free knowledge of this sacrament, we must, above all things, be careful to separate from its primitive and simple institution, everything that has been added to it by human zeal and passion, such as robes, ornaments, hymns, prayers, music, tapers, and all that pomp of visible things. Let us, then, turn our eyes and minds to Christ's pure institution alone, placing before us nothing but the very word of Christ himself, by which he established, and perfected, and commended this sacrament to us. For in that word, and in nothing else, is contained the power, nature and whole substance of the *Mass*. All other things are human inventions, appendages to the word of God; without which the Mass can be very well celebrated, and continue to exist. But the words of Christ, in which he instituted this sacrament, are as follows: “But as they were *eating*, *Jesus took bread*,” etc. . Let it therefore stand first and infallibly, that THE MASS OR SACRAMENT OF THE ALTAR is the testament of Christ, which when dying, he left behind him, to be distributed to those who are faithful to him.”†

Here we have Luther's definition of the Mass, than which a stronger contrast to Dr. Schmucker's, or more positive con-

* See the Epilogue at the close of Art. XXI.

† *Lutheri Opera Latina* Tom. II. 9f. 279. Jenae 1557.

tradition of the sense in which he declares Luther to have used the term, could not be well given. Not only does he use the expression "*Mass or Sacrament of the Altar*," but he likewise declares that the "*ceremonies*," in which Dr. S. makes it entirely to consist, have nothing whatever to do with its essence. It is also well known that in this celebrated work ("*The Babylonish Captivity*") Luther attacks and rejects nearly all of the Romish corruptions of the Lord's Supper, including *Transubstantiation*, the Sacrifice, merit derived from it, *opus operatum*, and the like. Such were his views just ten years before the delivery of the Augsburg Confession, in which it is absurd to suppose that he would consent that anything different should be placed, as we find that instead of receding from these views, he became continually more and more decided in their maintenance.

Altogether accordant with this are the views embodied in Luther's "*Formula for Mass and Communion*," written in 1523, and in which Dr. Schmucker insists (pp. 70, 71) that a broad distinction is drawn between the two. On the contrary, we here find the strongest proof that they are identical. Thus in the first paragraph, we find this language: "For we cannot deny this, *that masses and the communion of bread and wine are a rite* divinely instituted by Christ himself, which was, at first, observed under Christ himself, and then under the apostles, most simply and piously, and without any additions;"* where they are spoken of together as one rite. And upon the same page he proceeds to say: "In this book we omit saying that the Mass is not a sacrifice or work of a sacrifice, which we have elsewhere abundantly shown. *Let us understand it as a Sacrament or testament*, or, as the Latins say, *benediction*, or the Greeks *Eucharist*, or the table of the Lord, or the *Lord's Supper*, or the memory of the Lord, or the *Communion*, or whatever pious name you please to use, only let it not be polluted with the title of a sacrifice or a work (meritorious), and let us exhibit the rite as we think it ought to be performed."† How Luther could more plainly

* *Missas et communionem panis et vini ritum esse a Christo divinitus institutum, etc.*—Luth. Op. II, 589–595.

† "Verum hoc libro dicere omittimus, missam non esse sacrificium seu opus sacrificantis, quod alias abunde docuimus. Apprehendamus eam ut sacramentum seu testamentum, seu benedictionem Latine, Eucharistiam Græce, vel mensam Domini, vel coenam Domini, vel memoriam Domini, vel communionem, vel quocumque nomine pio placet, modo sacrificii aut operis titulo non polluatur, et ritum monstremus, quo visum est nobis illa uti." Contrast this denial of the sacrificial character of

tell us that he uses the terms Mass, Sacrament, Eucharist, Lord's Supper and Communion as synonymous, we are at a loss to imagine.

But two circumstances have here created difficulty in the minds of those who are not familiar with Luther's style, which abounds in what rhetoricians call *hendiadys*, or the use of two words in the same case, where the ordinary construction would put them in different cases; the first is, that the phrase "Mass and Communion" is employed as though *two* different services were to be considered, and the other that after having spoken of the Mass in general, he considers the communion of the congregation more particularly. Now that the first objection has no weight, is shown by the fact, that in Luther's Latin works (Jena 1557) the title at the head is from beginning to end, "*Formula Missae*" (Formula for Mass) except in one instance (f. 590), where it reads "*Formula Missae seu Com.*" (Formula for Mass or Communion.) As to the division of the subject, the first part treats of the subject in general, and of the priest's duties in its administration; the second part, of the qualifications and procedure of the communicants. That the Mass here embraces the communion of the congregation, is shown by the sixth point, which is as follows: "Then let him both take the Communion himself, and administer it to the people."* So also, in the second part, when speaking of the Communion of the people (on f. 591) he employs the term "Mass," thus: "Again, when *Mass* is celebrated, those who are about to commune should stand together, apart from the rest, in one body."

It may be, also, that Luther employed the phraseology "Mass and Communion," in order to distinguish this service from the private Mass, in which the priest alone communed, which he considered as one of the abuses of the Mass, and against which he had, in the preceding year (1522), written his well known treatise, "*On the Abrogation of Private Mass.*" But even this Mass was only a perversion of the Lord's Supper, as is evident from the second part of Luther's discussion, where he speaks "*of the words of the Mass,*" which he cites from the three Evangelists, and from St. Paul (1 Cor. 11) according to the words of the institution,† in re-

the Mass with Möller's view, in his "*Symbolism,*" p. 315, where its sacrificial character is the essence of the Mass.

* Ubi supra f. 590.

† De Abroganda Missa privata. Luth. Op. Lat. II. 465—494.

gard to which he says (f. 474): "We shall now, in the second place, after our wars, show the same thing by peaceful proofs, and quietly building upon the foundation just laid, adapting our language to our object, shall treat of the Mass itself, in reliance, not as the priests of Satan do, upon our own words, but only upon those of God. Wherefore let us hear the institution of the Mass from the beginning, and the words of its institutor. But they are as follows: The first is in Matthew 26: "But as they were eating," &c. In accordance with these views, adverse to all private masses, he commences the second part of his "Formula," which might be called his "Manual for the celebration of Mass," with the following statement: "So much for the Mass and service of the minister or bishop. Now we shall speak of the ceremony of administering the communion to the people, on account of which chiefly that supper of the Lord was instituted, and is called by that name." Here he evidently means to say that the communion of the congregation was the great object for which the Mass was instituted, as is also further evident from what he immediately adds: "For as it is most absurd for a minister of the word to be so foolish as to proclaim the word where no one is present as a hearer, and to cry aloud to himself alone, amid rocks and woods, or in the vacant air, so it is most perverse if the ministers prepare the public supper of the Lord where there are no guests to eat and drink, and they who ought to minister to others, eat and drink alone, in an empty hall, and at a vacant table. Wherefore if we would truly follow the example of Christ, no private Mass should be left in the church, unless this infirmity also should be tolerated for a season." Here, again, Luther most pointedly condemns that which Dr. S. represents him as establishing, viz: a service or Mass separate and distinct from the Communion. And he does the same thing in his letter to Lazarus Spangler in 1528, where he says that "all masses at which there are no communicants, should be absolutely omitted;" that is to say, the Mass and the Communion service are the same thing, and, as a matter of course, there should be no service where there are no communicants. But if the two things were entirely distinct, as Dr. S. represents, there could have been no reason why the one should not be performed without the other. We are therefore surprised that Dr. S. does not see this manifest bearing of the several passages of this kind which he cites from Luther in his book, pp. 71—73.

Still clearer is this in regard to the passage quoted from the "Exhortation to the Sacrament," where Luther says, "I make neither the Mass nor the Sacrament a sacrifice, *but the remembrance of Christ*," where, instead of any antithesis, we find both represented as signifying the same thing, viz: "*the remembrance of Christ*."

But this fact ought to put an end to all controversy as to Luther's views of the identity of the Mass and the Lord's Supper: in 1519 he delivered a "*Sermon on the Sacrament of the Altar*,"* in which this passage occurs: "Above all things, we must most carefully remember *the words in which Christ instituted this Sacrament*, as follows: "Our Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, brake it and gave it to his disciples, saying, take eat," etc. But in his treatise "on the abrogation of private Mass,"† written two years afterwards, he quotes this same passage of scripture, in order to explain the institution of the Mass thus: "Wherefore let us hear *the words of the institution of the Mass*. But they are these: "But as they were eating, Jesus took bread," etc. Christ is thus represented as instituting both the Lord's Supper and the Mass, in the same language, at the same time and place, and that Luther regards them as identical, is as little to be doubted as that he has thus expressed himself.

How then are we to understand Luther, where in the Smalcald Articles (II) he says, "*That the Mass in the papacy is the greatest and most horrible abomination*." Plainly he means, as he also says, *the papal doctrine of the Mass*," which the Augsburg Confession also distinctly rejects, when it protests against the abuses of the Mass in the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth paragraphs of the Article upon that subject, which also contain the substance of what Luther says in the Smalcald Article.

We have already shown by our quotations from the Apology, how Melancthon used the term Mass. But the following extract from the seventeenth article of his "Synopsis," prepared at the request of Valdez, the Secretary of Charles V., as some say, for the personal satisfaction of the emperor, and bearing the date of June 18 (just a week before the delivery of the Augsburg Confession) is so plain and pointed, as almost to supersede the necessity for all further proof or illustration: "*Of the Mass*." We, in accordance with the sacred

* Opera Lat. I., 347.

† Ibid. II., 475.

scriptures, name that rite most simply the Lord's Supper, according to 1 Cor. 11, not only because those words of Paul confirm our views, but because the learning of antiquity supports us in such language, where we read that it was customary that in every church, Mass should be celebrated, in which mass the presbyter gave those who desired it, the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, to eat and to drink. . . . Some of the ancients called this rite "ἀγάπην" (the love-feast) "because this union is, as it were, a pledge of mutual love among the pious, and because formerly loaves of bread, and similar things, were brought for distribution to the poor. Finally, we celebrate Masses, not that they may be empty, vain and ridiculous spectacles, but that in such meetings the sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ may be administered and distributed according to his direction and command." Here also we have another article (the sixth) "On the use of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ," where, after having stated the nature and design of the sacrament, he adds: "This use is manifestly changed and perverted in the Papal Mass and Canon."*

So also the following "judgment of Philip Melanchthon, written at Augsburg in the month of July 1530," and contained in the second volume of Coelestin's History, p. 278, is so clear as scarcely to require a word of comment. "Only five views," says he, "can be entertained in regard to *the Mass*. . . . The first view is, that *the Lord's Supper* is a feast established among christians. . . . The second is not very different from this, namely, that the Supper was instituted as a mark of their profession, whereby christians may be distinguished from others. . . . The third view is that of Luther, which I also regard as most accordant with the truth, that the Supper was instituted, not that we might there offer the body of Christ, but that something may be offered to us, that is to say, that it may be a sacrament," &c.

Here we find Melanchthon using the terms Mass and Lord's Supper as perfect equivalents for each other, and there is not a syllable to be found in any of his writings of this period, that does not show that he regarded the Mass and the Communion as inseparable.

As to the Lord's Supper and the Mass being separately mentioned by Melanchthon, it is no evidence of diversity in the two things, any more than the separate mention of the

* Coelestin I. 93—101.

Lord's Supper and the two kinds in the Lord's Supper; they are only different aspects of the same subject. It was agreed upon all sides, that the Lord's Supper was to be observed, but what was the nature of the Lord's Supper, whether bread and wine should both be distributed to the communicants, when and where, and with what ceremonies this rite should be performed, were all different questions. It was to the last of these, namely, how the Lord's Supper should be dispensed, that the discussions under the head of the Mass related.—The Romanists maintained that it was enough for the priest alone to take the Eucharist; that he might administer it to himself, either in public or in private; and that an atonement was thus made for sin, and grace conferred upon any one to whom the priest chose to apply it. The Protestants, on the contrary, insisted that the Mass should always be public, and that it must be participated in by others besides the priest—that it was a communion of the members of the church with each other, as well as with Christ, and that for the priest alone to participate in it, was utterly subversive of its design, and inconsistent with its nature. Thus there were three great questions to be answered in regard to the Lord's Supper:—First, what is its nature? Secondly, is it to be administered to the laity in both kinds, that is to say, with the two elements of bread and wine? And thirdly, is it proper for the priest to celebrate it in private, and to confine its participation to himself alone? This last was the great question discussed under the head of the Mass, in regard to the ceremonies of which, the Protestants were but little concerned. The great point with them was, shall we allow the Lord's Supper to be entirely taken away from the people, or shall we insist upon the public nature of this service, as a communion of the whole congregation of the faithful? This, and questions growing out of this, were the points discussed under the title of the Mass. By the invention of transubstantiation, the cup had been taken away from the people, and by another application of the same doctrine, namely, that the priest, by receiving the elements thus changed into the body and blood of Christ, offered a sacrifice and made an atonement for the sins of the living and the dead, they were preparing to take away the other element also.

Hence Melancthon employs the language so inaccurately translated, and so irrelevantly quoted by Dr. S. on page 78 of the book before us, which should read as follows: "That *the Mass* is not a work which, applied to others, can merit

for them grace *ex opere operato*, but *the Lord's Supper* is, as the whole church confesses, a sacrament through which grace is offered to the recipient, and which the recipient does not attain *ex opere operato*, but through faith, if he believes that grace and the remission of sins are there offered to him."* Here "Mass" and "Lord's Supper" are evidently the same thing, the contrast lying not in these terms, but in "merit" and "grace," "works" and "faith."

In short, the Augsburg Confession and Apology, Luther and Melanchthon, in the Smalkald Articles, and in their other writings, use the term "Mass" just as all other writers of that period do. What that usage was, is sufficiently set forth by George Major, who, in a work written in 1557, and sanctioned by a preface from Melanchthon, thus expresses himself: "The Mass is the office in which the minister administers and dispenses the sacrament to others. . . . That such a distribution is the Mass, the institution itself testifies. . . . In Basil's time the Mass was nothing else than the communion." Or if we wish the highest authority in the theology of the Lutheran church, we may take that of Gerhard: "The Latin writers everywhere repeat these Greek appellations, calling the Holy Supper Eucharist. . . . They call it also the sacrament of the altar. They employ, moreover, the term Mass. The true Mass is that sacred office of divine worship in which the Eucharist is consecrated and distributed."

That this usage is not peculiar to Lutheran writers, is well known. Bucer, Calvin, Turretin, the great Reformers of the church of England, as well as of the continent, all employ the term Mass in the same way, as synonymous with the Lord's Supper. So well established is this fact, that Dr. Hook, one of the most recent English writers, in his "Church Dictionary" thus defines the Mass: "*The Mass*, from signifying the church service in general, came at length to signify the *communion service* in particular, and so that that most emphatically came to be called *Mass*."

In view of all these facts, we must be allowed to express our surprise that our author has been willing to risk, we will not say the peace of the church, but even his theological reputation, in so desperate an attempt as that of contradicting all christian antiquity, and all the theology of the Reformation, in regard to the use of the term Mass. We can readily

* See the original in Coelestin II. 68.

understand how an English or an American divine might fall into such a mistake, but how one trained in the Lutheran church, familiar with its church usages, and having as household words, its great theological names, Chemnitz, Hutter, Gerhard, Carpzov, Calov, Quenstedt and Buddeus, should so mistake facts, and be led into a position so utterly untenable, we are at a loss to conceive. But certainly it does seem to us almost too absurd for argument, that this doctrine of the Romish Mass should have been in the Augsburg Confession, and yet neither Luther nor Melanchthon, nor any of the mighty host of Lutheran divines who have adorned the annals, and sustained the honor of the church for more than three centuries, have known anything about it. For our part, we shall certainly remain content to believe with them that there is nothing either of the Romish Mass or of its ceremonies, in this most glorious symbol of our church.

Having found our author so unsafe and unsatisfactory a guide in regard to the main point which he labors to establish, it is scarcely worth while to go into a minute examination of his other positions. In regard to these we have much to say, for there is scarcely a single position which he assumes, that is not radically unsound, or that does not do gross and glaring injustice, either to the person, the doctrine, or the church (Lutheran) which he assails. But a few brief illustrations of our meaning must suffice.

Of this injustice, perhaps no one has more reason to complain (but he is fortunately beyond the "*rabies theologorum*" from which he so earnestly prayed to be delivered) than "the great schoolmaster of Germany," the bosom friend of Luther, the gentle Melanchthon. Assailed with the fiercest invectives during his lifetime, and even after his death, for making so many concessions to the Reformed, or extreme Protestant party, he is here denounced for having sacrificed the Reformation to the Romanists. He is represented as having made such concessions, and so altered the Augsburg Confession, that Luther was deeply dissatisfied, not to say disgusted with him. But no representations could be more groundless—of which this is sufficient proof—During all this time he was in constant correspondence with Luther, consulted him at every step, and enjoyed his unabated confidence, both then and throughout his life; in proof of which, we might cite scores, if not hundreds of Luther's letters. But we shall content ourselves with a single citation. After all these rumors of concessions, weakness, treachery and the like, on the part of

Melanchthon, Luther thus writes to him on the 11th of September, 1530: "Grace and peace in the Lord. It seems to me an age since you last wrote to me that the conference was at an end. . . . I begin to grow sick with the long delay of your return. . . . But, what I had almost forgotten, I beg you, my dear Philip, *not to trouble yourself with the judgments of those who either say or write that you have yielded too much to the Papists.* For some of our friends must needs be weak, whose ways and weakness you should endure, unless you would despise Paul, according to Rom. 15: 1.* So much for those who seek to embroil Luther and Melanchthon. All such attempts were fruitless during their lifetime, and now that they have rested together for nearly three centuries, we do not think that even the ashes, and much less the blessed spirits of those noble martyrs, will be disturbed.

In regard to private Confession and Absolution, the representations of the book before us are more reasonable, and less destitute of foundation. But even here, great injustice is done to the Confession, and positions of a most dangerous character are taken. First, no adequate idea of private confession, as approved by the Augsburg Confession, is given, inasmuch as attention is not directed to the fact that it was designed for enlightening the ignorant and consoling the disturbed and anxious conscience, as is sufficiently set forth in the Confession and Apology, but more particularly explained in Luther's "Brief Admonition to Confession," commonly given as an appendix to the Larger Catechism.

Secondly, its *voluntary* character, though admitted, is not properly considered. That this puts it in its true position of pastoral care and conversation with individuals, in regard to their spiritual condition, is evident. What faithful minister does not desire to converse with his people in regard to the state of their souls, to awaken the careless, to reclaim backsliders, and to give the consolations and assurance of the gospel to the weak and humble, though doubting believer? Who will say that the minister, the pastor shall not converse privately with any one, and especially with the members of his flock who feel the burden of sin upon their souls, and who dare say that he shall not announce the certainty of God's

* De Wette Luther's Briefe, IV. 162. We must here also express our surprise at Dr. Schmucker's translation of a passage in Melanchthon's letter to Campegius, p. 52, where he renders "*reverenter colimus*," we reverently pledge obedience," instead of "we sincerely respect." Here also he appears to be misled by a German translation.

forgiveness to the penitent and believing? But this is all that is included in Private Confession and Absolution.

Thirdly, the fact is not considered that the *forms* of Confession and Absolution are a matter of church discipline, and may, therefore, according to Lutheran principles, be changed and regulated according to circumstances.

Fourthly, the impression is conveyed that the minister here professes to forgive sin in his own name, or by his own power (see pp. 104—106), than which nothing could be more unjust, alike to the letter and to the spirit of the church and her Confessions. The Reformation itself started with the contradiction of this error. The fifth and sixth propositions in Luther's memorable "*Ninety-five Theses*," which were the first blast of the trumpet of the Reformation, declare:— 5. "*The Pope neither wishes nor is able to remit any punishment of sin, except that which he has imposed of his own pleasure and that of the canons.*" 6. "*The Pope cannot remit any sin, except declaratively, and by expressing his approbation of God's remission of the same.*"* Of course, if the Pope cannot forgive sin personally, or by his own power, much less can the priest or minister. So Sylvester Prierias understood the matter when, in opposition to these propositions of Luther, he said: "Not only the Pope, but every priest remits sins officially and ministerially."† Such a doctrine, the worst form of the *opus operatum*, would have been utterly subversive of the great doctrine of Justification by faith alone, and it is utterly out of the question to suppose that any part of the Confession can favor it. Nor do the quotations from the "Form of Confession" convey such an idea. When the minister there asks, "believest thou that my forgiveness is God's forgiveness?" he simply means to say, "do you believe that the forgiveness which I offer is God's forgiveness," the person confessing being taught to request the minister not to "forgive his sins," but to "*announce to him*" the divine forgiveness. At the same time are we free to say, that we object to this form of Confession (which is no part of our Confession of faith), as unsuitable to the present state of christian society and life, and moreover, liable to be misunderstood.

Fifthly, the position taken (pp. 103—106) *that the forgiveness of sin is not to be announced to individuals*, or that the

* Luther Opera Latina I, fol. II, b.

† Ibid. fol. XVII.

penitent and believing are not to be assured of the free and full pardon of their sins, is utterly subversive of the gospel, and of the ministerial office. For what is the gospel but the announcement of grace, the favor of God, and the forgiveness of sins through our Lord Jesus Christ? And of what value is the gospel to a penitent soul, if the minister cannot assure it in answer to its anxious inquiry, 'What must I do to be saved?' that faith in Christ is the pledge of its salvation? And it is a most startling announcement, *that no individual is to be assured of his salvation, that not "even the inspired apostles, in a single instance, undertook to announce the pardon of sin to any individual personally!"* How then are we to understand Peter's first sermon in Acts 2: 38, where, in answer to the question, "Men and brethren what shall we do?" he replies, "Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." Did he not thus assure *every one* whom he baptized, individually, of the remission of his sins? And so when Philip baptized the eunuch (Acts 8: 38), he undoubtedly gave him the same individual and personal assurance, when he baptized him for the remission of his sins. Such a system robs the ministry of its richest consolations, and consigns souls mourning under the burthen of sin, to the most wretched uncertainty. But we only call public attention to this new doctrine, not proposing to examine it any further at this time.

Not the least unreasonable part of this unreasonable assault upon the Augsburg Confession, and this elaborate fault-finding with it, is that which relates to the so called "Christian Sabbath," or divine institution of the Lord's Day. For, in the first place, the Augsburg Confession does not professedly discuss this subject, does not make an article of faith of it, one way or the other, and should not, therefore, be held responsible for the opinions of its adherents, in regard to it.—Reference is only made incidentally to the subject, under the twenty-eighth article, which relates to "Ecclesiastical Power." The greater part of the article is directed against traditions, and it is only incidentally stated, in regard to the Sabbath, that the Bishops have no power to change the Decalogue, to transfer the Sabbath from one day to another, or to burthen the conscience with their ceremonial arrangements.—But when it is said "that the ordinance concerning Sunday instead of the Sabbath, was not enacted as necessary, and that the ob-

servance of neither the Sabbath nor any other day is necessary," it is to be understood as previously expressed, that it is not "necessary to salvation," that is, that the observance of Sunday is not a meritorious work, or one that secures salvation. It is, therefore, a very serious misrepresentation, when Dr. Schmucker says (p. 117) that the Augsburg Confession teaches "(b) that those who suppose that the ordinance concerning Sunday instead of Sabbath, is enacted as necessary, are greatly mistaken," for it teaches just the contrary, declaring in so many words that the appointment of a particular day for divine service "*is necessary*." Nor is it involved in anything stated in the Confession, that the substitution of Sunday for the Sabbath, was not of *apostolic origin*. When it is said that "the christian church appointed Sunday," the reference is naturally to the apostolic church, which the confessors undoubtedly regarded as guided by the apostles, and as receiving especial communications of the will of God and the mind of Christ, through them. It is true that we have no record of an apostolic injunction for the establishment or observance of Sunday, but as we can trace its observance up to that period, we are assured that it had the sanction of the apostles, and was, in all probability, appointed by them. The Confession declares that the observance of Sunday was established by the church, and doubtless means the apostolic church, and thus gives it an apostolic, that is, a divine sanction.

But it is a very singular charge against the Augsburg Confession, with which Dr. Schmucker begins to sum up his case, that, "Here we are distinctly taught, (a) that the Jewish Sabbath is entirely abolished," as though this were a most dangerous heresy. Is it not a matter of fact that the Jewish Sabbath is abolished? Does any one but Seventh day Baptists and similar Sabbatarians, deny this? Does any one pretend that the Lord's day and the Jewish Sabbath are the same? To be sure, our learned friend, Dr. Seyffarth, maintains that the first day of our week is the original seventh, but that is still a different point, and the transfer of the Sabbath has never hitherto been defended upon that ground. But we fear that this statement was intended to make the impression that the Augsburg Confession is opposed to the observance of the Lord's day, and that this is to be added to the numerous instances in which the Platform and this, its commentary, endeavor to excite odium against the Confession. If this is the object, we protest against it in the name, not

only of christian charity and truth, but of everything that is honest and honorable among men.*

Finally, our author does gross injustice to the Confession, and grievous injury to the church, by his representations of the views therein inculcated in regard to the nature and efficacy of the sacraments. Although he does not make the charge in so many words, it is implied in the whole drift of his argument, that the Augsburg Confession, and other symbols of the Lutheran church, favor, if they do not inculcate what is commonly called "*a sacramental religion*," or a system in which the sacraments are the great source, the beginning and the end of spiritual life. Now, whilst it is true that Lutheranism and its Confessions do attach more importance to the sacraments than those who regard them as mere outward signs or representatives of spiritual blessings, it is, on the other hand, certain that their fundamental principle of justification by faith alone, is utterly subversive of all such ideas. Accordingly, we find that Puseyism has no sympathy whatever with Lutheranism. Nowhere, except among Romanists, will you find Luther and the Reformation so bitterly denounced, as among English Tractarians and Puseyites. The doctrine of Justification by faith, is the object of their special abhorrence, and they very well understand, if our author does not, the force of the thirteenth article of the Augsburg Confession, "On the use of the sacraments." Here the concluding sentence cuts up all such theories of sacramental justification by the roots, when it is said, "They, therefore, condemn those who teach that the sacraments justify *ex opere operato*, and that faith which believes that our sins are pardoned, is not required in the use of the sacraments."

How, in view of such plain language as this, and upon this specific subject, can our author justify such statements as he makes upon p. 123, where he says, that "the symbols seem to regard forgiveness of sins, that is, justification, as the immediate effect of every worthy reception of these ordinances; they speak as though, in those who do believe, it was the sacrament, and not their faith in the Redeemer, which secured the blessing;" but also the whole drift of his argument which, without declaring this to be the doctrine of our Confessions,

*See the Evangelical Review for January 1857, Art. II, for an able discussion of the Sabbath by Rev. C. Porterfield Krauth; which supersedes the necessity of our entering more minutely into this question, as does also the first Article of the same No. on "Baptismal Regeneration," any further discussion by us, of the general principles involved in that topic.

leaves it to be inferred, and undoubtedly conveys this idea to the great mass of his readers. Such a mode of argument, or rather of innuendo, for it really amounts to little more, can certainly never satisfy the intelligent and candid inquirer, and should only excite the stern reprobation of all who aim at the acquisition of simple, unadulterated and unperverted truth. There is no more certain mode of exciting prejudice than this, for it is taken for granted that these errors, so boldly set forth, and so strongly denounced, are, of course, contained in the documents under consideration, and they are, accordingly, condemned in advance, without a hearing.

Having shown that Dr. Schmucker's premises in regard to the nature and efficacy of the sacraments, as set forth in our Symbolical Books, are entirely erroneous, it would be superfluous for us to enter upon an examination of their application to Baptism and the Lord's Supper, nor would our limits, upon this occasion, admit of it. We only direct attention to the fact, that the Augsburg Confession employs simply the language of scripture, in those points to which Dr. Schmucker takes his chief exceptions. He emphasises the words,—*"born again by Baptism and the Holy Spirit,"* but how does this differ from the declaration in John 3: 5; *"Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot see the kingdom of God."* So also he seems to have equal aversion to the phraseology that the Lord's Supper presents to us. *"the true body and blood of Christ,"* and yet our Savior himself says, in John 6: 54, *"Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day."* Hence we infer that, as the scriptures are the great standard by which all doctrines and all systems are to be tested, that the presumption is, so far at least, on the side of the Confessions which thus seek to conform their teachings to the divine word.

But these are subjects that require fuller elucidation than we can here pretend to give them, and we leave them to others who will, doubtless, examine with that thoroughness for which they call our author's theories, both of the sacraments in general, and of regeneration, justification and sanctification. Attention has recently been turned to these subjects, as well as to his peculiar theory of native depravity, and some other fundamental doctrines of christianity, and we trust that the matter will be thoroughly investigated, as its seriousness and magnitude demand. We have only endeavored to give a general view of the book, and to elucidate one

or two points, and now leave it to others to do justice to those aspects of our author's performance, to which we could, upon this occasion, only allude in general terms.

ARTICLE II.

ISRAEL AND THE GENTILES.*

By the Rev. H. I. Schmidt, D. D., New York.

HISTORY does not furnish a more striking or imposing evidence of its supreme control of human affairs, in accordance with its own will and infinitely wise purposes, than we have in the origin, rise, growth, vicissitudes, calamities and final dispersion of the Hebrew nation, the object first of prophecy and promise, next of wonderfully glorious fulfilment, afterwards of terrible denunciations, the accomplishment of which has been rolling along with the lapse of centuries; and nothing can more signally confirm the truth of sacred history and prophecy, than the record of Israel's national life and death. The world does not contain a more stupendous monument of the infinite power, wisdom and righteousness of the divine government, than Israel's distinct existence among the nations of the earth since the calling and emigration of Abraham (A. M. 2083: B. C. 1921), down to the present day; a period of 3778 years. This distinctness of Israel as a peculiar people, at one time enjoying a national existence contemptible or glorious, at another in disgraceful bondage to neighboring nations: now dwelling in peace and plenty on the soil of promised Canaan, the tribes coming up annually from far and near to the temple of the city of David; then defying for years the embattled forces of imperial Rome; and at length, after seeing the temple burned, and Jerusalem laid waste, scattered to the four winds of heaven, dispersed among all the other nations that dwell on the face of the earth; and yet, always remaining essentially one, a nation separate from all others and altogether peculiar, retaining its own religion,

* Israel and the Gentiles. Contributions to the History of the Jews, from the earliest times to the present day. By Dr. Isaac Da Costa, of Amsterdam. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, Broadway. 1855.

institutions, rites, usages, language and laws: this, we say, presents a phenomenon so unique, so marvellously singular, so entirely unparalleled, that the man who, with the writings of the prophets before him, cannot here discern the finger of God, and recognize the directing and controlling power of divine Providence, must be afflicted with a degree of mental blindness and obtuseness, to which no amount of pity can bear any appreciable proportion. The national career of Israel, their many extraordinary vicissitudes, their denationalized, but continued and perfectly distinct existence, through eighteen centuries of oppressions and persecutions unequalled in the history of mankind, this phenomenon possesses all the attributes of a stupendous miracle, that sets at nought all human experience concerning the fate of nations: a miracle so striking that, while to us it is confirmation strong of the truth of divine Revelation, our modern philosophers are under the most solemn obligation to their own avowed doctrines or principles, to disbelieve it and utterly to deny that such a being as a Jew, to say nought of the Jewish people, ever existed. Or is this one link in that chain of necessity, of necessary sequence, which, according to modern philosophers, cannot be broken? Certainly human history knows of nothing else remotely resembling it. The first empire of which we read, with its vast, proud capital, is gone, and for some thousand years nobody knew where that capital had stood, until it was recently dug up again out of the sands of the desert. Babylon, with all of which it once was the mighty centre, is gone. The empire of the Medes and Persians, with all its power and glory, is gone. Egypt can now be found only in the museums of Europe and America: it lives only in its colossal ruins, its pyramids, and its hieroglyphics which scholars have only within a few years past learned how to read and interpret. All that remains of that city, whose merchants were princes, and whose commerce compassed the world, is a few fisher-huts. Athens, the brilliant home of philosophy, letters and art; Sparta, the burly mother of a rugged race, mighty as a school for war, and in its stern patriotism, are the worn out themes of prize poems and of beard lessorators at college commencements. To Rome, once the world's proud and bloody mistress, nothing is left save the ancient metropolis itself and the circumjacent country, wretchedly misgoverned by a silly old priest, whilst of the great empire itself, it would not even be true to say, "*stat nominis umbra*:" the very shadow has flitted away. Of these nations several oppressed,

some led captive, the Hebrews; the last-named destroyed their city, broke up their commonwealth, and scattered the nation to wander homeless over the face of the earth: *they* are gone, whilst Israel remains. It is true, the Chinese empire, and the empire of Japan claim to be some thousands of years old; but they have been shut up within themselves, and left to themselves by others: nobody has meddled with them from without: nobody has conquered them, persecuted or sought to exile their people. The Mongol and Mandshu conquest of China cannot be taken into account here; for it left its petrified culture and political organization untouched:—both empires are nothing but mummies, embalmed by a process which preserves and perpetuates a torpid and sluggish organization. But in the midst of this ever changing world, in which empires, dynasties and nationalities are coming on the stage, playing their part, and passing away, and concerning which the law of decay and death is the only law which altereth not, the Jewish people have remained—and remained the same. Their national existence terminated, their city and temple utterly destroyed, the population driven from its beloved soil, the Hebrews have, ever since, been found a distinct and a peculiar people, scattered over the whole face of the earth, dispersed among all nations, undergoing hardships, persecutions and sufferings, which would long since have utterly exterminated any people, for whose preservation almighty power was not specially pledged and exerted. The history of such a people, even without any reference to the church of God and human salvation, would be one of profound interest. Of this history, we mean the history subsequent to the dispersion, we have a spirited and exceedingly interesting narrative in the volume before us. We design, if our space should permit, to communicate in these pages a variety of other interesting matter concerning the modern Jews; but it will be our first duty to give an account of Dr. Da Costa's admirable work, and to present copious extracts from its pages.

Since the commencement of the present century a number of works of considerable value and interest have appeared, treating of the condition, political, moral and religious, of the Jews of our day; but they refer either to particular localities inhabited by this people, or to some special affairs concerning them; and we know of no work which presents, like this, a complete history of the Hebrews, in their connections with and relations to the gentiles, from the time of Moses down to

the present day. This is the design of the work before us. "In my Lectures on Jewish History," says the author, "which form the groundwork of this sketch, I have endeavored to notice especially the relations of my people with all the nations of the world, from the earliest days of their existence to the present time; to remark upon what the Gentiles are for the Jews, either as means of instruction or of chastisement, and what Israel has been, and still is, for the Gentiles, either as witnesses to the truth, and victims of their own unbelief, or as the people kept apart, to impart light and salvation to the Gentiles."—p. x. sq. Yet he disavows every pretension to his work being considered a regular history, or even an attempt at one. "A universal history of the Jews in modern times, relating to their wanderings, and entering into the details of their manners, customs, literature and biography, on the scale of Basnage, but written in a more correct and interesting manner, with the additional light which time and science have now thrown upon the subject, is still to be desired. What is here brought forward, can only be considered as the contribution of a stone to the building; for we have but attempted a glance into the chaos of materials, though a glance happily directed may, perhaps, lead to a discovery valuable to science, or the confirmation of faith."—p. x.

Surely there is no people on earth, whose history, whose state and prospects can possess a greater interest for christians, than those of the Jews, the vessels by means of which the truth and worship of the true God were preserved among men; the channel through which salvation came into our world. And while, therefore, we fully agree with our author in regarding a universal history of the Jews in modern times as a desideratum, we would fain hope that he will himself be induced to undertake the vast labor of supplying it. He possesses peculiar qualifications for executing the work in a manner most acceptable and satisfactory to protestant christendom. Himself a descendant of one of those Jewish families who, in the seventeenth century, sought refuge in the Netherlands from the persecutions of Spain and Portugal, he had, from his earliest youth, made the history of his forefathers "an object of meditation and study;" but it was the task of exploring the annals of Israel's dispersion and exile, that captivated his heart and imagination. His eager search for the reason why his people continued to be a nation, after having lost all the requisites usually essential to a national existence, led, through the grace of God, to his most decided

conversion to christianity. "More than a quarter of a century has now elapsed since the epoch which decided the fate of my whole life, and yet Israel's history, as written in the book of books, or found in the scattered records of their eighteen hundred years of exile, has never ceased to occupy my thoughts, and to employ a portion of my time. While entering into the details of this wondrous history, I have discovered more and more its perfect harmony with the dispensations of God, and the declarations of his word; and the Jewish nation has been brought to my view more strikingly as an abiding testimony to the truth of the christian religion, a living commentary upon the Scriptures, a certain pledge of the entire fulfilment of prophecy."—p. ix.

If to these brief personal notices we add, that the author is a man of extensive and profound erudition, and that he had access to the most valuable materials belonging to his field of inquiry, it will, we think, be evident that he is a most competent witness, one most likely to present the subject in a manner gratifying and interesting to protestant christians.

Profound, indeed, and varied is the interest of this subject. The remote antiquity of their origin, so firmly established by the testimony of tradition and history, that no candid mind for a moment questions it, alone constitutes the Hebrew nation an object of the deepest interest. "This people is the only nation that can, with certainty, trace its origin, through one family, to a single individual." "As children of Abraham, guardians and confessors of the law of Moses and the predictions of the prophets, they bear, by a personal mark, the testimony of their genealogy, in the ordinance of circumcision. As disciples of Moses, they have now for thirty-four centuries raised the cry, 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God;' and every Sabbath day, even to the present time, Moses and the prophets are read in their synagogues, in the same order as when the Apostle St. James mentions the fact, eighteen hundred years ago, as already, in his time, an ancient custom."—p. 2.

The marks and features of their oriental extraction, which, although naturalized for some thousand years in the West, remain unchanged, render them objects of interest to those among whom they dwell. This interest is enhanced by the consideration, that "they have ever been a people of sojourners," found, even long before the fall of Jerusalem, among all the other nations of the East, and since that event, dispersed among all the dwellers upon the face of the earth;

and yet, though assuming something of the character of the people among whom they dwell, preserving a principle of unity, stamping them everywhere most unmistakably as descendants of one family and one father. When to this is added, that "two powerful religions derive, though in a very different manner, their origin from the existence of this people:" that both in the gospel of truth, and the imposture of the Koran, the fathers of Israel are recognized as the fathers of their respective faith: that in both these creeds the prophets of Israel are honored as men of God, and the city of Jerusalem as a holy city, and that, notwithstanding this high antiquity, and the possession of a history full of touching and sublime incidents, Israelite has become a term of reproach, a Jew a contemptuous epithet, both among Mahometans and Christians: when we consider the proofs which they afford of prophecies fulfilled, and the prospects which they have before them in prophecies still to be accomplished, surely we have before us an object marvellous in its singularity, imposing in its historical relations, and absorbingly interesting in all its various aspects." What a theme for anxious contemplation to the whole world, is the people whose history spreads over four thousand out of the whole six thousand years that contain the records of the human race! while even the modern part of it can be traced back during a period of eighteen hundred years!

Were there now in existence, even a single individual who could, with certainty, trace his pedigree from one of the ancient Greek or Roman families, with what care and interest would such a circumstance be investigated, as a living remnant of antiquity! And yet Israel, the *very Israel* whose annals extend to the most remote periods of sacred and profane history, still remains, not as a remnant only, consisting of a few solitary individuals or families, but the whole body of the people still exists, scattered over every part of our globe."—p. 4 sq.

Let us endeavor to present as condensed a view as possible of the ample details, that fill up the animated picture set before us by our author. He is not simply the narrator of facts and events: with philosophic acumen he traces these to their sources, unfolds their connexions, and points out their relations to other historic streams, and to future developments and results. In his portraiture of character, and exhibition of the separate scenes of the great historic drama which he rolls along before our eyes, he displays much poetic genius

and artistic skill, while the whole performance is irradiated by that devoutly christian spirit, which animates all his works.

Every reader of Scripture knows, that it is in Egypt that Israel, no longer only a family of which the individuals can be named in a few minutes, assumes a position of historic importance. Although it would be deeply interesting to present the views and observations of our author upon the varied influences exerted upon the Hebrew nation and the Hebrew mind by the long sojourn in Egypt, or to follow him in his narrative of the many vicissitudes, sufferings and achievements of the Jews, down to the destruction of Jerusalem, and in his brief, but spirited account of the remarkable destinies of the Holy City, since the Roman conquest, especially under the Crusaders, and down to our day, we must pass all this by, and proceed at once to his second book, in which he first examines the Talmuds, the Masorah and Cabbala, and then recounts the history of the Jews in the Eastern Roman empire.

Notwithstanding the entire destruction of Jerusalem, and the complete dispersion of its inhabitants, the Jewish people, though now without metropolis, without temple, without country, yet continued a nation. And the first point to be noted here, is, the means employed by the providence of God, to effect the *national* preservation of Israel, down to the present time.

A most important influence was here exerted by their strict observance of the ceremonial law, and especially of the rite of circumcision. "As disciples of Moses, and children of the prophets and sacred writers, they at all times and in all places carried with them their Scriptures in the original language; handing them down from generation to generation. They tried to make amends to themselves for the loss of their city and temple in various ways, and manifested afresh their remarkable perseverance of character and ingenuity of mind, by the measures they took to form a completely new centre of nationality."—p. 112 sq.

"Directly after the triumph of Titus, the great council of the Israelitish Rabbins was established at Tiberias in Galilee. The school of scribes, instituted in that city, soon took the place of that Temple, whose restoration has never ceased to be the object of their hopes and prayers." Here was produced "the Mishna, and eventually the Talmud; the so called Oral Law reduced to writing, arranged, commented upon and explained; which became, in the course of a few centuries, a

complete Digest, or Encyclopædia of the law, the religion and the nationality of the Jews." It would be deeply interesting to present here the views which our author, himself once a Jew, but writing entirely as an enlightened and devout christian, expresses respecting the Mishna and Gemara, and the judgment which he pronounces upon the monuments of Israel's blindness and hardness of heart; but, as we have a vast field to traverse, we must hasten onward.

With the Talmud, the Masorah and the Cabbala, a triple panoply of tradition, the sons of Israel entered upon the many centuries of their dispersion, and, by its means, preserved their nationality through the time of their deepest humiliation and misery. "The dispersed Jews, even before the fall of Jerusalem, had classed themselves under three designations. The Rabbins understand by the "Captivity of the East," the remains of the ten tribes; by that "of Egypt," the Jews under the dominion of the Ptolemies, particularly those of Alexandria; by that "of the West," the Jews dispersed over every part of the Roman empire."—p. 119. We regard here only a twofold division into Eastern and Western. "Both in the East and West, but especially in Europe, their history records little else than a continuation of misery, humiliation and degeneracy." Yet we must not imagine that the Jews fell at once into this condition. History shows us that the judgment of God upon great cities, condemned on account of their sins, advances upon them slowly and by degrees, till the time of its complete accomplishment. It has been the same with the prophecies against rebellious and unbelieving Israel. Because of their sins, (as they themselves confess at great length in their daily prayers, only omitting the greatest of all sins—their rejection of the Savior) judgment has come upon them gradually, waxing stronger and stronger, and fulfilling more and more exactly to the letter, the prophecies of the Lord."—p. 119 sq.

In the Roman empire, down to the time of Constantine, the Jews were, in general, honored and distinguished, rather than despised or oppressed. Even when the christians were suffering under bloody edicts, the Jews enjoyed favors and privileges. But with the conversion of Rome's emperor to christianity, a complete reverse came over the condition of the Jews. They now became a condemned and persecuted sect; and as the first period of their humiliation begins at this epoch, we find them henceforward visibly sinking into a state of continually progressive oppression and misery. The

gleam of hope which shone upon them in the days of Julian the Apostate, was now quenched, and under his christian successors their condition grew worse and worse. Both in the Eastern and in the Western empire, emperors and bishops visited them with disabilities, oppressions and persecutions. These became so severe under the government of the emperor Justin, and the Code of Justinian, that during the reign of the latter, many rebellions broke out among his Jewish subjects—the dying throes of their national existence; and already in 530, a false Messiah, named Julianus, arose, who was beheaded a year or two after, and his followers dispersed. After a number of other fearful commotions, the Jews were, during and after the reign of Justinian, reduced, in the Greek empire, to a condition in which even the last vestige of political importance was lost. In the far East the Jews continued to enjoy a degree of comparative prosperity, until the triumph of the Koran swept all before it; and in the eleventh century the dignity of Resh-Glutha, which is the proper title of the Patriarch of Babylon, ceased entirely. In Parthia, in Persia, and in the Arabian peninsula, peculiar circumstances and affinities had obtained for the Hebrews many favors and privileges, and in Arabia, even Mohammed smiled for awhile upon them; but as soon as they declared against him, they became the especial objects of his hatred. He called them very hard names, and treated them with great severity. Although after his time the Mussulmans did not again actually persecute the Jews, they have ever since maintained a hostile attitude toward each other. “Popular hatred and contempt has ever been the portion of Israel under the crescent, as well as the cross: as in christian Europe, so in Mahometan Asia and Africa, the Jew was compelled to bear a distinctive mark in his garments—*here* the yellow hat, *there* the black turban.”—p. 138.

Yet it is well known that Muhammed and Saracen Mussulmans, as well as Arabians, esteemed it a high honor to be descended from Abraham, and that the followers of Muhammed regarded the Jewish prophets, including Issah (i. e. Jesus) as holy men, Jerusalem as a holy city, Sinai as a holy mountain, and that “they look upon the valley of Jehoshaphat as the spot where Jesus, the Judge of the nations, with Mahomet at his side, will judge the world, seated upon a stone, which the Mahometan points out to the traveller. But a still closer connexion with the Talmud and the Jewish tra-

ditions, has been of late found to exist in the Koran. It has long been a matter of difficulty to reconcile the undoubted marks of a biblical influence in the composition of the Koran, with its author's palpable ignorance of the real contents of the Bible. The kind of half-knowledge it manifests, both of men and facts in the Old Testament, and of our Savior's life in the New, has been attributed to a supposed intimacy of Mahomet with the historians. New light, however, has been thrown upon the subject, since attention has been drawn to a person who is entitled to a distinguished place in the biography of the founder of Islamism. Warakha Ibn Naufal was nearly related to Kadisha, the first wife of Mahomet.—An Ishmaelite by birth, but disgusted with the idolatry of his nation and contemporaries, he sought for a purer faith,—*first* in the bosom of pharisaical Judaism, and *later*, in the deeply degenerate christianity of the East.

At last he attached himself to Mahomet, and soon obtained considerable influence over the Prophet of Mecca and his doctrines. It is more than probable, that by Warakha Ibn Naufal's acquaintance with the holy writings of both the Jews and Christians, and also with the Rabbinical traditions, many circumstances were brought to the knowledge of Mahomet, which subsequently found their way, with more or less adulteration, into the Koran. At least the Biblical legends of this singular book, are also to be met with in the Talmud and other ancient writings of the Jews. The Koran may be looked upon, in some respects, as a kind of 'military Mishna.'—p. 138 sq.

The following pages communicate much interesting information relative to the Jews who have, since the dispersion, been met with beyond the boundaries of either the old Roman or the Byzantine Empire, both in the most remote parts of the interior of Asia, and upon the coast of Malabar. We have room to notice only the Jewish population, which has long existed in the far-distant regions of China. This colony was first discovered by the Jesuits, in 1642, who met the Jews at Pekin. The careful research of French Savans, particularly of the Orientalist, De Sacy, have led to the following conclusions respecting these Chinese Jews. "Between the time of Ezra and the destruction of the second Temple, Jews from Persia emigrated to China, and established themselves in five of the principal cities of that vast empire. This is confirmed by the fact, that the Chinese Jews are well acquainted with Ezra, whom they regard with almost as much

reverence as Moses, while they appear to be quite ignorant of the pharisaical traditions of the Talmud. Their Persian origin (probably by way of Chorazan and Samarcand) is attested by the mixture of Persian words in their language.—The whole population of the Chinese Jews sprang from seven tribes, or families, whose names * * * * * seem to be derived from those of the different emperors under whom, at successive periods, those families established themselves in China. To the first of these emigrations we certainly cannot assign a later date than the early part of the second century before the birth of Christ.”—p. 144. “They do not pronounce the name of Jehovah, but substitute that of the *Lord*. They have no knowledge whatever of the name or history of our Savior.”—p. 145.

In the Western empire, the condition of the Jews was exceedingly deplorable, after the conversion of the Roman emperors to christianity. The Merovingian line treated them with extreme rigor, and inflicted upon them the most galling disabilities. But “under the dynasty of the Carlovings in France, we find the Jews of the eighth and ninth centuries enjoying so great a degree of prosperity, that the Romish bishops took alarm, and thought it necessary to enter a protest.” The privileges granted them by Pepin le Bref were greatly multiplied and extended by his illustrious son, Charlemagne, whose enlightened policy exhibited, notwithstanding his zealous devotion to Catholicism, the essential elements of protestantism. His son and successor, Louis le Debonnaire, although narrow-minded and bigoted, continued to treat the Jews with benevolence, and conferred upon them numerous and most important privileges. But a sad change was at hand. “The position of the Jews underwent an entire change at the downfall of the Carlovingsian dynasty, which began to decay after the death of Louis le Debonnaire. The invasion of the Normans, who, in the latter years of the reign of Charlemagne, began to overrun Europe, was partly the cause, and partly the signal, for a complete change of the whole state of things in that quarter of the world. The whole surface of affairs in Germany and France, and to a certain extent in Italy and England also, was, (if we may so express it) completely flooded, and its aspect from that time entirely changed. An age of barbarism spread over the whole face of christianity, [christendom?] during which the power of kings, the commercial prosperity of nations, their internal and external means of communication, and, in a word, all general

peace and order were involved in one common ruin. During this age of almost revolutionary anarchy, the feudal system developed itself. This striking characteristic of the middle ages, the sole remedy for so many existing evils, became so firmly established, that its remains still exist, and continue, though with a decreasing power, to exert their influence over the institutions of the present time. To the Jews, this new system was in every way injurious. With the growth of the feudal system in Europe, the rise of the Capetian dynasty in France, and the establishment of the Duke of Normandy on the throne of England, commenced a period of seven centuries, the time of the most cruel oppression and deepest debasement which that unhappy nation ever underwent."—p. 154 sqq.

We cannot pretend to give even a sketch of the animated and deeply interesting narrative which here follows in our author's work. The persecutions and grinding oppression which the Jews were made to suffer during this long and dismal period, necessarily tended to degrade their moral character, which is here fully analyzed, and minutely portrayed.—The Normans were constitutionally and on principle, the enemies and oppressors of the Jews; but while they were distinguished for the exquisitely refined cruelties which they practised upon them, this unhappy people fared little better in other European countries not under the sway of the Normans. Many of these oppressions and cruelties were, undoubtedly, practised in direct violation of existing laws, which, however, were of little avail to the Jew, in the state of public opinion and feeling that prevailed in those ages. And, indeed, "the laws themselves were but little more lenient to the Jew. They excluded him from every dignity which might raise his position, and from every employment which might ameliorate it. The Jews were debarred by law from holding landed property, from exercising any civil or military office, and even from the right of citizenship; while many humiliating obligations were imposed upon them. They were shut up within the narrow bounds of a peculiar quarter, often, as in many towns of Italy, and Rome in particular, locked up at night like cattle in a yard. Open marks of degradation were imposed upon them, such as yellow clothes, peaked hats, and the like. In Bohemia, there was an edict issued, prescribing a peculiar manner of hanging the Jews, in order that a distinction might be made between their body and that of the christian criminal, who might share the same fate."—p. 167 sq.

Admitting that the Jews incurred this lamentable fate, in consequence of their own national sins, and of their obstinate rejection of the Savior and his gospel, this by no means justifies those who visited them with treatment, which was no more in accordance with the spirit of christianity, than it was calculated to win them from their pertinacious adherence to their errors to the reception of the truth and the profession of the gospel. But, whatever secular causes and human agencies may have combinedly operated in the production of these results, nothing is more certain than that these results themselves were foreseen and distinctly foretold twenty-five centuries before, by the great Hebrew prophet and historian, Moses, in that remarkable passage in the book of Deuteronomy (XXVIII: 29), here cited by our author: "And the Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other; and there thou shalt serve other gods, which neither thou nor thy fathers have known, even wood and stone. And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest; but the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind; and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee; and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life; in the morning thou shalt say, would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see." (Deut. 28: 64—67.)

Whoever reads any full account of the Jews during the middle ages, or any accurate description of their condition on the European continent in more recent times, cannot fail to be struck with the fact, that they were nowhere recognized as citizens, nowhere regarded as constituting a component part of the body politic: they were looked upon as interlopers, barely to be tolerated, and expected to be thankful for the minimum of the most shabby toleration that could be accorded to them: viewed thus, as intruders, they were treated like some foreign substance that has got into the human body, having no vital connection with its organism, and to be endured or ejected, according to circumstances; according to the caprice of the person into whose system it had intruded, or the degree of inconvenience or trouble of which it might be supposed to be the cause.

Our author, having given a general view of this period, and added a variety of instructive and profitable reflections, pro-

ceeds to particulars, and relates what befell the Jews in the several principal states of christian Europe. This copious and deeply interesting narrative, in which we have not space to follow the eloquent historian, we commend to the particular attention of our readers. It contains not only history, but special accounts of prominent families, and most interesting particulars concerning eminent men, distinguished either for learning or other important merits. In Spain and Portugal the Jews passed through the most striking reverses, enjoying at one time the highest honors, at another subjected indiscriminately to the most virulent and ferocious persecutions, especially at the hands of that ruthless monster, the Inquisition: here flourished their most eminent scholars, among whom was the celebrated Maimonides, of whom a very full account is given: here they most successfully cultivated the sciences, and even distinguished themselves in polite literature; and from here other parts of Europe, besides Africa, received them in great numbers, when the Inquisition, under the savage administration of Torquemada, expelled them from Spain. We quote here the following appropriate observations of our author, in connexion with this matter:

“In the year 1570 the doctrines of the Reformation appear to have been completely crushed in Spain, and the persecutions of the Inquisition again turned against the concealed Jews or Mahometans. This tribunal exerted itself with less success, and apparently with far less zeal, to eradicate infidelity and the teachings of the French philosophers, than it had used in its efforts to crush the protestant faith. And how could it be otherwise? when superstition and infidelity, whether they allow it or not, are so closely allied! The Sadducees and Pharisees *agreed* to crucify our Savior, and to persecute his witnesses and disciples. A warning of deep moment in these our days!

The short-sighted hatred of the Inquisition had rather converted the Judaism of Spain into a festering wound in the body of the nation, than effectually combated or uprooted it. The unity thus obtained was only in externals, while in secret the Jewish religion was propagated with a system of dissimulation which could not but exercise a most pernicious influence on character, and become the source of most revolting blasphemies against God and our Lord Jesus Christ. Unanimous testimony is borne, both by Jewish and Spanish writers, to the fact, that there is scarcely a family of note in Spain or Portugal, which is not descended, either in the male or fe-

male line, from Jews who had embraced christianity by conviction or from other motives.

Is it, then, surprising that the religion their fathers had professed for so many ages, should possess great attractions for their descendants, while placed in the midst of a church whose idolatry and saint-worship the Israelites was as much justified in condemning, as he was wrong in rejecting the suffering Savior, who had been foretold by his own prophets?—When, in addition to this, there sprung from the midst of the Papacy, and flourished in Spain, a sect whose doctrines inculcated ‘mental reserve,’ ‘simulation,’ and ‘hypocrisy,’ in matters of religion, is it wonderful that the Jews of Spain should also have had recourse to rabbinical subtleties to reconcile an outward profession of christianity with an inward love and secret performance of the Mosaic worship? Hence arose the fearful evils which are said yet to exist in Spain, posts of dignity in the church, the priesthood, and the cloister occupied by men who in heart are Jews, and who meet at stated seasons to mourn over and abjure their outward profession of the Romish faith, and to curse, with fearful imprecations, the memory of Ferdinand and Isabella. No! it is ‘not by might nor by power’ that Israel’s conversion will be brought about, ‘but by my Spirit, saith the Lord,’ the God of Israel, his Redeemer.”—p. 362 sqq.

Yes: Israel has indeed been most persistently obstinate in refusing to acknowledge Jesus of Nazareth as the promised Messiah, and in rejecting the covenant of grace set forth and offered to a perishing world, in the gospel. From the history before us, and from the better and more encouraging experiences of more recent days, we are to learn, that nominal christendom is doubtless, to a very great extent—to what extent, it would be most appalling to estimate—accountable for Israel’s obstinate continuance in their bondage to error and superstition. The sword, the rack, the faggot, and a thousand other means of torture and death, are sad and worse than useless instrumentalities for the conviction of the mind, and the conversion of the soul. Had christian governments and those who professed to be ministers of Christ, ever since Constantine’s profession of christianity, approached the Jews in the same spirit and manner in which Christ himself and his apostles labored for their conversion, who may venture to say what might have been the glorious result, not only among the Jews themselves, but through them, among other people? Since christian nations have changed their treatment of the

Jews, a great change has taken place among them as respects their views of christianity, and great numbers have embraced, and continue to embrace the gospel; and, although the policy so long pursued toward them has served to raise their prejudices and superstition to a state of almost inflexible inveteracy, yet we see, in this country and elsewhere, that the total change in their external circumstances and their relations to christian communities and governments, has effected a marvellous change in their views and feelings relative to the christian faith and church. When we consider that they either have obtained, as here, or are obtaining, as in Europe, equal rights and privileges with their christian fellow-citizens; nay, when we regard the prominence which they have attained, of late, in many European countries, in the most important relations, pursuits and interests of the state, may we not hope that, under God's blessing, the enlightened and christian policy thus pursued toward them, will, as it has already measurably done, more and more draw them out of the strongholds and away from the entrenchments of their superannuated and effete faith, to the green pastures and still waters of divine grace in the gospel, and from the bondage of their superstition to the glorious liberty of the children of God?

Our author's history of the Jews in Spain and Portugal, is a narrative of profound, often most painfully thrilling interest: scarcely less interesting is the account of their experiences and fates in the countries to which, when expelled from the peninsula, they fled, or which their brethren had inhabited for centuries. The author's account of "The Jews and the Reformation:" of Sabbathai Sevi, their false Messiah in the East: of the Jews in Italy, Hungary, Russia and Poland; of the Sabbathaism derived from the false Messiah before mentioned: of a number of Jews, who have, of late years, acquired high distinction in Germany and elsewhere, and of other kindred subjects, will be found replete with most important and valuable information. The dimensions to which this article has grown make it necessary that we should defer the communication promised at the beginning, of a variety of matters connected with the modern history of the Jews, to some future day. Meanwhile we again commend to our readers the valuable work before us: it is rich in varied and most interesting instruction: the production of a master-pen, it is written in a most attractive and fascinating style, tolerably well rendered in the English translation: none can rise from its perusal without deriving from it the most substantial profit and profound delight.

ARTICLE III.

REMINISCENCES OF LUTHERAN CLERGYMEN.

XXX.

FREDERICK WILLIAM GEISSENHAINER, D. D.

As we plant the cypress over the graves that we would not have forgotten, and rear a monument to the memory of our illustrious dead, we must not omit the name of this eminent Divine, so distinguished for his talents and acquirements, and who, during life, occupied a prominent position in the ministry of the Lutheran church in America.

Frederick William Geissenhainer was the son of Henry Athanasius and Sophia Henrietta Geissenhainer, and was born at Mülheim on the Ruhr, Dukedom of Bergen, now belonging to the kingdom of Prussia, the 26th of June, 1771. Death deprived him of his father, who was a merchant, and in good circumstances, when he was only three years of age. Fortunately for him, however, he was blessed with a pious mother, and a deep interest was taken in his welfare by his grandfather, Rev. Dr. Geissenhainer, who was regarded as one of the most learned and pious Theologians of the day. He furnished him with the means for obtaining an education, and superintended his studies. Early destined for the church, the best advantages were afforded the child for mental improvement. It happened that, just about this time, the last Monks of a Catholic cloister, in that region, died, and his grandfather was appointed by the Duke of Bergen, to establish in its place, an institution in which might be taught the various branches of an Academic course. Although a rigid Lutheran, Dr. Geissenhainer selected Catholics exclusively, as instructors for the school, influenced by a sense of justice towards those to whom the property had formerly belonged, and by the fact that the best teachers of that day were to be found in the Catholic church. The grandchild entered this Seminary before he was eight years of age, and as the Latin was the language commonly spoken by the Professors, and the medium of all the instruction, he soon became more fa-

miliar with it than with his vernacular tongue. In a short time he gave evidence of great intellectual precocity, and a wonderful facility in acquiring knowledge. His youth was marked as one of great power and promise, and at the age of thirteen, he had finished the prescribed course. With the design of pursuing the study of Theology, he now enters the University of Giessen, where he remained for three years. Having completed the regular curriculum, but being only sixteen years of age, and therefore too young to assume the active duties of the ministry, he became a member of the University of Göttingen, where he continued two years in the further prosecution of his theological studies. In the meantime, his grandfather having died, and being still too young to take charge of a congregation, he returned to Giessen, and became Professor Extraordinary, in anticipation of a regular appointment as Professor, a course often adopted by young men possessing talent and means, in connexion with the German Universities. He soon, however, received a call as Professor of Languages in some Institution, which he accepted, and in this situation he was engaged for two years, still adding to his stores of knowledge. When he reached his twentieth year, in compliance with the wishes and advice of his friends, he applied for ministerial ordination, which, although usually withheld from all under twenty-five years of age, was granted to him, as an honorable exception to the general rule, on account of his superior qualifications for the sacred office.

Immediately after his ordination, the youthful pastor took charge of two village congregations, to whom he ministered for the space of eighteen months. During his occupancy of this position, he received an invitation to Rotterdam, where he was expected to officiate in the Dutch language, a knowledge of which he had, in a very short time, acquired, but as the situation did not suit him, he rejected the call. Whilst on the visit to Holland, a Missionary Society proposed to send him as a missionary to this country. This offer he also declined, preferring to remain in the field of labor which he then occupied. This connexion was, however, soon after terminated, in consequence of the political convulsions which were then agitating his native land. These were troublous times. The French Revolution was diffusing consternation and distress, and the country was visited with all the dangers and calamities of war. In the midst of the excitement, he received the sad information of the death and burial of his beloved mother, intelligence of which had been delayed by

the difficulty of communication, in consequence of the disturbances that existed. About this time, an only brother paid him a visit, and as there was no particular tie of affection now to bind them to their country, they resolved to transfer their residence to this Western hemisphere, whither the tide of immigration was taking its way, and which presented so wide a field of usefulness. Here they supposed they would find exemption from many of the evils to which they were exposed, and enjoy peace and happiness.

They accordingly took their departure from their native land, without even visiting their old home, and leaving, as they imagined, whatever patrimony was coming to them, to their only surviving relative, a maiden aunt, who had dwelt under the same roof with their mother. They reached Philadelphia in the Summer of 1793, under most unpropitious circumstances. The yellow fever had just broken out, and the citizens who were able, had fled from the scene of pestilence. The brothers, too, fell among thieves at the public house at which they had stopped, whilst the landlord tried to alarm the fears of the young preacher, by telling him how much ill-treatment clergymen were accustomed to suffer in this land, and that it was a common thing, particularly in the rural districts, for the people to beat them, if their sermons did not satisfy their prejudices, or please their vitiated taste. It is not surprising that, in a strange country, with little experience of the world, of a delicate constitution and slender stature, the subject of our sketch was easily frightened, and resolved to return in the first vessel that sailed for Europe. In the meantime, however, he went with his brother to Wilmington, leaving his trunks and many of his effects, at the hotel in Philadelphia, in charge of the keeper. But when the fever had subsided, and they returned to the city with the view of making their arrangements, preparatory to sailing, they found that their trunks had been broken open, and their money and most of their articles abstracted, the landlord professing profound ignorance on the subject. More than ever they now desired to hasten away from a land in which they had already encountered so much to discourage them. But Mr. Geissenhainer concluded that, before he left, he must visit the Lutheran ministers living in Philadelphia. Calling therefore, upon the Rev. Dr. Helmuth, as soon as the Doctor heard his name, he said, "Why did you not call before? An invitation from congregations has been lying here for you these three months." He replied, "I am aware of the fact, and on that account

have studiously avoided you, as I intend to return at once to Germany." The Doctor urged him to remain, begging him at the same time, to explain the reasons of his strange resolution. When he learned how his fears had been excited by the cruel landlord, he tried to assure him that imposition had been practised upon his credulity, and that ministers did not suffer in the way he apprehended. But it was all in vain. His mind was made up, and he could not be dissuaded from his intention. He however consented, as a favor, before his departure, to fill an appointment at Barren-Hill for Rev. Dr. Schaeffer, who was at the time pastor of the Lutheran congregation at Germantown, Pa., and the vicinity. He rode out on horseback, but all the time was very much depressed in spirit, and when he reached the place, he tied his horse fast, and stood for a considerable time at some distance off from the church, as if afraid to venture in. The congregation waited for a whole hour, expecting the minister every minute to enter, but at length growing impatient, one of the elders approached the stranger, a small and timid looking man, who was not recognized as a clergyman, perhaps from his youth, and his having on a light colored overcoat, as the day was cool, which he had worn on board the ship. On the elder making inquiry whether he knew of any minister who was coming on that Sabbath from Germantown to preach for them, Mr. Geissenhainer summoned up courage to say, that he had come for that purpose. On which he was conducted to the church, but as soon as the services were concluded, he hurried off as fast as he could, in dread of the beating, which he thought would be inflicted. Being a good rider, he quickened his pace, but how great his alarm, when suddenly looking back, he saw some one coming towards him at a most rapid rate! And now the race began. The man called upon him to stop, but the more he called, the faster the preacher urged on his steed. The elder at last overtook him, and now the clergyman was filled with trepidation, as he felt there would certainly be no escape, and that he would have to submit to the castigation which he had so much dreaded. His fears were, however, somewhat dissipated, by the gentle and kind words of the elder, who requested him to accompany him to his home and dine with him. He said that he wished to converse with him on a matter of conscience, as he was convinced from the sermon, that he could give him the best advice. But regarding this as only a cunning device to get him into his power, he declined the invitation, and hastened on to Phila-

delphia. On relating to Dr. Helmuth these circumstances, the Doctor told him he ought, by all means, to have gone with the elder, and also tried to deliver his young friend from the false and painful misrepresentations under which his mind was laboring. He finally succeeded so far, that Mr. Geissenhainer decided he would accept the call to the congregations tendered him in Montgomery County, about forty miles from Philadelphia, and for a season, at least, make trial of the ministry in this country. An incident, however, occurred at the very beginning of his experience, that almost made him regret the step he had taken, and served to confirm him in the opinion he had conceived with regard to the rudeness of the country people. On his arrival at Goschenhoppen, he put up at an inn, and on the following Sabbath preached his first sermon. After the services, the vestry met and decided that, as it was improper for the pastor to remain at a public house, one of their own number must take him into his family. But so profound a reverence for the youthful preacher was entertained, that all made objection to his reception. Finally two, who lived on fine farms, and possessed ample accommodations, were selected, one of whom, it was said, must consent to the arrangement. Both still expressing very great aversion to the proposition, they resolved to cast lots for the purpose of ascertaining upon whom the necessity should be laid. Mr. Geissenhainer had been all the time a silent spectator to the discussion, but now he could no longer restrain his feelings and keep silence. He told them that he did not wish to obtrude upon any man's hospitalities—that under the circumstances, he could not remain, and that he would at once return to Philadelphia. His host of the inn, a christian-minded man, who was present, now interfered and asserted, that there was not a member of the Board who would not most cheerfully receive him into his family, and consider himself highly honored to have the minister dwell under his roof, but they all feared that the accommodations they could furnish, would not be good enough for such a man as he was. This explanation presented the case in quite a different aspect, and the preacher assuring them that on that point there need be no difficulty, Mr. Michael Reiter offered to give him a home in his family.

Mr. Geissenhainer soon found that the churches to which he had been called, were in a very distracted condition. As in other places, unprincipled men, wearing the garb of religion, and preaching without any authority, had thrust themselves upon the congregations, and done immense mischief,

in sowing seeds of discord, and producing a feeling of distrust in reference to all clergymen. There was a general indifference on the subject of piety, and immorality was greatly on the increase. A change was, however, very soon effected under the administration of Mr. Geissenhainer. The churches were revived. A deep interest was awakened in divine truth, and a fresh impulse given to the cause of religion. Peace and harmony were restored among the members, and the congregations flourished as they had never before. The youthful minister exercised an unlimited influence, not only among the people of his own charge, but in other parts of the church. His fame as a pulpit orator, and as a devoted servant of Christ, spread far and wide, and very soon he was regarded as one of the very first Divines in the Lutheran church in this country. As we had no Theological Seminary at that day, he was one of the few clergymen, appointed by Synod, to prepare young men for the christian ministry. Many availed themselves of the opportunity offered, and among the number were some of our most influential and useful pastors. His brother Henry, who immigrated with him to this country, and who had already commenced his studies in the fatherland, was one of his first pupils.*

The subject of our sketch, in the year 1794, entered into a matrimonial alliance with Anna Maria Reiter,† with whom he continued to live in uninterrupted harmony, until death closed the relation. From this union there were six children, two of whom still survive, Rev. F. W. Geissenhainer, of N. York city, and Anna Maria, the widow of Jacob Miller, D. D., for many years pastor of Trinity Church, Reading, Pa.

After a residence of some years at Goschenhoppen, Mr. Geissenhainer removed to New Hanover township, and in connexion with his other congregations, took charge of what is known as the Swamp church, one of the Collegiate churches, to which the venerable Muhlenberg had ministered. In that day the scarcity of ministers was so great as to render it necessary for one man to attend to as many congregations as lay in his power. It was not the best arrangement for our

* Rev. Henry Geissenhainer was settled for a time at the Trappe, whence he removed to Pittsburg, but in the year 1821, whilst on a visit to his son at the Trappe, he took sick and died. His remains repose in the cemetery connected with the old church, in which several of our earlier ministers lie buried.

† An older sister was married to Rev. Mr. Roeller, a worthy minister of the Lutheran church.

people, and yet how much better than that they should receive no attention at all, and altogether famish for want of spiritual food. Whilst in this field, Mr. Geissenhainer's influence increased and his labors multiplied. New congregations around him were formed, and there was a constant demand for his services. His preaching was everywhere popular. Even a congregation of Mennonites, whose elders preach, without any remuneration, made application to him to become their regular pastor. He replied, "Your preachers receive no salary, and I am paid for my services." To which they said, "We know this, but there is a vast difference between your preaching and theirs. We will pay you a good salary, if you will only consent to serve us." "But how will your elders," said he, "like your proposition?" To this they answered, "We are ourselves the elders, and we have come to make the contract with you." When they learned that he had no part of the Lord's day unoccupied, on which he could officiate, they besought him to preach to them on Saturday afternoon. But even this he could not promise, for in several churches he was in the habit of preaching every Saturday.

From the commencement of his labors in this country, Mr. Geissenhainer manifested a deep concern, not only for the religious advancement of his charge, but for their intellectual and social improvement. He established in their midst more efficient schools, and sought to eradicate many superstitious notions that prevailed, and to remove the strong prejudices existing against the English language. He also introduced useful inventions, and did much to improve agriculture and the mechanical arts among them. He also founded a public library, and imported from Europe many excellent books, religious and scientific. He himself served as the librarian, and it was his practice to select for the members, such works as he deemed most profitable to them, and when they returned the books, to converse with them on what they had read. So great a desire for reading and self-improvement was thus formed among these plain persons, as it was before supposed they were incapable of attaining. It is not surprising that such a man should be held in high estimation, and his influence be extended throughout the whole region of country. So high was his reputation, that individuals, from a feeling of curiosity, would come from remote points to visit him. On a certain occasion, an elderly gentleman from a great distance, called and inquired for old Mr. Geissenhainer, supposing that a man so distinguished for wisdom, and possessing so much

influence, must necessarily be advanced in life. When the young minister presented himself, appearing even more youthful than he really was, the stranger surveyed him from head to foot, and said, "I wish to see your father!" "My father," he replied, "died many years ago in Europe." "Then," said the gentleman, "I have been misdirected. Is there any other clergyman in these parts by the name of Geissenhainer? for I have come a considerable distance to see that renowned old pastor, and to converse with him on the subject of religion." The preacher said, "They call me old pastor Geissenhainer, inasmuch as I have a younger brother than myself in the ministry." The stranger still seemed incredulous. He thought that this could scarcely be the man he sought. But he remarked, "As I have come so far, I may as well communicate my difficulties, and freely unbosom to you my mind." After talking with him for more than half a day, apparently much delighted, and fully satisfied, he took his hat to depart, exclaiming as he went, "I now believe, sir, that you are old Mr. Geissenhainer!"

With all his influence, Mr. Geissenhainer, whilst laboring in this region, had great difficulty in overcoming the general belief in witchcraft. These popular notions, received in childhood, had strengthened with their growth, and it seemed almost impossible to dispel them. Early impressions are not easily eradicated.

*Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem
Testa diu.*

Observing the deleterious, and often fatal effects of the delusion, he felt that it was his duty to direct his energies, in the pulpit and out of it, to the removal of these superstitious errors. He, however, found a most strenuous opponent to his efforts, in a notorious impostor, who feigned that he possessed the power of exorcism. As he derived no small gain from his craft, he regarded Mr. Geissenhainer with little favor, and put forth the most active exertions to counteract his influence. Fortunately a most trifling circumstance exposed the ridiculous pretensions of the fellow, turned the current of sentiment against him, and arrested the evil, accomplishing that which argument had failed to secure. It happened that one Sabbath evening Mr. Geissenhainer, in passing from one church to another, was obliged to go through a thick dismal woods, for a distance of three miles. It was already quite dark, and, as he was not able to

see the road, he let his faithful white horse pick out the way as well as he could. Content to ride leisurely along, he kindled his German Meerschaum, and thus, in his gloomy solitude, resolved to indulge in his wonted luxury. When he had reached the middle of the thicket, he heard a human sound, which saluted him with "Good evening!" Not being able to discern any one, he felt that he was not recognized, yet he at once detected the voice of the magician, who had been the terror of the whole neighborhood. The idea immediately occurred to him, that he would ascertain whether the breast of the man, who had made others his victims, was himself entirely free from the influence of superstition. He therefore determined to keep perfectly silent, and when the salutation was uttered the second time, he blew the sparks of his tobacco pipe through the holes of the lid. This so alarmed the pretended enchanter, that he at once took to his heels and ran as if for his life, a mile and a half, to the first house, which he reached pale and trembling. At first he was unable to speak, but, after a little, recovering from his fright, and being asked the cause, he answered that he had just encountered in the centre of the dreaded woods, a most frightful ghost—a white horse without a head, and upon it a spirit with a head of fire. Soon after the man had departed, the young clergyman leisurely approached the house—it was the house of one of his deacons, who expressed his surprise that he would venture out alone on so dark a night, and along so dreary a road. The clergyman asked why he should be afraid? "Because," said the deacon, "the wood is haunted. The exorcist, this very evening, escaped from a most formidable apparition, and came hither a few minutes ago, almost frightened to death." "What was it?" inquired the clergyman. The deacon answered, "It was a white horse without a head, and a spirit rider, with a fiery head!" "Why, sir, that apparition was I and my Whitey," said Mr. Geissenhainer, and he told how he had purposely frightened the impostor. The family enjoyed the joke, and on relating the ludicrous story to others, it soon spread through the community, so that the poor fellow's gain was now at an end, and feeling very much mortified with what had occurred, he went to other parts, and after this there was little more heard of witchcraft.

In the year 1804, during a trip which the subject of our sketch made, for the resuscitation of his health, to the North, in company with his brother, an incident occurred, which,

whilst it was grateful to his own feelings, is also an illustration of the eagerness with which the destitute brethren of our faith sought to have the word and the ordinances administered to them. He had reached a settlement almost exclusively composed of Germans, and on stopping at the inn, great was his surprise to find that the hostess had been a former member of his congregation, who begged him to stay over Sabbath and to baptize her child. "For," said she, "we have no sanctuary, no public services, no opportunity to attend the ordinances in these parts." She urged him to preach for them, and proposed to invite the neighbors to come together for worship. Mr. Geissenhainer acceded to her request, and the next day a large number of attentive hearers assembled to hear the truth, and after service the rite of Baptism was administered to eleven children. They then consulted with him as to the best plan to be pursued, in order to secure the regular ministrations of the Gospel! During the course of the conversation, some one inquired, if they had come in that direction to purchase land, as this was the usual errand of strangers, and the land was extremely beautiful and fertile. Mr. Geissenhainer replied that it was not; he was travelling merely for the benefit of his health. There being, however, a very fine farm in sight, he asked what price, land like that brought? The owner, who was present, replied, "If you will purchase the farm and move upon it, I will let you have it at half its value, although I have no desire to part with it."—Several of the company then withdrew and, after some consultation, returned and offered to make him a present of the farm, promising him a regular salary in addition, if he would only become their pastor.

Some years after his arrival in this country, Mr. Geissenhainer, during a visit to Philadelphia, incidentally learned that there had been a mistake in the intelligence communicated to him, whilst yet in Europe, in reference to the death of his mother—that she still lived, but that her sister had, at that time, deceased. On the reception of this gratifying report, he at once made arrangements to have his beloved parent brought to this country. She arrived in 1807, at the advanced age of sixty-four years. In the family of her son, surrounded by every comfort, her life was protracted to its seventy-third year, when, as the record says, "she quietly fell asleep in Jesus."

In the year 1808, Mr. Geissenhainer reluctantly relinquished the charge in which he had pleasantly and successfully

labored for fifteen years, and accepted an importunate call from the associated German Lutheran churches in the city of New York, as successor to the lamented Rev. Dr. Kunze. At this period, the German population in this city was small, and the Lutheran church did not exceed five hundred members. Comparatively few accessions were made to the church, to fill up the ranks occasioned by death and removals; immigration was limited, and the young were disposed, in consequence of the prevalence of the English, and the want of acquaintance with the German, to unite with other denominations. It was evident, that if such a state of things continued, and no provision were made for the introduction of the English into the services of the sanctuary, our church must necessarily become extinct. In the year 1814, Mr. Geissenhainer, therefore, without any regard to his personal convenience or interest, determined to make the effort to have English preaching introduced every Sabbath afternoon, in order that the children, if possible, might be retained in the church of their fathers. The arrangement, as he expected, met with opposition. It was regarded as an innovation upon the rights of the Germans, although from the beginning, occasionally, English services had been performed in the same church. As his motives were misapprehended, and some alienation excited, he regarded it advisable to resign his connexion with the church, and recommended as his successor, Rev. Christian F. Schaeffer, of Harrisburg, Pa., who, coming as a stranger, he thought might be able to adjust the difficulties, and reconcile the conflicting interests.

About this time Mr. Geissenhainer's health was much impaired. He had passed through severe domestic affliction, in the sickness and death of several of his children. He was a tender father, and these trials deeply affected him. He therefore proposed for a season to suspend his ministerial labors, and devote himself to the resuscitation of his physical strength. He repaired to Clearfield County, Pa., where he had some property. Although with no pastoral charge, he frequently preached, without any remuneration for his services, and sought to do good whenever the occasion offered. Whilst residing in this region he enjoyed excellent opportunities for giving attention to the study of the Natural Sciences, to which he had, from early life, been devoted. Mineralogy was his favorite pursuit, and often did he delight in making excursions, in search of specimens. His interest in this branch of science continued until his last days, and it is said he was one

of the first mineralogists, at that time, in the country. He was fond of Chemistry, Mechanics, and kindred subjects, and was the author of many important discoveries and inventions—among them the smelting of iron ore with anthracite coal, the making of steel of all qualities from the same pig metal or bar iron, and the rendering of cut-nails as pliable as wrought-nails, although the credit which he deserved, was never awarded him. He did not derive any pecuniary advantage from these services, but was frequently subjected to annoyances, and encountered many losses in his experiments.

After remaining a few years in Clearfield, he removed to Chester County, where his son resided, but his health having very much improved, he was induced to resume the pastoral office. In 1819 he accepted a call to the congregations at Pottstown, Trappe, etc., and about the year 1820, he established a Sabbath School in the church at Vincent, the first one known in that region, which met with much favor and success.

In the year 1822 he received an invitation to return to his former position in the city of New York, the English portion of the congregation having withdrawn to St. Matthew's church, which had been erected exclusively for English services, and elected Rev. Dr. Schaeffer as their pastor. Although he was called to pass through many difficulties and trials, he continued his ministrations here as long as his physical ability permitted. His last sermon he preached on Easter Sunday, March 26th, 1837. He also, on the same occasion, administered the Lord's Supper to a large number of communicants. The protracted services, however, proved too much for his strength. A long and serious illness succeeded, from which, although he partially recovered so as to be able to attend to the lighter duties of his office, yet he was never again sufficiently restored to perform pulpit labor. On the following Christmas he met his beloved flock, and once more dispensed the Sacrament, yet he did not venture to preach. This was his last public work. His strength was gradually declining, and his body becoming more infirm. The powers of his mind were, however, unimpaired, and retained their usual vigor and natural vivacity. He knew that death was approaching, but he manifested the utmost tranquility. There was an entire resignation to his Master's will, and a willingness to obey the summons, at whatever hour he might be required to depart. He realized that God was calling him, and he was ready to go, submissively and cheerfully home. Not

a feeling of dismay seemed to disturb the calm serenity of his spirit.

"Tis a vile thing to die,
When men are unprepared and look not for it!"

But death was to him a familiar subject, one on which he had long and prayerfully reflected, and he could descend to the dark portal of the grave without any tremulous shudder. He spoke freely of his departure, with the most blessed assurance in the boundless mercy of his Heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ our Savior. To the Rev. Joseph Harrison, a Congregational minister, with whom he had long been on terms of intimacy, a few days before his death, he said: "I shall not die! The christian never dies, he only lays off the old garment, to receive a new one. This body is worn out, but the Lord will give me a new one, that I may be active and useful again." "During life," he remarked, "I put my trust in the Lord, and he never forsook me." On Sabbath morning, when dissolution seemed to be near, his son, who was to fill an appointment, inquired, as the hour approached for the service, "Father, shall I stay with you, or go to church?" Warmly clasping his hand, and looking him steadily in the face, he said in his usual loud voice, "Go, son, in God's name, and perform your duties!" To his wife, who stood weeping by his side, he said: "Wife, do you think that I have lived so long in the world, and do not know what death is? Weep not! In a little while it will all be over. I have been with you a long time, and have a larger family in heaven than on earth; I must now go to them. Oh what must it be to meet in the world above!" In expectation of so soon seeing his Savior and his beloved ones, he seemed filled with the greatest joy. Only fifteen minutes before he ceased to breathe, he addressed pious counsels to those around him, and admonished a member of his congregation to continue faithful to the Redeemer. After speaking to him most affectionately, he stretched forth his hand, and said, "Farewell, on earth we shall shake hands no more, but in heaven we shall meet again!" His dying testimony to the value of the truths he had so early professed and so long proclaimed, was most unequivocal and satisfactory. His death occurred on the 27th of May, 1838, on the anniversary of his marriage, just forty-four years before, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and in the forty-seventh of his ministry. His remains were carried to their resting place amid sorrowing friends, who wept that they should see his face no more, and deposited

in the cemetery of the church over which he had so long presided.* The services on the occasion were performed by Rev. Dr. Wackerhagen, at the time President of the New York Ministerium, Rev. Dr. Strobel and Rev. Joseph Harrison, of the Congregational church. On the succeeding Sabbath, discourses appropriate to the occasion, were delivered in German and English, by Rev. Dr. Wackerhagen and Rev. J. Harrison, the former from the text, "I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live. And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die. Believest thou this?"—and the latter from the words of the Psalmist, "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me." The church, of which the deceased had for so many years been pastor, was deeply enshrouded in the habiliments of mourning, for the purpose of expressing the sincere grief which the members felt on account of their painful bereavement, whilst the President of the New York Ministerium, at the next convention of Synod, in his official address, on referring to the loss which the church had sustained by the death of Dr. Geissenhainer, declared, "That his deep and extensive learning, his great urbanity, and various other merits, could not but cause his memory to be cherished by all who were acquainted with his character and worth."

Dr. Geissenhainer enjoyed the reputation of being a very able Divine. In the language once applied to a distinguished Roman — *Animo vidit, ingenio complexus est, eloquentia illuminavit*. He possessed an intellect of the highest order, which had been brought under the influence of the most thorough discipline. His mind was strong, logical, well balanced and inquiring, his taste refined and cultivated, his attainments varied and extensive. He had gathered together a vast fund of classical and scientific knowledge, to which he was constantly making additions. He was an admirable linguist. The Latin and Greek seemed as familiar to him as his native tongue. He was skilled in the various departments of human learning. He was fond of study. He loved to seek for the hidden treasures of truth, and from his accumulated information, he would always advance some ideas to throw light upon

* They have since been removed by his son, Rev. F. W. Geissenhainer, to the family vault in the Lutheran Cemetery, near Middle Village, Long Island, where they rest in the midst of those, to whose spiritual wants in life, he so long ministered.

any topic that was suggested. From early life until the year before his death, it was his practice to devote his evenings, often beyond the hour of midnight, to reading, and with a mind so active and so well disciplined as his, valuable results might naturally be expected. He could not be other than a man of varied and extensive erudition. From the University of Pennsylvania he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity, at its annual commencement in 1826. Although a man of much learning, he published very little. He delivered to his students a course of lectures on Church History, in Latin, in order to familiarize them with that language, and also, in German, Exegetical Expositions of portions of the Old Testament, some of the Gospels, and most of the Epistles, which are said to have been very able; these, together with other valuable manuscripts, now in the hands of surviving relatives, we hope will yet be given to the church as its legacy. He had some acquaintance with music, and his poetical talent was considerable. He composed a number of hymns for festival occasions, one of which is still extensively used in the church, adapted to confirmation seasons, beginning thus:

"Fühlt das heiligste Entzücken."

He was very fond of the good old congregational singing, in which all participated. He had a strong dislike to choirs, and that artistic style of music which has become so fashionable of late, particularly in our city churches. He thought its tendency was to banish all devotional singing from the exercises. He always reverently united in these services, regarding them as a part of the worship in which it was the duty of all to take part. He invariably seated himself, during the singing, with the congregation, that he might with them unite in the praises of God.

Dr. Geissenhainer also possessed an extensive acquaintance with medicine, which he had acquired whilst at the University, and to which, in his native land, all students of Theology were obliged to attend. Doctor Hosack used to say of him, that his knowledge of this science was superior to more than one-half of the physicians in the city of New York. This knowledge he found very useful to him in his visitations to the sick, and when all hope of the patient's recovery had been abandoned, his prescriptions were successful, and the man, who seemed on the threshold of the grave, was often restored to health. Many such instances occurred in his experience.

He also had a profound acquaintance with human nature, and could almost intuitively see into character. In his intercourse with others, there was often the "word fitly spoken," which proved "like apples of gold in pictures of silver." So also in preaching, when he apparently "drew a bow at a venture," it "smote between the joints of the harness." Frequently circumstances were so minutely described, and the sinner's actions so accurately depicted, that the impression prevailed that information had been communicated to the preacher in reference to what had occurred. We recollect hearing, that on a certain occasion, when preaching at the Swamp church, he spoke of the prevalence of immorality, the causes, and the responsibility of those who were in any way participants. In the course of the discussion, he gave a very graphic description of what was, in that day, termed a "frolic," and the destructive influence of such scenes upon the young. It happened that there had been, just the evening preceding, one of these gatherings, at the tavern in the neighborhood, although Mr. Geissenhainer was not aware of the fact, and the landlord, a member of the church, who was the next day in attendance at the sanctuary, supposed that the whole discourse was aimed at him. So conscience-stricken was he, and overpowered by the force of the truth, that he first turned red and then white, and afterwards actually crept beneath the seat of the pew, that he might be concealed from the public gaze. He seemed so satisfied at the time, that the account of the previous night's irregularities had been derived from personal knowledge, that he charged one of Mr. Geissenhainer's students with being present and reporting the facts.

As a preacher, Dr. Geissenhainer was evangelical and eloquent. He did not write out his sermons, but preached from a full skeleton, carefully studied. It is said that as he advanced in years, he became much more impressive in the pulpit. His sermons were plain and practical. Divine truth he presented with great clearness and force. His grand aim was the inculcation of the great doctrines and lessons taught in the word of God. His veneration for the Scriptures was most profound, and to their habitual and faithful study he devoted much attention. He was a diligent reader of the sacred volume in the original languages, and his preaching may be said to have been eminently Biblical. The spiritual wants of his hearers he kept constantly in view. He always thought that he could never do too much for his people in the service

of God. Wherever suffering was to be relieved, want supplied, consolation administered or instruction imparted, he was always prepared to afford assistance and bestow his efforts. Many were the beneficiaries of his kindness, and the recipients of his favors.

In his religious belief, Dr. Geissenhainer was thoroughly orthodox. He revered the standards of the church, and without any reserved qualification, cordially adopted them. He retained his attachment to the symbols till the end of life. Yet we never heard that he was illiberal or intolerant in his views, or proscriptive towards those who differed from him in sentiment. He was on the most intimate terms with those who entertained opposite opinions. Although he had no sympathy with what are termed Calvinistic doctrines, yet he cherished so high a regard for many distinguished Divines of the Calvinistic faith, that the walls of his study were adorned with their portraits. On a certain occasion, when Drs. Schmucker, Sr., and Krauth were partaking of his hospitalities, some reference was made to these portraits, and Dr. Schmucker remarked, "Ah sir, you must be a *Crypto-Calvinist*!" "So *Crypto*," he replied, "that I have not yet been able myself to make the discovery." This incident, whilst it shows his position on a question which has excited great difference of opinion, is also an illustration of his respect for those who entertained sentiments different from his own.

Dr. Geissenhainer was, at the time of his death, Senior of the New York Ministerium. He was also a member of the Convention which met in 1820, to organize the General Synod of our church, and preached a sermon on the occasion, which is still remembered as a masterly effort. He was treated with great consideration by his brethren, and a high estimate placed upon his character.

In his personal appearance, Dr. Geissenhainer was very youthful, particularly in the early part of his life, small in stature, about five feet and a half, of slender form and well proportioned. He had a fine head, with an expansive forehead, a frank, open countenance, a large, mild blue eye, a keen sight, and could, at great distances, see objects unobserved by others. His vision became partially impaired when he was about fifty years of age. It returned, however, before his death. His face was sallow, and somewhat pitted with small-pox marks. His hair brown and thin, his teeth

remarkably good, and showed no evidence of decay until the last year of his life, when he suffered for the first time from the effects of tooth-ache. His walk was quick and graceful. In his latter years his appearance was considerably changed. His color became more sallow, his hair thinner, and entirely white. His visage was care-worn, and indicated that of an individual twenty years older.

Dr. Geissenhainer was a man of affectionate disposition and tender heart. In speaking of the subject of religion, he was often deeply affected, and the tears would profusely trickle down his cheeks. To his family he was most warmly attached, and separation, even for a few days, was a great trial to him. Frequently, when he had said "Farewell," and gone some distance, overcome by his feelings, he would turn back and remain another day, as if he felt that it might be the last privilege he would enjoy, of being with those whom he so much loved. In his social relations he was affable, courteous and dignified. He was an intelligent, agreeable, and cheerful companion. He often remarked that the christian had the best right to be cheerful, that he ought to be the happiest of all men, having so good and so mighty a Father in Heaven, and prospects so glorious of a blissful hereafter, through faith in the Redeemer. He would also say, that he would not remain in the society of those, from whom he could not, with pleasure and confidence, turn his thoughts to his Heavenly Parent, and feel assured that his course and conversation would meet the Divine approbation. His dwelling was the abode of hospitality and kindness. His conversation was marked by pleasantry and good humor, and abounded with general information and apt illustration. Yet, in the language of one of the young men whose privilege it was, for several years, to enjoy his instructions, and to be brought into intimate intercourse with him: "He never lost sight of the great end of life, and daily spent some time, communing with his God." His useful life and happy death, is another evidence of the Father's faithfulness to his children. "Say ye to the righteous, that it shall be well with him!"

"In every state secure,
Kept by Jèhovah's eye,
'Tis well with them while life endures,
And well when call'd to die."

"Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." "The Lamb which is in the midst of

the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of water; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

XXXI.

JOHN DANIEL KURTZ, D. D.

To the roll of deceased Lutheran ministers is also added the venerable name of him who, for so many years, formed a connecting link between the ministry of the past and the present generation in our church. The aged patriarch, on the 30th of June, 1856, entered upon his rest, exchanging the toils and sufferings, incident to this life, for the rewards and glories of the eternal world. He died in the ninety-third year of his age, loved and honored by all who knew him.—For nearly a half century he ministered to the same church, and had secured the attachment of a large congregation, as well as the regard of the community in which he lived. In every relation, public and private, which he sustained, he was most exemplary, and left no room to doubt his sincerity or piety. The language of his fellow citizens, on the occasion of his death, was, "That no man in Baltimore ever spent sixty years so blamelessly as he," whilst the brethren, with whom he had long been ecclesiastically associated, in convention assembled, with united voice exclaimed, "Help Lord, for the godly man ceaseth, for the faithful fall from among the children of men!" Everywhere he inspired confidence and love, and produced so decided an impression on the minds of those who came within the circle of his influence, that none will ever forget him in the happy combination of qualities which attracted him to all hearts. We met him for the last time, in the Spring of 1855. Being on a visit to the city, which had so long been the scene of his active labors, we gladly availed ourselves of the opportunity afforded, to look once more upon his countenance, ere his gentle spirit passed away. He kindly welcomed us to his home, and whilst we listened to his words of instruction, we rejoiced in the privilege we enjoyed. He referred freely to by-gone days, and seemed pleased to revive the reminiscences of the past. He spoke with interest of the prosperity of the church, and gratefully acknowledged the goodness of Him, who had thus far conducted it in its onward course. His conversation abounded with profitable

information. The allusions to himself were marked by his characteristic modesty, and when we rose to depart he thanked us for our visit, just as if our object had not actually been to sit at the feet of Gamaliel, but to confer a benefaction on himself.

This eminent servant of God, who was born in Germantown, Pennsylvania, in the year 1763, was descended from a German Protestant family, whose lineage can be traced back as far as the year 1599. Several of his ancestors were either engaged in the active duties of the ministry, or connected with institutions of learning as instructors. His father was the Rev. John Nicolas Kurtz,* a man of great intellectual and moral energy, who immigrated to this country in 1745, and labored long and efficiently in the ministry of our church. He was a good man—"one that feared God with all his house, and prayed to God always"—whose soul was imbued with the spirit of his Master, and who earnestly sought to carry into practice, the principles he professed.

"The sweet remembrance of the just,
Like a green root, revives and bears
A train of blessings for their heirs,
When weary nature sleeps in dust!"

His children were furnished, by precept and example, with the best instruction in practical godliness. They were the objects of the strictest parental care, and were shielded from the influence of evil associations. Indelible impressions were thus made upon their minds, and the most permanent effects produced. How often, as parents, are we unmindful of the almost omnipotent power which early training exercises over character, shaping it to good or evil issues, apparently with the force of destiny! Children will obey the lessons and follow the impulse given them at the fireside. Their plastic nature takes the forms and images around them, traces of which they retain the remainder of their life. The likeness will be stamped with more or less faithfulness. Everything noble and generous, as well as everything base and selfish, will awaken a lasting echo in the susceptible heart. The influence of a wrong bias, or a sinful example, may operate upon the youthful mind, like a spray of water that has fallen upon polished steel, which no subsequent effort can efface. Even a heathen moralist hath said:

*Nil dictu factum visuque hæc limina tangat,
Intra quæ puer est.*

* Vide Evangelical Review, Vol. VI. p. 261 sqq.

The son entertained a most profound veneration for the memory of his father. Although he had preceded him more than three-score years into the eternal world, he always spoke of him with great tenderness, and with much affection. Even in his last illness, when his mind wandered, he distinctly saw him in imagination, he conversed with him as if present, and words which he had heard uttered almost a century before, lingered on his lips.

“The record fair
Still outlives many a storm, that has effaced
A thousand other themes less deeply traced.”

The subject of our sketch was sent to school at a very early age. In his sixth year we find him busily engaged in acquiring the rudiments of an education, at Tolpehocken, where his father was at this time settled. His teacher was a German, and a man of limited abilities. The only branches taught in the school were reading and writing, and the entire library consisted of the Bible, Luther's Catechism, and the Wurtemberg Lutheran Hymn Book. Very early in life, he felt the first inward desire towards the ministry. “This feeling,” many years afterwards he remarked, “was indeed vague and indefinite, and wholly inexplicable to myself, but still the general idea took hold of my mind, that I must preach the Gospel. I must have manifested this idea, some how or other, to my schoolmates, for they and my elder brothers would insist on my preaching to them. They helped me on a bench or some other elevation, and then I would recite to them, in the most earnest and solemn manner, children's hymns and hymns on death, judgment, heaven and hell, which I had committed to memory. I was probably more affected by these exercises, than any of my juvenile hearers. I shall never forget them whilst memory holds a place in my mind, and I can recollect as vividly as if they were of yesterday's occurrence, how deeply my heart was moved, and what burning tears ran down my cheeks, while holding forth on these occasions. Whether my father was aware of these facts, and whether they had any influence in determining him to devote me to the ministry, I cannot possibly say. * * * * I soon learned it was my father's wish that I should study for the ministry, and this fell in exactly with my own secret and ardent desire.”*

* *Vide* Autobiography furnished by the Editor of the Lutheran Observer, to which we acknowledge our indebtedness for the most interesting facts in this sketch.

In the year 1771 the father was induced to take charge of our Lutheran interests in York, Pa. The son preserved in his memory a distinct recollection of the thrilling scenes connected with this period, and with which, in his childhood, he so warmly sympathized. He was in his twelfth year when the war with England commenced. Like all who lived in those perilous times, he was fond of relating incidents connected with our struggle for independence. Some of these incidents came under his own eye, which, of course, made a deep impression upon his mind. He remembered very well the time when Congress sat in York, being compelled, because General Howe, with his fleet, had taken possession of the city of New York, to flee to Philadelphia, and not feeling secure from danger there, had crossed the Susquehannah to hold their sessions. There was also stationed, at this time, a division of the American army, quartered in part among the citizens, and partly residing in tents pitched in the vicinity of York. Bishop White, who served in the capacity of Chaplain to Congress, made his home with Pastor Kurtz, and it was the duty of young Daniel, and his twin-brother, to carry every morning, to this pious Divine, bread and milk, which constituted the whole of his breakfast. It was the habit of the Chaplain to dine out with different members of Congress. Subsequently the Spanish Ambassador was accommodated in the same room, and when he vacated it, it was given to the French minister, and finally it was occupied by a member of Congress from Charleston, S. C. During this period, the affairs of our country wore a gloomy aspect. Money was scarce, and the means of prosecuting the war limited. As an evidence of his father's interest in the cause, the son would tell how on Sabbath, after preaching, he invited his hearers to collect all the articles of apparel that they could spare, such as coats, hats, shoes and stockings, shirts, bed-clothes, &c., and send them to his residence, for distribution among the destitute, suffering soldiers. Our ministers who lived during the period of the American Revolution, were inflexible patriots, ready to render service for their country as occasion or opportunity required, and for their devotion to the principles involved, they were frequently the victims of persecution and suffering.

When peace was concluded, in 1783, the subject of our sketch was in the twentieth year of his age. He no longer attended school, but his time was not unemployed. He still pursued his studies, under the direction of his father, with

the same object in view, which had in early life arrested his attention. Although he labored under great disadvantages, his mind was gradually developing, and making progress in knowledge. His father, however, in consequence of his numerous and multiplied pastoral duties, concluded to send his son to Lancaster, for the purpose of prosecuting his studies under the instruction of H. E. Muhlenberg, D. D., of whose family he became an inmate, and for the kindness with which he was treated, he ever seemed most grateful. The first book which his preceptor placed in his hands, was a copy of the Latin Grammar, which he soon committed to memory. He was interested in his studies, and pursued them with much delight. "The hours of recitation," he says, "were the most pleasant I had, and I regretted that they were not more frequent and of longer duration. But my teacher, a man of endless labor and untiring industry, soon told me that I must learn to help myself, while he gave me the free use of his library, and liberty to occupy the room as the place of my study. His collection of books was, fortunately, large and judicious, one of the best then in this country."

As an illustration of his childlike simplicity and great inexperience at this period of his life, he gives the following amusing incident: "One day I found a work by Dr. Lardner, entitled 'Thoughts on the Demoniack Possessions recorded in the New Testament.' My curiosity I found unusually excited in discovering this book. I put it carefully away, and when the family had retired, I began to read it, and the more I read, the more I became interested. I continued to read and read, until finally I was ordered to retire. With fear and trembling I took my candle, alarmed at reading, as I, in my simplicity supposed, so profane a book, and filled with deep repentance and terror, I threw myself upon my bed, praying God to forgive me, and promising to be more faithful in the future."

During his residence in Lancaster he had an opportunity of meeting with a number of distinguished *savans* of Europe, who visited Dr. Muhlenberg, at the time justly regarded as one of the best Naturalists in the United States. Among these was Professor Schoepf, of Jena, who appeared to take a lively interest in his welfare. "One day," says Mr. Kurtz, when it was made my duty to show him my preceptor's mineralogical collection, he asked me if I felt any inclination to go to Europe to study there. I replied that I would do so with pleasure. He assured me that I could obtain gratuitous

instruction in medicine, and that he would make an arrangement with Dr. Lessz, to give me instruction in Theology without charge, and that a few hundred dollars would be sufficient to support me there for several years. I wrote to my father immediately, requesting him to furnish the requisite sum, and I would relinquish all claim to my patrimonial inheritance. But my request was denied with the expression of opinion, that I could learn just as much, where I was, as in Europe."

He remained in Lancaster for some time, pursuing his studies with unwearied diligence. At a meeting of the Synod of Pennsylvania, held in Philadelphia in 1784, after a satisfactory examination, conducted by Rev. Dr. Kunze and Rev. J. L. Voigt, he was licensed to preach the Gospel. In the year 1786 he was permanently invested with the sacred office, Rev. Dr. Helmuth being at the time President of the Synod.

On Mr. Kurtz's introduction into the ministry, he at first assisted his father in preaching, catechizing, and in visiting the sick. Soon after he took charge of the congregations in the vicinity of York. He had been invited by Dr. Helmuth to become his assistant in Philadelphia. The communication most earnestly urging the wish, was addressed to his father, who immediately handed it to his son, saying, "I do not advise you to accept or refuse—examine the question yourself, ask God's guidance, and then decide for yourself!" After mature and serious reflection, he felt that it was his duty to decline the offer. He was a modest man, and his limited experience in the ministry, made him conclude that he did not possess the qualifications requisite for the position. His decision incurred Dr. Helmuth's displeasure, yet he remarks, "The good Doctor did not know how much I revered him, how heartily I loved him, and how much his sermons moved me whenever it was my privilege to hear him, and how often he was the means of awakening me to renewed zeal in the discharge of my ministerial duties!" The alienation of feeling did not, however, continue. The warmest friendship subsequently sprang up, and the most intimate relations existed until Dr. Helmuth's death, in 1825.

Two years after he had entered the ministry, Mr. Kurtz, with his brother-in-law, Rev. J. Goering, was appointed to make a missionary tour to vacant congregations, and scattered members of our church in Maryland and Virginia. They visited a number of important places, and were everywhere most cordially received. The following year Mr. Kurtz re-

peated the trip. On his way homeward, he passed through Baltimore, which was then beginning to attract attention by the growth of its population and the rapid increase of its commerce. He called to see our Lutheran minister, Rev. Siegfried Goerock, who appeared very much gratified to meet with the son of his valued friend, and requested him to fill his pulpit on the approaching Lord's Day. He cheerfully acceded to his wishes. Soon after his return home, his father received a letter from Pastor Goerock, expressing the desire that he would allow his son to become an assistant to him in the ministry. The father making no objection, and the young man acquiescing in the proposition, the call was accepted, and the duties at once assumed. The offices assigned him were, to preach once on the Sabbath, visit the school and instruct the children. He soon became a favorite in the congregation, and the most of the members desired him to perform pastoral labor for them. This very naturally gave offence to the Senior Minister, who, at the expiration of the year, let his assistant understand, that his services could now be altogether dispensed with. Mr. Kurtz accordingly told the people that the time having passed, for which he had been engaged, he would return home, and entreated them to remain united, and to live in harmony. He, however, very soon received a call signed by the vestry and several members of the congregation, urging him to resume his labors among them. Mr. Goerock occupied the old church. Mr. Kurtz's friends secured the use of a Methodist church. A conference of the two ministers was held, and terms agreed upon, by which the rights of each were clearly defined and plainly understood. The former, however, died a few years afterwards, when the congregations united, and the latter became the exclusive and regular pastor.

The subject of our narrative labored in this situation for nearly half a century, with great diligence and fidelity. He was repeatedly called to other fields, to Alexandria, Georgetown, Lebanon and Hagerstown, but he felt that it was his duty to remain where he was. In 1823, after he had been minister here for thirty-seven successive years, Rev. J. Ullhorn became associated with him in his labors. Dr. Kurtz, however, continued connected with the church as Pastor until the year 1832, when, in consequence of advancing physical infirmities, having reached his three-score years and ten, he resigned—preaching, on the occasion, a valedictory from the

words, "Finally brethren farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you." The church, on his retirement, gave him the use of the parsonage so long as he lived, and settled upon him a pension during life. Although he had retired from regular pastoral service, he still occasionally preached, and was disposed to make himself useful whenever a suitable opportunity offered. We find him, when in his eighty-eighth year, delivering a discourse at the dedication of a church, from the words: "One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord and to inquire in his temple," and in his ninetieth year participating in the exercises connected with the laying of the corner-stone of two Lutheran churches. Also, by particular request, he officiated at a funeral when in the ninety-second year of his age. A church paper,* at the time, thus describes the occasion: "He delivered an impressive, connected and appropriate address in German, which would have reflected credit on his head and heart, even in the prime of his protracted and useful life. The scene was exquisitely touching: there, in the centre of the parlor, stood the time-worn veteran, the venerable man of God, who had endured the peltings, and passed through the vicissitudes of nearly *one hundred years*, surrounded by the grand-children and great grand-children of his primitive cotemporaries, long since descended to the silent darkness of the tomb. Supported by one hand resting on the back of a chair, and by the other on his faithful cane, he stood erect, and bore glorious testimony to the doctrine of salvation by faith in a crucified Redeemer, and to the inexhaustible richness of the consolation of the Gospel in Christ Jesus, in a tremulous voice indeed, but with a freshness and vigor which afforded proud evidence that God, in his mercy, had not yet permitted the fair fabric of the inner man to be invaded by imbecility, or even impaired by decay." His last official act was the baptism of his great grand-child, Edward Moreton Schaeffer. He reluctantly consented, because he could not see sufficiently well to read the form, and he was afraid his memory might prove treacherous, but his children and grand-children insisted. He therefore performed the service extemporaneously, and all present acknowledged that so solemn and impressive an administration of the ordinance they had never witnessed.

* Lutheran Observer, March 3d, 1853.

He seemed to retain much of his mental power and vigor almost until the last. He was confined to his bed only a short time before his death. No particular malady preyed upon his frame. His death was marked by the greatest tranquility and freedom from pain. The resources of animal life seemed only exhausted. His mind was calm and full of peace, his faith clung with an unyielding tenacity to the promises of the Gospel. With a serene and peaceful countenance, he anxiously awaited the summons to depart.

“He turns his steadfast eye
Beyond the grave, whose verge he falters nigh,
Surveys the brightening regions of the blest,
And like a wearied pilgrim sinks to rest.”

Christ was with him and strengthened him in the hour of dissolving nature, and gave him a sweet release. The silver cord was loosed, the golden bowl broken, and the spirit returned unto Him who gave it. His mortal remains were borne by his friends to the Green Mount Cemetery, where

“They laid his silver temples in their last repose.”

“Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust,” confidently “looking for the general resurrection on the last day, and the life of the world to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall raise his followers to the participation of his own happiness and glory in heaven.” And as they stood around the opening tomb, profound silence reigned whilst the minister of God uttered those comforting words: “I am the resurrection and the life. He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.” “Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.”

On the 5th of September, 1790, Dr. Kurtz was united in marriage to Maria Messersmith. “She was to me,” he remarked on a certain occasion, “a valuable and faithful wife, a useful counsellor, active and frugal, and had a feeling heart for the poor and needy, and was generally beloved by all her acquaintances. We lived more than half a century in wedlock; harmony and love dwelt under our roof.” She died in 1841, but her image in subsequent years never faded from his heart. This union was crowned with eleven children—three of whom are still living. Several of his children he lost in their infancy, in reference to whom he says: “I consider all

children as saved who die in their innocence; nevertheless, I have felt how painful it is to parents to follow their offspring to the grave, though we know to die is gain to them, and that after death they quickly mature to the happy state of holy angels. I believe that many adult persons, with all their pious wishes, by tottering, falling and rising, and with all their endurance, scarcely attain to a child's salvation."

It is the concurrent testimony of all who knew Dr. Kurtz, that he was one of the most upright and conscientious men that ever lived—a firm, yet unpretending believer in Christ, a most decided and consistent christian. Candor, sincerity, and strict moral purity characterized all his actions. Generosity, disinterestedness, and a lofty integrity, were prominent throughout his whole course in life. His noble mien, his benign and conciliatory spirit, and affable intercourse, secured the respect and admiration of all. Perhaps no one ever passed through so protracted a term of existence so distinguished in all the traits of a thoroughly good man. No one was further removed from every suspicion of intrigue or management for selfish ends. No one ever enjoyed, to a greater extent, the confidence and esteem of those who were intimately acquainted with him. His forbearance, gentleness, benevolence, were well known. His meek and quiet spirit was appreciated. His nature was that of genuine kindness, and he sought to promote the happiness of those around him. He was most tender of the feelings of others, and was not disposed to speak disparagingly of the absent, or to detract from any person's character. He was always careful in his remarks in reference to others. Perhaps his excessive prudence and timidity may have sometimes interfered with his usefulness, and embarrassed his efforts for doing good. He was retiring, modest and unassuming, possessed great humility, and was devoid of all that ambition which aspires to notoriety. He manifested no desire to refer to his own good deeds, or to claim any credit for what he had done. He rather depreciated his own ability. When reminded, only a year or two before his death, of some incidents in his own life, his reply was, "Let them pass—if the motive was pure, and the act good and useful, God knows it, and that is sufficient!" When his attention was directed to some severe trials he had experienced, he remarked, "We will say nothing about these. I have long since forgiven all my enemies, and prayed God also to blot out their sins. They no doubt think they were right, and intended not so much harm to me as might be supposed."

"This was all his care
To stand approved in sight of God."

There were no stirring events in his life, no remarkable episodes to distinguish the "even tenor of his way;" in the language of the clergyman* who officiated at his funeral, "not even a ripple ruffled the uniform calm;" but there was a beautiful harmony in his whole life, a combination of noble qualities, which enabled him to exert a constant and noiseless influence, to go forward in the faithful discharge of his duties and the fixed exertion of his purposes, conscious of his own integrity, and looking to God for the result.

He seems to have been a man of experimental piety, of deep religious experience. We find him, towards the close of life, using the following language: "I acknowledge it costs much to be a christian; many wrestlings, combats, prayers and labors are necessary, and a faithful perseverance throughout life. I praise my God that his anticipating grace, *gratia perveniens*, has been mine from my youth. I can recollect no precise period of time in which I can say that the great work of conversion has taken place. It is known that children, brought up by christian parents to early piety, have grown gradually in christianity. I am not one of those who, through storms and earthquakes, have been brought to a knowledge of the Savior, but through the still small voice of the precedent and preparing grace of God. But I do not find any fault with others, whose experience differs from my own. I only regret that I did not maintain and act out more faithfully, the christian sentiments wrought in my heart by the Holy Spirit. I had often and much to combat with flesh and blood, and I have still greater cause to watch over myself, that I may not be torn away from my Savior by the allurements around me, and the temptations of my own heart." Again he says: "I have much cause to lament that I have not lived a more holy and devout life. Far from all proud humility, I confess with shame, from the inmost feeling of my soul, that I have need to pray, 'Hide thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities,' and I have often prayed, 'Lord enter not into judgment with thy servant. Remember not the sins of my youth, nor my transgressions: according to thy mercy remember thou me, for thy goodness sake, O Lord!'" He was thoroughly evangelical in all his views. The cardinal doctrines of our holy religion were most precious

* J. G. Morris, D. D., Baltimore, Md., whose services on the Sabbath, he was in the habit of attending the last years of his life.

to his soul. All self-righteousness he renounced. He claimed no merit for any work that he had done. His hope of acceptance was based solely on the merits of the blessed Redeemer, to whose service he had solemnly devoted himself. "I hope to be saved wholly," he says, "through the free grace and mercy of God in Christ Jesus. I desire more and more to love, honor and serve God, who is my greatest Benefactor, both in life and in death! I adore Christ as my only Redeemer, who has died on the cross for me, and for the sins of the whole world; I wish to love him a thousand times more ardently and faithfully, and my neighbor as myself." "When I reflect," says he again, "on the mercy, forbearance and love, with which God has borne with me, his unworthy servant, I am a wonder in my own eyes, and am constrained to exclaim, 'What is man, that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man, that thou visitest him?' 'I was cast upon thee from the womb; thou art my God; I am not the least worthy of all thy members, and of all the truth which thou hast shown unto thy servant.'"

Although Dr. Kurtz was very much attached to the religious views under whose influence he had been reared, he was exceedingly tolerant and liberal towards those who occupied a different stand-point. He was eminently conservative.—Creeds and Confessions, in their proper place, he regarded as excellent things, but he did not wish them to occupy a wrong position. His motto was, "*In necessariis, unitas—in dubiis liberalitas—in omnibus caritas.*" Loving his own church, and sound in its faith, he was eminently filled with the spirit of christian love. "If only sinners," he would say, "are rescued from ruin, and trained for Heaven, let us bear and forbear." When told that the Methodists were gathering in our German Lutheran emigrants, and organizing churches among them, his reply was, "And is it not better that they should go to Heaven as Methodists, than be neglected and overlooked as Lutherans?"

As a preacher, Dr. Kurtz was ardent, instructive, and thoroughly scriptural. He presented the truth seriously, plainly, and most faithfully. His manner was earnest and deeply impressive. His countenance, as well as his lips, spoke the sentiments which he uttered. He was inclined to dwell on the great truths of christianity, in a simple and practical way, carefully avoiding everything like metaphysical speculation. Repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, were prominent doctrines in his discourses:

The truth proved "quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword." The most marked results often accompanied the delivery of a single sermon. Once, when preaching at Frederick, on the danger of procrastinating the great question of eternity, a man after church went to the house of a friend and remarked, "I will now go home, make my will, and follow the good counsel of the preacher." On the same occasion, a celebrated physician came to him and said, "I acknowledge myself to be the bad servant, who knew the Master's will and did it not." A discourse he preached at another time, from the text, "One thing is needful," resulted in the conversion of several of his hearers. As a pastor, he was regular in his ministrations. He addressed himself to the work with great vigor and alacrity—ever the untiring, self-denying, devoted shepherd of his flock—and it is supposed that he effected as much good, by his pastoral visitations, as by his labors in the pulpit. In the home of the afflicted, and at the couch of the sick, his sympathetic virtues rendered his influence most appropriate and soothing—his intercourse, it is said, was useful beyond most of his fellow-laborers. His people generally regarded him with veneration and love, which could have resulted only from their long experience of his tender and diligent regard for their welfare. During his ministry, he baptized 5156 persons, buried 2521, and solemnized 2386 marriages.

Dr. Kurtz took a deep interest in everything connected with the welfare of "Jerusalem," to use his own favorite expression. He was one of the founders of the General Synod, a Director of our Theological Seminary, and was closely identified with all the benevolent institutions of the church. He sympathized with every effort that was designed to elevate the character of our people, and build up the waste places of Zion. He was also actively connected with the leading religious and eleemosynary associations in the city, of which he was so long a resident. He was one of the founders of the Maryland Bible Society. He, with Drs. Allen and Inglis, met, and after prayer for God's blessing upon the enterprise, resolved to form a union for the dissemination of the word of God throughout the State. He was a member of the Baltimore Dispensary, and served for several years as President of the Board of Trustees of the Female Orphan Asylum, until the infirmities of age incapacitated him for the duties.

The subject of our sketch was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Pennsylvania, in

1816. He had a vigorous and inquiring mind, which he had improved by careful reading and study. He was a diligent student, and being an early riser, and never idle, he was able to accomplish more than men generally do, with the same amount of official labor. His library was large and well selected. He had an extraordinary memory. In his last days he would repeat the longest German hymns without the omission of a single word. In the early part of his life he devoted considerable attention to the study of the Natural Sciences. Botany and Entomology were his favorite pursuits, and he had gathered together quite a respectable cabinet. Its value was greatly increased by his correspondence and exchanges with distinguished naturalists of Europe. But in the latter part of his life he abandoned these pursuits, and devoted himself exclusively to the work of the ministry. Everything was made subordinate to his unreserved consecration to the cause of Christ. He conscientiously surrendered himself to the highest interests of his fellow-men, and to the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom. "He counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus his Lord, that he might win Christ and be found in him." "Neither did he count his life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus Christ, to testify the gospel of the grace of God."

Thus one and another of our great and good men, our beloved and honored ministers of the Gospel, are passing away! Thus are we all passing away! This sentiment is inscribed upon all things earthly. And soon will come the time, when

"The cloud capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherits, shall dissolve,
And like the baseless fabric of a vision,
Leave not a wreck behind!"

Let us, therefore, be "followers of them who, through faith and patience" have inherited "the promises!" So that when "our earthly house of this tabernacle," which we now inhabit, is dissolved, we may have a "building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens!"

ARTICLE IV.

THE GROWTH OF INDIVIDUALISM.

By Edward McPherson, A. M., Gettysburg, Pa.

OUR subject has reference to the history of the Race. It involves the past trials and present position of the Human Family, and has an intimate connexion with its future aspirations and fortunes. It is, the distinct recognition by some governments, of individual rights denied almost from the beginning of human authority; the disenthralment of THE INDIVIDUAL, in mind, body and conscience, from the oppression which had almost crushed him; the gradual growth, in the State, of the man—each individual man, as a being whose rights are worthy of preservation and protection; the acknowledgment that it is not beneath the dignity of government, but is its rightful duty, to guard from injury every subject, and to secure to each his share in the dignities and honors, as well as the burthens and responsibilities of the State; the increased respect paid to the man as contrasted with the ancient idea of the mass; in one phrase, THE GRADUAL GROWTH OF INDIVIDUALISM.

This thought, not yet fully developed, is at the basis of all rational improvement in government. Without its distinct recognition, there can be no really progressive movement. The equality of all before the law is the grandest idea in government, and is the necessary corollary of that comforting truth of Religion, the equality of all before God. Thus, Christianity—in giving man a priceless individual value, in teaching him that he was created by God, is responsible to God and will be judged by God, in establishing, by means of conscience, a new and *personal* relation between man and his Creator, and in tracing all to a common origin and holding all to a common accountability—is, in truth, the parent of Individualism, and promises to work out a double redemption—saving Mankind finally, from the twin oppression of Sin and Tyranny. Before Christianity was revealed, this thought was not grasped; and Ancient Civilization, lacking Moral Power, lacked alike that spirituality which was reserved for a later period, and that true equality in government which is

now advancing to perfect development, with the increasing spread of Christian principles.

Ancient History abundantly illustrates this remark. Turning to hoary and imbecile INDIA, and viewing its firm Force-fixed organism—the iron-walled castes which offered liberty to one class and slavery to the rest; the system's claimed and conceded Divinity of creation; the abjectness of worship which the Brahmins wrung from the obedient mercenaries, the helpless tradesmen and the debased slaves; the polygamic practices which the lifeless religion sanctified; the enforced ignorance of the governed class; and the fearful vices which corrupted the rulers and the ruled—we see nothing of that brotherhood in Man, before which no such absolute inferiority of rights in some, and absolute superiority of rights in others, is possible to be maintained. Formed to aggrandize the possessors of power at the expense of its subjects, it maintained its unnatural position by the powerful weapons of Superstition and Force, and by its intended debasement of the mass and its degradation of the individual, gradually effected that mental and moral torpor which yet overspreads that Nation, lying now as then, unmoved by the shocks of centuries, and sternly, sullenly content in its despairing degradation. *There* INDIVIDUALISM never had a home, and men toiled in ignorance, and carelessness, of the approaching day.

The records of EGYPT show us little improvement. Its more active life, its less enervating climate, its more frequent contests, its unwearied industry and its less persistent passiveness developed one feature which the gloom of India does not present; but this was a modification, not so much of the enslavement of the people, as of the relative rights of the governing classes. The people were yet subjects—victims. And the splendor of portions of Egyptian History, its conquests over nature, its gorgeous temples, its massive and enduring pyramids, are proofs only of the loyalty and moral enervation of the subjects, not of the wisdom and kindness of the rulers. Old Egypt also, must be associated with a denial of the dignity of Labor to which it owes most of its fame, and with the degradation of the millions who inscribed upon wondrous and eternal monuments the records of the nation's achievements, and the names of its most glorious defenders.

PHENICIA was a nation of Laborers, and first emancipated Labor from the severest of the penalties under which it had suffered. Its people, from roving pirates became estab-

lished traders, and carried the works of ingenious artizanship over the wide waste of waters to the limits of the then known world. In this pursuit of the quiet occupations of peace, which required the constant plowing of distant Oceans, they increased their knowledge, gained new ideas of government, obtained new aspirations, inhaled a hatred of restraint, developed a bold and enterprising spirit which could not brook the mean restraints of priestly or royal power, and created conceptions which, however feeble when compared with the recent past, and however imperfectly shadowed forth in their institutions, should be acknowledged as theirs, and properly traced, as direct results, to their industrial habits, so different from the brutal conquests, bloody wars and destructive tendencies which absorbed the energies and marked the course of most of Heathen nations. There was developed the germ of that sturdy oak which, nurtured by the MIDDLE CLASS, afterwards overspread the nations and gathered, under its protecting boughs, millions who had long languished for want of its congenial shade. But their religion was barbarous and defiled them; their trade tempted the cupidity of their stronger enemies; and soon the Phoenicians disappeared, having but feebly illustrated those humanizing maxims whose spirit has shed a peculiar lustre upon Modern times.

In GREECE, appeared a people with a marked taste for arms, an exceeding restlessness of spirit, an intensity of patriotism previously unknown, a then unparalleled strength of feeling, a singular refinement of nature, a wonderful capacity for intellectual improvement, an absorbing love of the beautiful in Nature and in Art, and with ardent longings after Liberty, which they never understood and never obtained. One of these characteristics found gratification in constant wars which, sometimes with each other and sometimes with a common enemy, exhausted the contestants, and at last sunk the nation in its grave. Another was manifested in a discontent with the present, an aversion to indolence, and in ceaseless aspirations after an indefinite better. Another made them willing sacrifices for the good of the State, converting weak women into heroes, and nerving warriors to do and dare aught required for their country's safety or glory. Another gave directness to their efforts, unity to their purposes, and power to their resolves. Another quickened the development, and sharpened the perception, of beauties in moral feelings which their grosser predecessors had never realized or enjoyed; and found fitting expression in a milder and less terrifying form

of religion than had preceded. Another burst forth in those grand achievements which have inseparably connected the Grecian name with much that is attractive, inviting and ennobling in Literature, and have given their great masters the reputation of having, of all Heathens, made the nearest approach to the discovery of The Truth. Another induced the cultivation of those graceful tastes which furnished appreciative admirers to those matchless works of Art, whose surpassing excellence is yet a never-failing source of keenest pleasure. And another was the remote, but effective cause of those repeated grasps, those terrible throes, amid which, it was hoped, some plan of deliverance would be appointed to suffering, but aspiring Humanity. Of such were the components of the Grecian character. Their institutions, more liberal and more nearly individual than any which had gone before, called forth the powers of the CLASS, rather than of the MAN. The State was adored. The individual was subordinated. Political duties were ranked as the highest—higher than those of Religion, to which the State was preferred, and whose laws those of the State absorbed. Thus, while the State was elevated, the individual, in person and mind and conscience, was subjected, not to a few as hitherto, but to the aggregation of all—yet subjected, stripped of his privileges, his rights, his prerogatives. And in Greece, brilliant, immortal, glorious Greece, the home of sages, the nursery of philosophy, the birth-place of gentle Art, the venerable home of venerated men, we see no development of that grand thought, beyond which in sublimity only one other, its twin, was ever entrusted to the care of fallen, erring man.

In ROME is presented an evidence of the power of unquailing energy, devoted to material conquests. The Roman's theatre was the actual, not the ideal world. He revelled in the excitement of battle, and was never satiated with the pleasures of victory. His country was his God; her service his glory. He swept over the earth, overthrowing kingdoms, razing cities, devastating colonies, blotting out nations. He made his Capital the Mistress of the World, and forced through her streets, in galling chains, the chiefs of her conquered peoples. He made the Roman name known at the ends of the earth, and its utterance became his shield against oppression. He conquered the country as well as the people, marking the subjugation of the latter by taxes, and the former by monumental works connecting it with the Central City. But while conquering others, the Roman was not himself

free. That liberty had always been the liberty of Rulers, and it ultimately became the liberty of One to rule. The duty of the others was obedience. Their religion could not relieve them from this position. It was of human creation, was sustained by human laws, was dependent upon the State, was controlled by the State and was served by officers of the State. It spread superstition among the people, binding men to earthly things instead of lifting them to heavenly, and neglecting that government of self, without which no man or people ever rose to the enjoyment of actual liberty. It did not come between the strong and the weak, but permitted the father to sell or murder his child, and the master his slave. It did not bridle human passions or check human vices. And soon corruption overspread all classes. Wealth, Irreligion and Slavery consumed the former conquerors of the world; and the fierce Barbarians of the North won an easy victory over the enervated frames, broken spirits, and corrupted natures of the last of Heathen Nations. Rome, with its thoroughly centralized government, followed in the wake of others who sought to tread where Human Principles pointed. It buried Man under imperial magnificence; and both fell in a common ruin. But while all were humiliated, they were not destroyed; for amid the darkest gloom of that fearful period, when Man's powers for good had been fully tested and had wholly failed, the Day-star arose, and the CHRIST, long predicted, came, promising the elevation of Man, the destruction of his oppressor, and the regeneration of the world from the thralldom of passion, ignorance and vice.

Such, in brief, was Ancient Civilization, in its relation to Individualism. It possessed no law of right and wrong. It knew not God or the worship due Him. Of necessity, it was ignorant of the regard due to Man, who was created in His image. It embodied human ideas, but lacked those Divine Truths which alone can give lasting life and fadeless glory to a nation. It accomplished human purposes, but fell far short of those grand conceptions which were beyond the reach of unaided man. It, for a time, seemed to elevate the few, though at the expense of the many, but at last brought all to a common level in the dust: for, all connected with it—whether as Priests at the altar, Emperors in the palace, Philosophers in the Academy, Orators in the forum, Tradesmen in the marts, Senators in the Capitol or Citizens in their homes—all, the purest and wisest and greatest of them, wandered in dark valleys, whose gloom they could not penetrate.

They perceived dimly, so dimly that they could never grasp, the object of their search, and at last, in ignorance of its actual existence, they fell headlong under the weight of their manifold errors, follies and crimes—the issue of that Religious system which chained the many in debasement, conferred upon the few only the right to liberty, connived at the spread of slavery, established combats in which man was slain for sport, destroyed the moral sensibility, weakened the domestic feelings and stimulated the worst passions of the people, and degraded woman, sensualized man, and finally humiliated all. Man, polluted, degraded, despised in Rome, was yet to rise; but not by man. To the Maker of all, must we look for the redemption of all. Thus expecting, we turn a few more of the wondrous pages on which are recorded God's doings with His creatures.

In falling, the Romans gave two elements with which the new civilization was to be, in part, constructed. In conquering, the Barbarian tribes contributed also two—their characteristics of personal independence and individual attachment. Those of the Romans, were the Municipal system and the Christian church, which, at the close of the fourth century, had become a corporate body, with a complete government. Our attention, at present, will be more particularly with the latter. We have seen in the Heathen Religion, the causes of the downfall of Heathen Civilization. We will find in the Christian Religion, the causes of that wonderful prosperity, and that glorious liberty which later nations have secured. In this, we do not undervalue the influence exerted by the great political convulsions of the period to which we refer, but behind them all is to be recognized that influence which penetrated society, and gave tone and direction to its combinations. As Heathenism corrupted the world, Christianity purified it, by changing the motives to action, by modifying the opinions, improving the morals, and elevating the aspirations of the people. Yet this also had its conflicts, but, unlike Man's law, it conquered.

The Christian faith, properly understood and practised, would have at once redeemed the world from the folly and wickedness in which it had long been plunged. But its agents were men, and they often failed to meet the necessities of the times. This law of Love was a sweet sound to the multitudes who, and whose ancestors, had for ages suffered under the law of Force. But it was not a sweet sound to rulers, whose pride it would subdue, whose cruelty it would stay, whose

avarice it would check, whose anger it would quell, whose revenge it would proscribe, and whose favorite indulgences it proclaimed as sure to be punished hereafter with ceaseless penalties. Moreover, the prevalence of this law involved change in domestic customs, reforms in domestic institutions, modifications in internal policy. But change involved risk to permanency. Hence, when the new Religion had so far prevailed as to attract attention, it was viewed with hostility, but with a hostility modified by an expressed contempt for the flippantly-termed "outburst of fanaticism"—a convenient mode, not yet extinct, of accounting for, by sneering at, all new thoughts whose existence and agitation are offensive to the non-progressive members of society. Despised by those in power, Christianity slowly made its way among the lowly, the unpretending, teaching them priceless secrets not known before, not taught elsewhere, opening exhaustless fountains of consolation, reforming dissolute lives and directing anxious, beating hearts in those paths which lead to contentment here, to glory hereafter. Soon the number of the professors of the Christian faith increased, and extended from the lower to the higher walks of life. Then, Heathenism took alarm. Its priests feared for their livelihood—its retainers for their places—its advocates for their supremacy. Bitter hate arose; and ere long, biting persecutions visited those Christians who could not, and would not, renounce their glorious faith. The secular arm was outstretched,—not to save—but to strike; and numerous, worthy, devoted were its victims. But human power could not reach, or remedy the disorder. It spread. Persecution purified the ranks of believers. It intensified the devotion of the steadfast. It made their heroism sublime. It developed in its victims a nobleness of resolve, a purity of purpose, which aroused sympathy in friends, and extorted admiration from foes. It raised Christians above the ordinary level of men; and in making them superior to human suffering, proved the claim that their religion was, indeed, from God. The persecution wholly failed in its purpose. The Church was not to be overthrown by violence, by Force. These weapons had hitherto laid low all the enemies of Heathen Rome; but against Christianity they were powerless.

The Christians persevered, teaching their doctrines, practicing their holy precepts, and amazing a corrupt and decaying world with their consistent, lovely life. In time, they became a large class in the empire. Ultimately, the persecution was stayed, the Christians were allowed to re-assemble

for worship in the buildings they had formerly occupied, and all exceptions against them were removed. Shortly the Emperor became a Christian, and took under his protection what he defined to be the church—a position far more dangerous to its integrity than the frowns and hatred of his predecessors. The Imperial Government confirmed the Bishops in their sees, and recognized their authority; whereupon the Bishops, strengthened by the civil arm, exalted their offices, extended their powers and magnified their dignity. The government of the church was modeled from that of the State; and below the Bishops were placed various grades of subordinate officers, with the laity divided into various ranks possessing varying privileges. New influences entered the church; and soon a council, held about the year 300, declared that freedmen whose former owner was living, were debarred from promotion to any rank of the clergy. A tone of contempt for inferiors, runs through its canons, showing how the church had lost its spirituality, how fearfully it had already yielded to the blandishments of the worldly-powerful, and how the liberty it then enjoyed was rather the liberty “to scheme, to quarrel and to oppress, than the higher liberty to endure, to forbear and to rest.” The church soon became torn with dissensions, which continued to rage, though met by some earnest spirits with words of quiet, sober remonstrance. Old controversies were revived. New controversies arose. And the Christian world was kept in perpetual antagonism. In one of these contests, one party declared for the liberty of the individual to make his own creed; the other advocated the power of the church to form doctrine for all to believe. The latter prevailed, assisted by the influence of the Emperor; and another step was taken toward the same centralization in the church as was prevailing in the State. But *this* centralization was destined to be greater than *that*, for it was to overshadow the Empire. Ambrose fought this fight and conquered—exalting the ecclesiastical above the temporal. But the liberty he gained was for his order, not the subject-classes whose liberty was rather diminished than increased by the newly-extended dominion of the Bishops. The tendency to centralization continued, and soon a Council declared the inequality of the Bishops, erected another and far more exclusive order, and elevated the Roman and the Constantinopolitan Bishops above the rest. Siricius, recently elected to the former, enforced the decree, and exercised and consolidated the pre-eminence awarded to his office. The celibacy

of the clergy was established for the double purpose of effecting by it their isolation from the people, that the people might be more securely controlled, and of making the clergy, by separating them from their inferiors, more dependent upon their superiors. Under the influence of a policy of which this is an example, clerical indulgences reached such an extreme, that scourging was by no means an unusual mode of punishment, and with this condition of morals among the clergy, what must have been the condition of the laity? The existence of these disorders was urged by some as proof of necessity for a more vigorous government; whilst by others, as a reaction against centralization, Monasticism was originated. The monk, in his retirement, was at first liberated from the excessive watchfulness of the clergy, and was independent of the priesthood. Such was the oppression of centralization that many devoted themselves to monastic life. But soon *their* dream vanished. The monastery was invaded by unhallowed footsteps. Force became an essential of its government, and the liberty pursued for centuries, again disappeared as a phantom. Centralization prevailed among the Roman Christians, and liberty was virtually abandoned. The rulers of the church became as oppressive as those of the empire; and the Northmen came to dethrone both. We know how the ponderous blows of Alaric curdled the blood in the veins of the Emperors—how “the blasts from the North covered the earth and the seas with gloom; how, as the tempest rose and the ocean heaved beneath it, the ebb of centralization began; and how, in place of an unbroken dominion, there appeared from beneath the waters, the peaks and jutting lands upon which Liberty would one day be enthroned.” Likewise, but not so markedly, did they disturb the Religious Centralization which overshadowed the church. The Northern Christians aroused the Roman Christians from their lethargy, having brought with them the principle of the PROMINENCE OF THE INDIVIDUAL, whose protection, in contrast with the Roman idea of the prominence of the State, was the great object of the Northern codes. But this influence proved temporary, and soon signs are visible of a tendency to return to as vigorous anti-Individualism as the church had assumed under Constantine. The inferior clergy were deprived of the power to choose the superior; while the superior retained the power of choosing the inferior. Then the church formally denied the “rights of individual reason,” and claimed the

right to persecute for heresy. The church also early deprived the laity of any influence in its government, and claimed for the clergy the exclusive power to study and decide upon all theological questions. It became, in time the defender of religious and civil despotism. Not at all, was it the exponent of individual Liberty. It often defended the people against the bad government of their rulers; but when "any step was proposed to be taken to establish a system of permanent institutions, which might effectually protect liberty from the invasions of power in general, the church always ranged itself on the side of despotism." Despotic in its organization, having condemned free inquiry and shown contempt for individual reason, what more natural for the chiefs of such an establishment than to array its power with those who, sympathizing with it in religious opinions, held the strong places of the earth, and were capable of adding to its stores and increasing its importance?

The principles indicated as having governed the Church, gradually grew in strength; and some were added to meet emergencies. The grossest abuses followed; and when the resurrection of the modern mind came, the church essayed to trample upon it—to re-inter it, and to make still more dismal and revolting, the black and dreary despotism which had been erected upon its grave. In this it failed. It had departed from the peaceful spirit of the Gospel it professed to teach. It had set at naught sacred, eternal principles. It had attempted to destroy, when it should have assisted the growth of, the earnest aspirations after coming good. More than this: It placed itself between the anxious spirit and its God, requiring that all their converse should be through its priests. It instituted auricular confession, that terrible engine of oppression, invented that through it the priest, informed of the heart-secrets, might be made the more absolute master of the man. It inflicted upon him severe penances, as though physical suffering was the proper atonement for spiritual transgression. It divested the man of all his attributes within its reach, and conferred them upon the church. It deprived him of all means of spiritual improvement, save in the narrow mode of its appointment. It condemned all individuality of opinion. It claimed infallibility for its judgments, tolerating no exceptions to its decrees. It invented imposing ceremonies, gorgeous forms, attractive rituals, to captivate the Barbarians and please the ignorant, superstitious masses—ceremonies and forms and rituals, under whose magnificence were

buried, as all formalism is sure to bury, the simplicity and vitality of religion. It seized the man in its iron arms, and squeezed money out of him, or consigned him to perdition. It enveloped the man in the thing. It made permission to commit crime, and immunity from punishment for crime, a matter of barter, and filled its coffers to overflowing, by the violation of the most sacred precepts. It coldly, designedly, murderously, built itself—a huge, overshadowing, desolating despotism—upon the ruins of Man's Personality. Such was the vast corporation—the vast, soulless corporation, as it presented itself to the view of the men of the Sixteenth Century. It had become so, step by step. One by one, those monstrous claims had been made, insisted on, and wrung from an oppressed people—a people, however, not yet so schooled to oppression as to be beyond indignation at its enormities. This indignation ensued, having spread over many nations; and at length the time arrived, for the battle between the Champions of the Church and the Champions of Humanity. Germany—part of that portion of it on which the Roman soldiery had never trod in triumph, the birth-place of the virtuous, home-loving, woman-respecting, liberty-claiming Teutons, who furnished the “regenerating element in Modern Europe”—was the fitting theatre for this grand conflict, big with the fate of millions. The contest we need not describe. All know it. All, also, know its glorious issue—how the first well-aimed, well-struck blow was given to a grasping and tyrannical Hierarchy—how a conflict was begun which is not ended, and will not be, until Man be everywhere freed from civil and religious oppression—how philanthropists rejoiced, and greedy, bloated churchmen mourned, over the first victory of the long-vanquished—and how the Protestantism of Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli and Calvin spread over neighboring nations—how it broke fetters from thought—how it laid the foundations of large, free and prosperous empire—how it first sundered the firmly-forged chains of Religious Despotism—how it rescued Religion from the false interpretation of the corrupt and designing, and made it accessible to all through The Book which contains the development of its doctrines—how it broke the artificial barriers with which a cunning church had separated Man from his Maker—and how distinctly it enunciated those never-dying truths which, having their origin in the Bible and their basis in the excellence of God's design and the completeness of His work, are destined to regenerate the world, and drive Wrong back to the

dark den in which it had its birth. Thus, by mighty men, through a mighty Revolution, and by giant efforts, was rescued from unhallowed purposes, the Church of God, whose high destiny it was and is, to be an important instrument in the deliverance of Man from the depravity of earth to the glory of Heaven. May its Ministers always realize the importance of this mission, and their responsibility in it; and never may they flag in their fidelity to this great cause, or in their efforts to effect this matchless achievement!

The noble principles enunciated by the Reformers, were the nourishment which suffering mankind needed. They filled the public want, and promised to create the strength which would ultimately give deliverance. But everywhere, their old enemy resisted their growth; and the old weapon, Force, was unsheathed to drive back the new invasion. Bloodshed followed; and, amid deep internal convulsions, mutually exhausting efforts and rivers of martyrs' blood, in too many nations Liberty was again chained and buried beneath the triumphant tread of the heartless tyrant. Pursued by a remorseless Power, and sometimes betrayed by irresolute friends, the Reform ceased its rapid progress, and whole nations relapsed into sullen hopelessness. There they lie to-day, and we need make no further reference to Continental Europe. Without material exception, it sleeps in chains. It has had spasmodic wakings. But the Church and the Crown yet hold it in their brutal grasp. Over all those fair fields, MAN pines—the ruler, in Church and State, grows fat, corrupt, fiendish: This will some day end; and terrible, without a parallel, will be the avenging horrors of that day. We need not seek to portray them.

But for one bright page, we might close the book of European History. Briefly interpreting it, we shall turn from the painful recollections of the past to the substantial joys of the present, and the pleasant anticipations of the future. The bright page is, of course, the history of ENGLISH INSTITUTIONS, which proved, in many a critical period, the impassable barrier Despotism could not overcome—which often saved liberty in Europe from utter overthrow—and which, though imperfect, have done a great work, of which the friends of Human Liberty, and we especially, have no right to be ignorant, and to which we have no right to be insensible. We speak not in commendation of every act of the English government. We could do that of no government. Nor of every feature of its Institutions. We could

do that of no government. But of the general usefulness of their liberal system in the progressive development of Individualism. In connexion with the growth of their Institutions, and as essential to the proper appreciation of them, as well as our own, we must briefly refer to the various people who have contributed to the formation of the English nation. The Celts were bold warriors, were without fortified towns, and were divided into numerous independent tribes, having many kings and petty rulers. They were Druids in Religion, and their priests were almost the only civil magistrates. With the Romans came the division of the country into townships, each possessing powers of self-government, taxation and election of Senators—the beginning of that municipal freedom and self-rule which has distinguished English civilization, and is its vital spirit. The Saxons brought an aristocracy of wealth. Each township had its lord and its chief officer, who was elective—elected its representative to the courts of the hundred and shire—regulated its own police—and was bound “to keep watch and ward.” The hundred court was held monthly, and the County courts twice a year, from which there was an appeal to the Supreme Court—an aristocratic body presided over by the king and attended by the Bishops and Earls. Every member of the commonalty was bound to place himself in dependence upon some man of rank. The Saxon Ceorls were personally free, were legal witnesses, had certain political rights, and could become thanes. The Saxon Thralls were in a state of slavery; and criminals who could not pay their fines, were liable to be reduced to that condition. Thus, the democratic and aristocratic elements entered largely into the Saxon polity—the latter prevailing. The system of the Danes was substantially the same. And while the Saxon nobles were beginning seriously to menace the independence of the Crown and the freedom of the people, the Normans subdued the island, and ruled it with an iron hand. They established new tenures for land, introduced new divisions of race and class, confiscated and divided among themselves the greater part of the lands of the conquered, rejected as servile and barbarous the English language, filled the high offices in Church and State with men of foreign birth, and placed themselves upon the necks of their despised victims. While William the Conqueror thus aggrandized his followers, he was careful to strengthen the throne by introducing the Feudal system, modified so as to make himself the supreme lord of all the land, and as such

requiring an oath of fealty from each land-holder, to prohibit sub-infeudation, and to scatter the nobles and thus diminish the probabilities of rebellion. He enlarged the jurisdiction of the royal tribunal, and contracted that of the baronial courts. He discouraged, by severe penalties, the private warfare which the Feudal system had elsewhere encouraged; and he established his authority upon a firmer footing than any cotemporary monarch in Europe—in his anxiety to strengthen the throne, weakening alike the nobles and the people, and thus, in the future, necessitating that union of those two powers, elsewhere hostile, which finally resulted in the diminution of the royal prerogatives, the comparative independence of the other orders, and the beginning of English Liberty.

Under the severe legislation established by William, and maintained by his successors, up to John, the condition of the people became pitiable in the extreme. Of the two millions who inhabited the island at the commencement of the Thirteenth Century, nearly one-half were in a state of slavery—either *villeins regardant*, who were attached to certain lands and passed with them, or *villeins in gross*, who were bought and sold, and passed from master to master, without respect to land. The latter villeinage involved an obligation of perpetual service which only the consent of the master could dissolve, created an incapacity of acquiring except for the master's benefit, allowed the master to alienate the person of the slave in the same manner as other property, descended from parent to child, and gave the master an arbitrary power of punishment, in which the life of the slave was inadequately guarded. Slaves "knew not in the evening what they were to do in the morning, but they were bound to do whatever they were commanded." They were always liable to chastisement and imprisonment, and to be sold and separated from their families. At one time the law provided that if a male villein belonging to one lord, married a female villein belonging to another lord, their children were equally divided between the two slave-owners. Slaves were carried to Denmark and Ireland and elsewhere, and sold; and "into Saxon hands the price was paid for Saxon peasants." Such was the pitiable condition of the English peasantry but six centuries ago! Our Saxon forefathers early acknowledged the cruelty, the inhumanity, the wrongfulness of such a relation; and in this same century, offered facilities for the emancipation of slaves, while they placed obstacles in the way of an increase in their

number. Among the obstacles were these, named by Creasy: A lord might enfranchise his villein, and the law inferred enfranchisement from many acts, such as the lord's vesting the ownership of lands in the slave, or accepting feudal homage from him, or entering into a sealed obligation with him, or pleading with him in an ordinary action. There were also many modes of constructive enfranchisement, such as the villein's remaining unclaimed a year and a day in a privileged town. The burden of proof always lay upon the lord, and villeinage could only be proved in one of two ways: either by showing that the slave's ancestors had been the property of the claimant and those through whom he deduced title, or that he had confessed his villeinage in a court of justice. But if the alleged villein could prove that himself, or one of his ancestors through whom villeinage was claimed, had been born out of wedlock, he was liberated. For the law held an illegitimate child *nullius filius*, and, of course, unable to inherit the condition of villeinage—a rational rule, far more defensible than that of *partus sequitur ventrem*. Thus, with the commencement of the common law of the complete English nation, we find it providing means for the gradual and ultimately certain extinction of slavery, which was finally effected, to the lasting honor of the English people, and of those English judges who, having too few imitators in our day, hedged up, by their decisions, the way of the claimant, and bent the whole power of the law to the relief of the weak and oppressed, who most needed its protection. The result of the English policy was to assist in the construction of a grand system of Individual Freedom, which has covered with glory the names of those who, in early times, laid broad and deep, its firm foundations; but the harsh and unmanly policy of too many of our American judges, is disgraceful to our position, variant from our principles, and demoralizing to our people—thus threatening to be fatal to the liberties of all.

From William to John, there was no mitigation of the laws enforced by the former—the intermediate Sovereigns having carefully guarded their prerogatives. One hundred and forty years after the Norman Conquest, John ascended the throne. His was exactly the character to provoke the contempt and hostility of a virtuous people. It was also the character to be overcome by the perseverance of a determined people. For he was utterly destitute of high moral qualities, and was as feeble to retain, as William had been powerful to achieve, the supremacy of the Crown. Lingard says that he was full

of dissimulation and suspicion; was polluted with meanness, cruelty, perjury and murder; was ambitious and pusillanimous; and was arrogant in prosperity and abject in adversity. History burns with the records of the outrages of the monster against, alike the honor of many private families, his ecclesiastics, his barons, his peasants and every class of his subjects—outrages which quickly developed throughout the kingdom a deep-seated feeling of hatred, before which he was soon deservedly humbled. The contest to which his policy led, need not be related—how he defied, and then tamely submitted to the Pope—how he sought to detach the clergy from the Opposition, first by intimidation and then by entreaty—how he braved, then supplicated, and then offered to bribe the stern and uncompromising Barons—and how he attempted, by numerous cunning evasions, to avoid affixing the royal seal to MAGNA CARTA, whose grant has made the name of Runnymede immortal, and the 15th of June, 1215, one of the most lustrous days in National History. This Charter, which became the bulwark of English liberties, was general in its provisions, defining the extent of the feudal obligation of the Barons and other immediate tenants of the Crown, extending to the sub-vassals the mitigations obtained by the Barons, securing the ancient liberties of cities and boroughs, prohibiting arbitrary imprisonment and arbitrary punishment of any kind, limiting the power of the Crown over the property, as well as the person, of the subject, encouraging trade and those engaged in it, furnishing the germs from which afterwards grew the representative principle embodied in the English Parliament, guaranteeing trial by a jury instead of by one person and that the nominee of the crown, and containing the foundation of the right to the great writ of *Habeas Corpus*. But its grand feature, which was, in Lord Chatham's opinion, "worth all the Classics," was its protection to the personal liberty and the property of all freemen, as given in these words: "No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold, or liberties, or free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or any otherwise destroyed, nor will we pass upon him nor condemn him, but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. We will sell to no man, we will not deny or defer to any man, either justice or right." Thus completely, and for the first time in the history of earthly governments, was recognized, what was taught eighteen centuries ago in Judea, the complete equality before the law of every citizen; and was guar-

anted the protection of him in his claim to the enjoyment of his Individual Rights. For a mode was established, by which the King could be compelled to respect and obey all the obligations of the Charter, which has been solemnly confirmed by Kings and Parliaments more than thirty times, and has received the addition of important privileges, during the many years of conflict between the King on the one hand and the Barons and People on the other. But, as was said of the Roman, may be said of the English Constitution: "No one man and no one age sufficed for its full production." On the contrary, it was the accretion of many centuries of faithful labor, and the work of many fearless, upright, intelligent and sagacious generations of men.

So thorough has become the importance of the Individual, that the supremacy of law over royal power is now an established rule in England, and every individual has the right to resist an illegal act against his person or property, by whomsoever attempted. The right of Freedom of Debate in Parliament, and the immunity of the representative from all answer elsewhere, long contested by the King, were ultimately wrested from him, as also the Freedom of the Press and the personal Freedom of legislators—valuable principles without which free government is impossible, and every invasion of which, upon however specious pretexts, should be sternly resisted. Parliament also wrung from the King and his Council, the right to determine the qualifications of their members, to regulate the right of suffrage among the people, to check the direct interference of the Crown in the elections, and, in various ways, to protect the nation from the grasping tendencies of Royalty. It was made illegal to raise and keep a standing army in time of peace, without consent of Parliament. Trials for treason—once a common mode of destroying men odious to the King—were surrounded with peculiar safeguards. Judges were made independent of the Crown by appointment for life and removal in a specified manner only for cause shown; and the King was estopped in his efforts to overawe Courts (as James had memorably attempted with Lord Coke), and to drive them to the denial of justice. And thus amid perpetual controversy, sometimes amid sanguinary conflicts and the dethronement and beheading of tyrannical monarchs, the brave people of England have risen from an oppressed, down-trodden mass, to a position which no other Europeans enjoy; and they have given an

impetus to the cause of free institutions everywhere, which will be felt to the latest period of time. In this country, much ignorance prevails concerning the safeguards which surround the liberty of an Englishman; and much prejudice exists against aught which has an English origin or bears the English name. But such prejudices, however natural to be felt, and however improperly sought to be perpetuated, are unworthy of an intelligent people, and will be dissipated, the more generally become known the facts, that English Institutions were the basis on which ours were built, and that our Common Law had its origin and partial development among the baronial castles, the free towns, the unpolished society of the early English. The civilization of England is one of Liberty. Its people are more imbued with the spirit of Liberty than any other in Europe; and when the freedom of that Continent was threatened to be destroyed twice in the personal recollection of many—first by Napoleon with his brilliant centralized government, and next by Nicholas with his ponderous Autocracy, England was the nucleus of the league which drove back the invader, defeated his purposes, and saved Individualism from an early and untimely grave. For all this, our thanks are due to that great power which, with its many errors, with its inequalities, with its oppressions and with its wrongs, is the repository of European liberty, the hope of Europe's regeneration, and the breakwater upon which the waves of despotism have spent themselves in vain. Its institutions are eminently individual in their character; and its flag waves over not a single slave, over no man who is not, in his right to life, liberty and property, the equal of every other. They have elevated the man, surrounded him with securities, given him substantial certainties, protected him in the enjoyment of what he has, guarded his family and property from the hands of the spoiler, and placed below him, above him, around him, the guardian influences of a liberal polity—a polity which the first William insidiously sought forever to make impossible, but for which the falsehood, treachery, avarice and tyranny of James and Charles compelled a conflict, and which the firmness and wisdom of Hampden, the learning and integrity of Selden, Coke and Glanville, the address and eloquence of Pym, the patience and fortitude of Elliot, the courage and impetuosity of Cromwell, and the sturdy principles of an aroused, outraged and indignant people painfully evolved and inaugurated, and which the blood of a host of willing, glorying martyrs has

cemented, and made, we trust, as permanent as the principles it seeks to perpetuate, and as lastingly brilliant as the bold White Cliffs of that sea-girt coast—those glittering battlements which ceaseless waves have washed and howling storms have beaten for centuries, which first greet the gaze and rejoice the heart of the returning, and last linger in the vision of the departing voyager, and which have been transmuted, by the alchemy of eight centuries of toilsome experiment, into joyous, radiant Watch-towers of Liberty. In church, as in State, England fails equally in the complete development of Individualism. But let us hope that as greater abuses have yielded to the pressure of the truth, ere long those remaining will also vanish, displaying a governmental structure which, enduring for ages, will constantly grow in usefulness, beneficence and glory.

Thus, wherever we look—in Asia, Africa or Europe—we see much to sadden, much to remind us that MAN is still rising, not having yet risen from his long and deep debasement. The process is slow and painful. For its nearest approach to completion, we must leave those old and blood-stained fields, polluted by Force, contaminated with fraud, soiled by crimes, and covered, mountain-high, with the innocent slain. We must turn to a virgin soil, dedicated by a new people to the beautiful experiment of showing that it is possible for men to be brothers.

Some centuries ago, numerous brave, bold, conscientious men left England and the Continent, to seek homes in a new hemisphere, where they might, unmolested by jealous government, unawed by tyrant officials, develop the radical truth proclaimed to the world by the sturdy Republicans of the Netherlands, that “Liberty must not be a boon of the government, but that government must derive its rights from the governed;” where they might, without danger to estate or life, believe, assert and practically enforce the nervous declaration of Algernon Sidney, that “the liberties of Nations are from God and nature, not from kings.” Bearing with them an intense love of liberty and an earnest desire to be free, they came to an unbroken forest untouched by old and corrupt institutions, among savage Indians without long-confirmed despotic government, with its train of deeds of Violence and Wrong. They sailed to a land which was then, substantially, as it came from the hands of its Creator—pure, unsullied—a *tabula rasa* from which there were no marks to be erased and on which all marks would at once become visible. They came

from under the rule of the Oppressor, intent upon founding a government under which no tyrant should ever lift his horrid front, no legal inequalities of class should exist, no wrongdoing should be sanctified, no right should be denied; but under which MAN might have a worthy theatre for the full and untrameled development of his moral and intellectual endowments. With these high resolves, these noble purposes, those Puritans, Presbyterians and Cavaliers left their ancient, and approached their future homes. They were, most of them, men of Education, and all had brave, honest hearts. They had read how grinding had been the hierocracy of India, how hopeless the mixed despotism of Egypt, how fitful the liberty of Greece, how ephemeral that of Rome, and how Man had long and vainly struggled on the Continent with a centralized State and a centralized Church above him. They knew how hardly won had been the precious concessions obtained by their courageous Fathers, and how repeated had been the efforts of the rulers to revoke the privileges granted. Some of them had been imprisoned in the Tower for too great boldness of speech. Others had refused to pay the ship-money and been wearied with long and iniquitous persecutions. Others had aided in the dethronement of Charles, and at the Restoration, had been compelled to flee their country. Others had refused to pay their tithes to the Church, and to their sorrow discovered that *their* home was not the home of Religious Liberty. And others, who had not personally suffered, had been told these wrongs until they were a familiar tale; and had religiously sworn, as they knelt by their patriotic, Liberty-loving mothers, an eternal enmity to every form of Oppression over the mind or body of Man. Of such was the early emigration from Europe to America, men trained to hate—not merely to dislike and delicately disapprove, but in their deepest heart to hate—the tyrant and his deeds—men raised up by God to lay the foundation-stones on which the first great Temple to Liberty was to be erected. And well, almost worthily of their Guardian Spirit, they did their work. But not at once was it accomplished, though soon it was begun—for in healthy hardship they sorely spent their long apprenticeship. The first trenches were dug, deep and wide, into their mother earth. But slowly the ground was cleared, the spot prepared, the materials gathered. The workmen studied each his duty, the architects carefully prepared their plans, the people thoughtfully amassed the necessary means. All—the order of the scene, the calmness of

the principals, the determination, industry and single-mindedness of those engaged, indicated a full knowledge of their position, and gave evidence that here no ordinary men were gathered, that here no ordinary work was in progress. Evil rulers at their old homes had pursued them into their wilderness-fastnesses, with harsh and unconstitutional legislation. Our Fathers were then law-abiding men, and had confidence in their brethren who composed the English people. They did not rashly meet the crisis. They protested against the Wrong, and petitioned for a redress of grievances. They avowed their loyalty to the Highest Authorities of the Realm, but asked those Authorities not to remove the old and cherished landmarks of the Constitution. Modestly but firmly, and with marvellous skill and ability, they addressed successively the Throne, the Parliament, the People. They appealed to each, for the repeal of the illegal acts; but England's ear was deaf. Her justice slept. She had espoused the wrong. She had refused to retract, and her colonies were free—not yet free in fact, but free in this: that they were strong in the Right, and were favored by Heaven. The tocsin sounded through these beautiful valleys and along these grand towering mountain-tops. The people heard, and obeyed the summons. They sent their best men to a Continental Congress, where, after careful deliberation, prayerful thought and much wise counsel, they *resolved to be Independent*. They appealed to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions, and to the God of Battles committed the decision of the contest which the Mother had provoked, and which the children could no longer avoid. The conflict ensued, and at last the decisive battle was fought. The Right was triumphant. The weaker had conquered the stronger; and the world was again taught how necessary that Nations should do right before God if they would be strong before men. The enemy departed vanquished. The colonists were in undisturbed possession of their long-beleaguered homes; and now the time had come for the erection of the Temple for which they had been for years preparing. Eventful period! Vitally important undertaking! But there were giants in those days—moral as well as intellectual—and they were equal to their duties. They had read, pondered, and, most of all, felt. They were not theorists merely. They were practical statesmen of great learning, acute perception, enlightened conscience and unsurpassed wisdom. They were not perfect. They did not wholly avoid error. But they

wrought marvels, as Europe and America unitedly proclaim. They addressed themselves, absorbingly, to their task, and well and in the proper place, they firmly fixed every block, where it would best knit the rest, best sustain the whole. In the building, they used, besides the pure granite of their native hills, every stone which had been laboriously hewn by their Fathers from the flinty thrones of the Plantagenets, the Tudors and the Stuarts. And for the "head of the corner," they used *that* stone, of which we read that other builders once rejected it. Massive, but graceful, the Temple rose to completion, sixty-nine years ago, when, as it was surmounted with the Cap of Liberty, the Nation was struck with its fine proportions, its elegant dimensions, the wonderful fitness of its parts. As it was on the grand gala-day of the Union, when its adoption was celebrated by a grateful and joyous people, it is this day—as bright, as beautiful. Long may it continue to fill our admiring gaze, and never may it fall before the violence, the anger, the degeneracy of the sons of its builders.

In their deliberations, our Fathers early encountered a great difficulty—the unfortunate prevalence, in most of the States, of a condition of slavery, which is at variance with the declared principles of our government. All those wise and good men lamented its existence, and sincerely regretted the apparent impossibility of its prompt removal. They, however, relieved themselves, as far as possible, of all connexion with it, and handed the control of the "institution" and the responsibility for its continuance therein, to the States in which it existed. They carefully and intentionally avoided giving, in the Constitution, any sanction to the idea that man could have a right of property in man, and with an emphasis which cannot be misunderstood, they described as persons those unfortunate beings now claimed, by sectionalism, to be as thoroughly property, *by virtue of the action of the National Constitution*, as the beasts of the field. Even in the rendition clause, the language used applies as well to apprentices as slaves, and contains no recognition of a master's *ownership* in either. Thus the horrible theory that Human Slavery is recognized by our National Constitution as part of American Institutions, to be as indefinitely extended as American emigration to the Nation's Territories, is overthrown as well by the language of the Constitution as by the well-known wishes and intentions of its framers, and by the Congressional legislation of the period of its adoption. What-

ever rights of property masters possess are created and secured by State Law, and are therefore, confined to State limits. The Constitution is not a Slavery-establishing or Slavery-extending instrument. It was framed in an enlarged spirit of liberty, and was intended to confer the blessings of liberty, not the curses of slavery, on all, as far as practicable, within its reach. But while doing this, while protecting, as far as in them lay, the Constitution from being turned into a means for the extension and perpetuation of a monster wrong, and while making it, as far as in them lay, a means for the extension of freedom, its great framers were not authorized, and did not undertake, to settle the details of the relation between the master and his servant. That has been done by the States. With these details we have no especial concern. They have, however, so far modified the natural rights of portions of the residents of this country, as to make it necessary to say, that when we proceed to speak of the guarantees our laws give to INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, the remarks must always be considered as having exclusive reference to the *unmixed* white Race alone—whose weaker, and more ignorant and debased members were once in as abject slavery in England, as the negroes and the numerous crosses of the negro with the white, are in the South. And not only must these remarks be confined to pure Caucasians; but, to a certain extent, to the whites of the North—since it is too true that in the South many social privileges are seriously modified by the “peculiar institution,” and that poor white laborers, poor white school-teachers, poor white servants and others not connected with the local Aristocracy, have not that adequate protection against personal injuries and even destruction to life, which our government in theory recognizes as equally the right of all. So restrictive, if not subversive, is the slave “institution” of the rights of portions of the white Race; and so perverting is its influence upon even the course of justice. It is the existence of Human Slavery—the antipode of that INDIVIDUALISM for which we plead—which alone detracts from the sublimity of our Institutions. Sustained by Force, and denying natural rights, it is such as has marked painfully the world’s history through the long path we have pursued it—such as has disgraced and destroyed many other governments—such as materially limits our influence for good—such as will set bounds to our National Existence if, in its treatment, we are unfaithful to our religion, our age and our declared principles—such as we hope *will*

soon disappear from the face of the earth and as *must* disappear before universal peace and good will among men are finally established. In America as in Europe, grievous oppression still abounds. May more holiness be infused into the counsels of both Continents, and may justice soon be done to all, not withheld from any, bearing the likeness of our God!

As might be inferred from what we have said of the early training and the matured feelings of the men of '76, they were fully aware of the evils inherent in priestcraft as well as kingcraft—and among the earliest-settled of their principles, was the utter repudiation of any union of Church and State. They wished no consolidation of the temporal and spiritual power. They wished no church establishment to eat the substance of the people, and impair the vitality of religion. They wished no religious orders to introduce pride and self-sufficiency among the clergy. They wished no stately magnificence to crush the meekness—a crowning beauty—from the religion of the Lowly Man. And they went beyond the Mother country, and decreed that there should be no established religion in the Republic. After providing that *spiritual* oppression should not subdue the energies of our people and stain our soil with martyrs' blood, our Fathers sought to make *civil* oppression impossible. They placed the Executive power in one of the people's choosing, gave him a limited tenure of office, and defined his powers so clearly that, if ever exceeded, the act has been of design, not accident. They deprived him of all legislative power, except in conjunction with the Congress of the Nation, in which the "States as corporations and the People as individuals" are represented. They denied him the right, though unfortunately not deprived him of the power, to bring on a state of war, and they lodged that great right in Congress alone. And they so hedged up his way with checks and difficulties, that an Executive cannot do much evil, without a virtual disregard of his oath. The powers of Congress are also accurately defined, and a Supreme Court is established, with a life tenure of office, to hold and adjust the balance between the various branches. Thus the people have protected themselves in limiting the powers of their servants, and have most wisely guarded against the destruction of their liberties.

Voting is a most important civil duty; and upon its intelligent and conscientious discharge, the stability of our institutions depends. Hence, as a security against undue influ-

ence upon the Individual, the voting of the people, except in those few States which have not yet fully grasped the idea of the Liberty of the Man, or having grasped it fear to embody it in their legislation, is done by ballot, to the end that the greatest independence of action may be secured, and the poor and weak may be protected from the overawing influence of the wealthy and powerful. On the other hand, the voting of our representatives is done *viva voce*, that the constituent may know whether his sentiments have been represented. The elective franchise is, except in a few of the less progressed States, given to the man, not to his property, as in England. And the right to a seat in our Legislative Assemblies is not confined to certain classes by a property qualification—the idea expressed in June last upon the floor of the National Senate, and there endorsed by sundry members, that no man without the amount of property required in the Constitution of South Carolina, is fit for a legislator, being repudiated by the mass of the people, as out of harmony with our theory of government.

Our Courts are carefully guarded so as to protect the many and facilitate the dispensing of justice. The English Common Law—"the living vigorous law of a living people"—the law of seven centuries' growth which the men of the Revolutionary period placed as a shield between them and their Home Oppressors—the law of liberty which tolerates no such thing as superiority and inferiority of rights—the law which overbore the Civil Law when it threatened such destruction to English liberties as has everywhere followed its reception—the law which repudiates the slavish maxim of the Institutes that "the will of the Prince has the force of law," and substitutes that other and wiser maxim, "that the King is subject to God and the Law"—this healthy, sturdy law is above all, watching all, protecting all, equalizing all. Every man's home is made sacred, and is protected from the pollution of even an officer's footstep, except in a few specified cases—a precious right which the police of the Continent daily and atrociously violate. The right to the great writ of *Habeas Corpus* has become a most important privilege, and, as intended, protects the individual from all unlawful and indefinite imprisonment—except, indeed, he be incarcerated for alleged contempt of Court, for which our Judges generally claim the right to imprison, without question or interference from any quarter, an alleged but not convicted offender,

until they choose to order his release—a claim which, if well founded, gives those officers a dangerous authority, the most absolute in the country, which it is contrary to the genius of our government should be deposited in a single hand, and which, if it has not been, may become here, as it has been elsewhere, the source of much personal wrong from an irritated Judge to an odious or proud-spirited suitor. A well-guarded penal trial is secured to all indicted for crime; which requires distinctness of accusation by the prosecutor, gives the accused the benefit of all presumptions of law, secures publicity of trial and furnishes all the essentials to the complete protection of the MAN from the immense power of the government—essentials which were unknown in Rome and Athens, and are almost unknown on the Continent of Europe, where the presumptions of law are against the prisoner, where the judge is uncontrolled by settled rules of evidence, where he is permitted to subject the accused to rigid examinations, to conceal the offence charged and to refuse to compel the attendance of the defendant's witnesses, and where every artifice which ingenuity can suggest, is used to bear down the accused and unprotected. We have a fair trial before a jury who are required to give a unanimous verdict; and no citizen is excluded, as in England, from the jury-box—a mode of trial, the fairest ever devised, and a most necessary and valuable protection against general injustice. We have no attainder of blood, and visit no man's offences upon his children. We have a written Constitution, the general guardian, which, though threatened to be somewhat changed from its original intention by the violence of party feeling exerted upon judicial officers, we may hope will be spared serious mutilation. We enjoy the benefits of an unfettered, and generally escape the evils of an unlicensed, press. We have the right of free locomotion within the country, of free egress from it and of free regress to it—a privilege that those do not lightly value who know the annoyances of the passport system, and the vile uses to which it is frequently applied. We have perfect protection in our epistolary correspondence; and the mails, secure from such Vandalism as exists in France, are daily freighted with missives of every variety. We have the inestimable liberty of worship, which it cost Englishmen many a perilous conflict to wrest from unwilling hands, and which other nations have fairly earned by blood but have not yet obtained. We have freedom of trading and freedom of producing, either of the

fruits of the field or of the cunning of the hand. We have protected the person of the man from debasing and mortifying punishments. We have secured to woman the control and enjoyment of her property ; and while elevating her socially, have given her a legal position she nowhere else occupies. We have subordinated the military to the civil power. We have the invaluable right of petitioning our legislators—a right solemnly guaranteed and generally yielded cheerfully. We have, especially in the North, no peculiarities of social system, to make manual labor disgraceful, to socially and politically debase the poor, and, thus much, to crush the energies and wound the sensibilities of the Man. We have no taxation such as afflicts Europe, nor are the contributions of our people spent in supporting privileged classes, ministering to depraved appetites, or corrupting any portion of the population.

Such are some of our privileges, which, in comprehensiveness and variety, have been equalled by those of no other people. We have all of value in every system which has preceded ours, and we have added much which was only possible to be obtained in a new country, isolated from jealous and powerful neighbors, and separated, by time and distance, from the political centres of the Old World. Our Liberty is not the highest capable of realization. But it is a vast progression upon what has been elsewhere realized. In the opinion of many excellent, sagacious and patriotic men, we are loosening in our hold upon fundamental principles ; and are thus endangering the permanency of what we have. If this be so, the fact is another illustration of the tendency of nations to forget in prosperity the virtues which carried them safely and honorably beyond the perils of adversity. And that it is so, is too probably indicated by the recent unparalleled violence in various portions of the country ; by the frequent assaults and murders upon the public streets of many of our cities and towns ; by the fearful prevalence, every where, of disregard for the personal rights of citizens ; by the substitution of the more rapid, but more dangerous, arbitrament of force for that of the law ; by the brutal beating of one Congressman in the Senate House by another for words spoken in debate, and the shamefully inadequate punishment of the violator, as well of the privileges of the Senate as of the laws of the country ; and, above all and worse than all, by the vitiated public sentiment which quietly connives at, and even openly commends, the more atrocious of

these violations of the spirit of the Constitution and of the foundation-principles of Individual Liberty. We have a "solid embankment of institutions," which it is cheering, inspiring to contemplate—which it would be shameful, dastardly to weaken, by departing from the sublime spirit in which they originated—the love of Individual Freedom, the desire to dignify Man, the anxiety to advance the Human Race. Let that spirit ever animate us; and let that be promptly discountenanced which, however plausibly concealed, aims a blow at the virgin bosom of our American Divinity.

A brief comparison yet claims attention. We have seen what Man was under the lifeless despotisms of Asia and Africa. We have seen how little of good, Greece and Rome brought to those beneath their sway. We have seen how Europe flowed with blood in the protracted, and yet uncompleted struggle between Man and those in authority. We have seen how, under Providence, England troublously obtained the large measure of liberty which, in the progress of events, has been vouchsafed to her. And we have seen what has been accomplished for Man on this Continent, in a period marvellously short, compared with the ages which are past. The review gives us much for thankfulness—not anything for vainglorious boasting. Yet consider the most advanced of Heathen nations, compare the condition of Man in them with his condition in America, and how striking, amazing, appalling the contrast! In Greece or Rome, Man separated from the State, was nothing. He existed in and for the State. He was useful, valuable only as belonging to the State. His rights were worth preserving, only because likely to benefit the State. An intense State-feeling, swallowing up affection for parents, for lover, for wife, for children, almost for self, everywhere prevailed. Patriotism was a Greek or Roman's strongest passion—a patriotism which was thus excessive because destitute of the moral element which came with Christianity, to subordinate its exercise to high and binding principles. And the man was most honored and most dignified, not when he became wise, virtuous, learned; not when he mastered science, made great discoveries, and explored Nature's mysteries; not when he unravelled Truth, exhorted to purity of life and practised what he exhorted; but he was most honored and most dignified when he was introduced into the citizenship of the State! Such was the Ancient, the Heathen, the Natural, the Human conception of Man's dignity—such their estimate of his value—such their idea of his desti-

ny. They thought citizenship "the highest phase of Humanity," and classed duty to the State as the highest of earthly obligations. No comment can better show how fearfully the ancient civilization was tainted with earth, how little it knew of Heaven.

Turn to America. In the ages which have intervened between the decay of the Roman and the birth of the American, the true Religion has been revealed. Christianity has come, teaching Man his origin, his duties and his end. It has shown him his individual consequence involved in his individual accountability; and, lifting him from the meshes of government, has planted upon his brow the signet of the Almighty. It views him as a Man, not as a Citizen. It teaches him to demand his privileges because they are his birthright, and to yield others theirs, because they have an equal title. It prescribes his duties to the State, but enjoins that the State shall not receive his adoration, for naught that is earthly is worthy of the worship of an immortal soul. It has created within him deep spiritual wants the Heathen never knew; and in filling them, has lifted him far above the reach of the passions which destroyed Antiquity, infinitely beyond the cravings of the Ancient heart. It leads him from the low instincts of life to the higher; and in fixing his love and duty upon the Great I Am, it has elevated his nature, refined his feelings, purified his heart; and, in making him a worthier man, it has given the State a better citizen than ever gloried in the title of a Roman. His country no longer absorbing all his feelings and duties, Patriotism—a blind, bigoted, unreasoning Patriotism—is no longer the sole passion of life. And the Man is now most honored, not when he seeks to "place himself upon a level with the Gods by means of labor, misery and combat;" not when he delights in the use of destructive agencies against his fellows; not when he conquers his country's enemies and lays waste their homes; not when he merges all other feelings in a burning passion for his country's glory, and not when he receives the apotheosis of an excited people; but when he conquers himself, suppressing the evil of his nature and drawing forth the good, when he practices virtue and is as a shining light in the world, when he exhibits in his life the beauty of holiness, and is just to others, watchful of himself, dutiful to God. Such is the Modern, the Divine, the Present glorious conception of man's dignity—such our estimate of his value—such our idea of his destiny. The Man, the State and Citizenship are ex-

istent as before, but with how changed relations to each other and for how different purposes. Then Citizenship was the low aim of life, and the State was before the Individual, receiving his affections, expecting his services, and governing his duties. Now, the Individual is before the State, and is bound by an immutable law to serve his Divine Master with a perfect obedience. Man is elevated to a higher existence, requiring more exalted duties and ending in a more glorious future; but the State and Citizenship are dethroned. Instead of being ends, they are but means—means to develop what they anciently destroyed, means to “secure the highest possible development of Humanity in this world and for the world to come.” Such is the purpose, the animating spirit, the pervading genius of American Institutions—the Improvement of Man, the Regeneration of Man, the Immortalization of Man—these three grand thoughts being the concentrated utterance of the sixty centuries of mockings, imprisonments, scourgings, and martyrdoms which our Race has lingeringly, sometimes restlessly, and always agonizingly endured. An aim which would require for its fitting portrayal, a heart of gentlest purity, a brain of highest gifts, a tongue of intensest brilliancy of flame.

The education of man here to fit him for the presence of his God. Such is the exalted, the inspiring mission of America—not the mere intellectual development, but with it the moral, that seeing the Right, Man may know it, do it, and glorify his Maker. Man needs such a government, such a friend, such a teacher. For centuries, he has been defiled, bruised, marred by harsh and cruel treatment. His dignity has been disregarded. His rights have been denied. His faculties have been stupefied. His Divinely-given powers have been undeveloped. His spiritual nature has been but feebly enlightened. He has been chained in ignorance, vice and superstition. Church and State have conspired to rob him. The one has refused him happiness here or hereafter, except upon conditions its hypocritical priests imposed. And the other has prohibited the enjoyment of his inherent rights, that the purposes of designing knaves might be accomplished. Thus for centuries has it been. But it continues so no longer. *Here*, a beginning—a bold, promising beginning in Man’s complete emancipation has been made. Among Americans, has this great work been almost exclusively commenced. To us, has been offered the honorable privilege of participating in the keen pleasure it promises, in the exceeding honor its

fulfilment will involve. Let us gladly, but thoughtfully, accept the position assigned us. Let us seek to fearlessly perform the duty devolved upon us. Let us prove worthy of the singular distinction. Let us work, with tireless hands, with exhaustless energy in the noble cause. Let us labor to check the universal tendency of our depraved nature to outrage the dependent and defraud the unprotected. Let us aim to cultivate among all, a high-toned morality which, without other than an inherent compulsion, will promptly yield to each his rightful demands. Let us resist all organized systems of corrupting the public, by vitiating their morals, exciting their passions, or dethroning their reason by inflaming their brains. Let us seek to diffuse among the people the blessings of an education for mind and heart, which, teaching men their duties, their powers, their rights and their destiny, will make it impossible for others to become masters or themselves slaves. And, with this great purpose in view, let us support, guard from mutilation, and assist to increased development the Common School system of our State. Let us try to improve ourselves, do good to others, and thereby carry out, at once, the sublime injunction of the Bible and the beautiful theory of our government. Let us assist in filling the great wants of the Country and the Age, that, with Editors more independent our newspapers may be more reliable ; with a populace more intelligent and more virtuous, our Fathers may be more domestic in their habits, and our Mothers less frivolous in their conduct ; with teachers more faithful, our youths may be better trained ; with tradesmen more honest our purchases may be more secure ; with politicians more honorable, our politics may be less offensive ; with statesmen more moral and less rash, our National Policy may be, in many things, less indefensible ; with legislators less corrupt, our legislation may be more reputable ; with a judiciary less innovating and more Freedom-loving our rights may be more stable and our Courts saved from becoming outposts of Tyranny ; with a Bar more conscientious, guilt may be more surely punished and innocence more securely shielded ; and that with a Clergy more earnest, more courageous, more radical and less temporizing, we may have a Church more pure, more spiritual, more vitalizing and more scriptural. And, finally, let us pray for the universal prevalence of our Holy Religion, to the end that all unnatural distinctions between men may be leveled, that virtuous principles may be strengthened, that the Right may be advanced, and that the world may be improved, progressed,

converted. Having done this, having given of our thought, our prayers and our labor to the cause of INDIVIDUALISM, we may justly feel as if we had not failed in our duty to God the Creator, or to Man the Creature; and we may, with confidence commit the issue to the Wise Disposer of Events, "who doeth all things well."

ARTICLE V.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN ACTRESS, AND THE TENDENCIES OF THE STAGE.*

It has been said that each individual life, with some modifications, would furnish material for a romance, and that personal recollection might take the place of invention. This is certainly the case with the book before us. The incidents in the life of its subject are sufficiently diversified to make an attractive volume to the lovers of light literature. Whether it will be as harmless as some of these mere creations of the imagination and fancy, is another question. With this autobiography there is a defence of a certain thing, which is utterly indefensible. We followed the real actings of the heroine with interest, until she stood upon the stage. We then became wearied and sated with her varied imitations. As she stood in the "star dressing room," on the first night of her appearance, and witnessed the discomfort and sham of everything behind the scenes, did it not occur to her that these things were typical of the life upon which she was about to enter? and that as the stream can neither rise higher, nor become purer than its fountain, so every moral influence proceeding from the stage must partake of its own empty and artificial, if not positively vicious, character.

In an autobiography of personal experiences, the veil of the heart is torn away or put aside, and strangers are permitted to look into the inner sanctuary. As our object, however, is mainly an examination of some of the arguments, here advanced, in defence of the stage, we can only glance at the autobiography. As we have gone over its pages, enam-

* Autobiography of an Actress: or eight years on the Stage. By Anna Cora Mowatt. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields.—1854. "Eighth Thousand."

elled with flowers sparkling with dew, the authoress reveals herself as possessed of talent, spirit, and energy, with a strong will which, in a cherished plan, will not brook disappointment. So vivid is the portrait that she has incidentally given of herself, and so transparent the medium through which this portrait is presented, that we see her revealed as a woman of much beauty, with engaging manners, a voice as musical as Apollo's lute, and what is better than all, a loving, kind disposition. Of the strength of her will we have an exemplification in an act of her early life: a dark spot impairing the sunny whiteness of her youthful experience. At fifteen years of age, a very "young America," of the gentler sex, she left her father's house, clandestinely, to go to that of a clergyman, in the same city, where she was married to Mr. Mowatt. She was accompanied by one of her sisters, who had most earnestly, but in vain, dissuaded her from the step. Her chidings of conscience, and her emotions at parting from her unsuspecting parents, are well brought in to soften and shade the self-will and defective delicacy of an act, which no parent can think of but with feelings of the deepest disapprobation. That a female should never marry against the will of a parent, we have no idea of asserting. There is a period of life when law, and good sense, and intelligent conscientious conviction, make every female the ultimate arbitress in her matrimonial destinies. But this is not in her minority. Indeed it is seldom, as a matter of fact, that a daughter either wisely or safely marries at any age, without the consent of her natural guardian; and certainly never during her minority, without a breach of that first command with promise, which requires honor to the parental relation. And if it be urged, as it sometimes is, that this matter of runaway matches is rather one for jocose remark than moral disapproval, our reply is, that it seldom proves so in the end, to any of the parties concerned. They who know the aching solitudes of a parent's heart, recognize no pleasantness in anything which would extenuate, or make light of it. Our authoress, moreover, in the course of her biography, enters upon the discussion of a question which deeply affects the health and welfare of human society. We may, therefore, properly note any antecedents which may vitiate, or give force to any of the arguments brought forward.

But a reconciliation was very soon effected. Tears pass away. The authoress is the mistress of a beautiful villa on

Long Island. From "dewy morn to quiet eve" her time is all her own. She divides it between studies and recreations. Ever and anon there is a gala day, upon which she and her sisters enact original plays for the amusement of their friends, or give concerts, or exhibit *tableaux vivants*. About this time she visits Europe, and spends fifteen months abroad. Her passion for fetes, and displays, and theatrical performances was, of course, amply gratified. In the meantime, Mr. Mowatt has been threatened with loss of sight. The most famous physicians of Paris are consulted with little good effect; partial relief finally being obtained from an eminent American surgeon. Upon their return to America, a fete is gotten up by the authoress, at her beautiful house on Long Island, to celebrate the fact. The play written and performed for the occasion, was *Gulyard, or the Persian Slave*. This was published in the *New World*, with many flattering accompaniments.

Up to this time, life seems to have been as a joyous holiday. Here, however, the scene changed. Mr. Mowatt lost his fortune; and the authoress seems to have borne this reverse with as much equanimity as she afterwards did the shifting of the scenes in the unreal and mimic representations of life upon which she subsequently entered. With womanly heroism she determined to use her talents, the gracious gifts of nature, to the removal of her husband's embarrassments. It was, therefore, determined to begin a course of public readings, from Dramatic authors. Her first appearance was in Boston. She was heard with sympathy and admiration. Thus encouraged, she appeared in other cities, and finally in her native city, New York. Here, after fulfilling an engagement, her health broke down: involving in its restoration the application of Mesmeric agencies, and the conversion of the patient and her husband to Swedenborgianism. This last phase of experience is so much out of the usual course, and yet contains so much of what has been lately disturbing the ill-balanced minds of our public, that we may turn aside for a moment, to subject it to an examination.

To mesmerism, Mrs. Mowatt says she is indebted, more than once, for relief from prostration: a relief which could not be obtained through any other agency. She sometimes remained in what is called the somnambulic state, for hours, and on one occasion for weeks. While in this state she often conversed with her husband on the subject of religion; her conversation being much more fluent than ordinarily, with a

facility of improvising verses on any given subject. On one occasion she gave as her creed a synopsis of the doctrines of Swedenborg, before she had ever read a line of his writings. So clear was the exposition of this faith—would that this first and last clear exposition had been taken down in writing, if not for the benefit of the authoress herself, when awake, yet for all the after defenders and opponents of Swedenborgianism—that it was recognized and claimed by a disciple of the New Church. She was informed that her inner revealings were in exact accordance with the utterances of the Arcana. This led her, together with her husband, to examine Swedenborg's works. The result of the examination, to both of them and to several other members of her family, was a full conviction of the truth of the doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church. The amount of the argument seems to be about this: mesmeric agencies have the power of translating one into a state of higher consciousness; a state out of which the patient passes when demesmerized, but into which, by these agencies, he passes again, and takes up the same train of ideas and associations, which were broken off by the act of restoration to ordinary consciousness. In the movements of this *higher* consciousness—why should it be called higher rather than lower, from above rather than from beneath, is not stated—she recognizes a light superior to that which comes through the exercise of our ordinary powers; a light equivalent to that of inspiration; for this is substantially the claim of Swedenborg: that of putting a new and occult interpretation upon the dictates of the revealed Scriptures. She has confidence in these dreams of the mesmeric state, and the external things that surround her do not dispel the illusion.

We might leave the argument just as it is, for the benefit of the curious, were it not for the light which it incidentally throws upon other phenomena; and its resemblance to the manner in which certain other pseudo revelations have been made to our world. The fact of which the authoress speaks, is not confined to the mesmeric sleep, but is frequently experienced in the ordinary process of dreaming. We have sometimes, when in perfect health, and frequently, when the system was in a morbid state, like that of the authoress, had an experience, in ordinary sleep, very much like that which she describes: the mind reasoning in sleep to certain ideas, and trains of thought which had formed the material of a previous dream, and following them out, forgetful of the waking inter-

val which came between. We have little doubt that more than one of our readers with that amount of dyspepsia vouchsafed to ordinary students, and with a moderate observation of their mental states, have had a like experience. Something of the same character, although different in degree, is described by De Quincey in his confessions. The reader will remember his troubles with the Malay, the Consul Romanus, and the constant recurrence of the same pictures to the mind, and the same class of ideas during his dreams, produced by opium. The "Suspiria," published subsequently, seem, in fact, to be a continued delineation of these opium experiences. We have little doubt that the Epileptic experiences of Mahomet, in the cave on Mount Hara, and the revelations of Swedenborg, a much better man, were very much of the same character; and they are to be met with in abundance among the religious experience of the uneducated, especially of the African race. There is a short cut through these knots by saying that they are all imposture. But it is not at all a satisfactory one. That there is a state of sleep, in which the experience of former sleep is taken up again, as broken off by a waking interval, there seems to be little doubt. That such mental state is the usual accompaniment of an abnormal physical condition, is as little to be questioned. With Mahomet, and Swedenborg, and our authoress, and our colored religious population, these dreams of a distempered system are accepted as revelations from above. And as a natural consequence, the individual, although reasoning correctly and vigorously on all other subjects, finds himself unintelligible *upon this particular subject* to almost every one else. It is quite refreshing to those who like to understand what they are reading, to pass from some of the results of Mahomet's higher consciousness, into that lower vein of plain common sense rascality to which he manifestly gave utterance in his waking moments. The same manifest change, we are told, is seen in passing from the scientific works of Swedenborg, with which we have never met, to those which are more strictly theological. And we have little doubt that had our Authoress recorded some of her experiences, in full, in her autobiography, they would have presented quite as great a contrast with the other portions of her graceful and sprightly narrative. As to the fact which seems to be so much insisted upon, the correspondence of her own dreams with the doctrines of the New Church, it is really not all remarkable. The same general correspondence will be found among all the systems of

Mysticism, most of them originating, as they do, in the same abnormal state of the physical and mental systems. It may be mentioned, for the benefit of the reader, that it has been, and is now, a disputed point, among the members of the New Church, as to what are the views of their apostle upon certain points. The revelations of our authoress correspond with the right views of course!

With the full acceptance of New Church doctrines came—

“The cheerful faith, that all which we behold
Is full of blessings.”

“All things in life wore a different aspect. I realized that the things which befall us in time, had no true importance, except as they regarded eternity. Whatever we received from above was good, whether it came in the shape of prosperity or misfortune, for it was but a means to fit us for our future states. It became easy to perceive that the most trivial of

‘Our daily joys and pains advance
To a Divine significance.’

Life’s trials lost all their bitterness.” What does this mean? There is a christian sense in which it may be charitably interpreted, and we would fain give the writer of it the benefit of all doubts. But she has expressed herself in a very unguarded manner: a mode of expression but too accordant with much that we are hearing from certain writers of the present day. As we have read her language we have been reminded of the sentimental theology of Byron’s *Hebrew Melodies*, of Moore’s sacred poems, and still more forcibly of certain lines of Burns’, which were not improbably composed under the discomforts of a previous course of debauch.

“If I have wandered in those paths
Of life I ought to shun,
As *something* loudly in my breast,
Remonstrates I have done.

Thou knowest that Thou hast formed me,
With passions wild and strong,
And listening to their witching voice,
Has often led me wrong.

Thy creature here before thee stands,
All wretched and distress;
Yet sure these ills that wring my soul,
Obey Thy high behest.

Sure Thou, Almighty, canst not act
From cruelty or wrath,
O! free my weary eyes from tears,
Or close them fast in death."

Or to put it still more forcibly in the language of Carlyle's *American Ape*:

"The Divine effort is never retarded, the carrion in the sun will convert itself into grass and flowers, and man, though in brothels, or jails, or on the gibbet, is on his way to all that is good and true."

We trust that our authoress would not endorse the theology as presented in these quotations. But is it not substantially the same? If whatever we receive from above be good, where is that wrath of God upon the wicked, and his condemning judgments upon the sinner, of which the Bible so often speaks? "All things," we are told, "work together for good," to a certain class, not to all alike, as this question would indicate. "They work together for good to them that love God;" for evil, to those by whom God's love is perseveringly rejected. There is an immense amount of this religious sentimentalism to be found in our light literature. And it exactly falls in with the indolence and depravity of the natural heart. What an opiate to the conscience of the worldling, who is living altogether without God, or to the high-handed offender, who has outraged every law of His promulgation, to know that everything which we receive from above is good; to merge all the Divine attributes into one, that of an unreasoning and sentimental benevolence!

We lose sight, however, of mesmerism and Swedenborgianism, in the glare and splendid successes of the theatre. The scruples hitherto entertained by the authoress against going upon the stage were removed. She became an actress, running a successful career, both in this country and in Europe. During this career she was brought in contact and social intimacy with some of the most refined and elevated of both sexes. Statesmen and authors, and editors, alike joined in their expressions of admiration; and, to a certain extent, gave their sanction to the argument which she has presented in favor of the stage. We are perfectly willing to take them all together, Mayor Seaver, Professor Longfellow, Mr. Whipple, and Mr. Clay, as giving it a full endorsement, in all its parts. If sound, their names or practice cannot help it; if unsound they cannot save it.

Before entering upon this argument, however, suppose we look at the *thing* to be argued about. A glance at the theatre, *as it is*, will best enable us to appreciate its force or its worthlessness.

To do this, let us take our stand in front—not of the Howard Athenæum, with its throng of refined intellectual Epicures, such as probably never before, and will never again meet within the walls of a theatre, nor of some four or five more of rarely exceptional cases—but of those of the ordinary, or better class, in our large cities. Some great attraction evidently is about to be presented. The rather dingy-looking building, by daylight, with its closed doors and shutters, is becoming filled with new life, and light, and animation. From a little distance, we notice the throng as they press in, each one to his respective place, and through the well regulated places of admission. There is no danger of the frail daughter of Eve—whose particular sin and its consequences will so soon, perhaps, call forth abundant tears of sympathy, from floor to ceiling—coming in contact with her purer sister. There are ample accommodations for both, well known to their respective associates, and the paths are so arranged that they never cross. Neither, again, is the intellectual voluptuary at all interfered with by his coarser brother in the pit, the bar room, or “among the gods.” The tastes of all except the serious, earnest child of God, are recognized and provided for; and all, with the exception of this class, avail themselves of the offered banquet.

“How fast the flitting figures come,
The mild, the fierce, the stony face,
Some bright with thoughtless smiles, and some
Whose secret tears have left their trace.”

Yes, there are aching hearts, and eyes tearful from real sorrow, even in that palace of earthly pleasure; pains and sorrows not unfrequently finding their origin in this very scene of fascination, which is now resorted to, as affording temporary respite from their corroding influence.

But the crowd begins to slacken, for the house is filled, and the performance is about to begin. With an involuntary pang, in the recollection of hours wasted years ago, we again in imagination cross those portals, and look round upon the foil and gilt, which in the glare of gas light, seem like gold and silver. There they all are. And there behind the scenes, although we cannot see them, are the caterers for the evening:

the "Star" in her chamber, the "Stock" in the green room, the "supernumeraries" lying about in their sphere of misery and contempt, the "property man" with his thousand petty troubles, and the "manager" with an equal number, of greater importance. We cannot hear any of the petty difficulties which set Damon and Pythias at fisticuffs, or create a coldness between Juliet and her Romeo. We cannot pause to mark the patronizing way in which Mr. third-rate speaks to Mr. fourth-rate, or the half disguised contempt with which Mr. second-rate looks down on both; to note the still lower grade of estimation in which they all hold the ballet-dancer and the supernumeraries, or the cool way in which Mr. Star cuts the whole of them, and sometimes takes mean little advantages of them while on the stage. All this we cannot see, as indicative of the artificial, and often vicious society behind the scenes, and we therefore confine our attention to the spectators. We have time, before the curtain rises, to note the variety. Where shall we begin? Above, or below? Suppose we take the latter; for here a gentleman can venture without loss of character; though the majority in the pit are not at all to his taste. He has a good view of the stage; his satisfaction, however, being interfered with by the impatience of those around, to get through the tragedy, so that they may enjoy the obscene fun and double entendres of the farce; or by the coarse gusto with which they discuss the lower extremities of the flimsily arrayed dancers. Just above this group of the pit, we see the elite of the audience, the refined, the intellectual, the sentimental, the godless; for though the serious christian may be there, by enticement, he soon feels that it is not his place, nor is his visit repeated. Church members are there in abundance, perhaps. But they are the same who are to be found in all other scenes of worldliness and folly; who have neither the world's respect nor the church's confidence. Above we see the second tier, rather more miscellaneous and doubtful: its inhabitants making occasional forays, during the dance, into the pit, or to the story above: this and the upper story each having a bar for all purposes of genteel stimulation, with police to take care that this common privilege to all the male spectators be not abused.

Shall we go any further in our upward course? We dare not. Nor can any one who would tell the whole truth, hope to find admission to the pages of any respectable publication. Let it suffice to say that there are the daughters of shame,

and that they are not alone. That the gambler, the bully, the Roué are there also; and, worse than all, that the half-grown youth of sixteen and eighteen, often there begins the career which ends in licentiousness and crime. Our authoress wisely passes by this ulcer, with the remark that a woman cannot discuss it. Neither can a man, who has any regard for the purity of his own mind, or that of his readers.

But our reflections are broken in upon, by a pause in the music. The curtain rises. Our neighbor lends us a bill and we find for the evening, but slight entertainment, even for "the mere intellect." We note with some curiosity the *dramatis personæ*; and are arrested by the appearance of the principal character. It is a female. She is beautiful, marvellously so.

"Quanto splendidior, quam cætera sidera, fulget
Lucifer, et quanto, te Lucifer, aurea Phœbe
Tanto virginibus præstantior omnibus Herse
Ibat, eratque decus pompæ, comitumque suarum."

We have been arrested by that same face of almost angelic loveliness, as hung out at the fruit shops, for public admiration; and have wondered where could be the original. That original we now see, with her proper name; and we begin to understand why there are so many less of one sex, and so many more of another, in the genteel boxes. Who is she? Of her real name, we have no definite information; but that by which she is known has rung with infamy through two continents. And this discarded mistress of one of the ten acre sovereigns of Europe, and the divorced wife of one or two, or perhaps three other men, has called together this audience, not to see good acting, for to this she makes little pretension, but simply to see herself, and this call they have obeyed with alacrity! Heart sick and disgusted, we turn from this school, where no morals are to be learned, but those which are foul, and debasing, and loathsome; amazed to see the fathers, and husbands, and brothers of virtuous women in such a place, and to hear them speak of it afterwards with profound indifference!

"But this," some one will say, "is an abuse." It is an abuse, like that of the third tier, and the bar rooms, which if taken away, will destroy their use; for the attraction which draws will, to a great extent, be taken away also. But glancing over this plea, and the reply to it alike, we will imagine ourselves in the same position, with somewhat more of a feminine audience around us, as the curtain rises, for a very

different performance, upon those same boards, and by a very different personage. Here, as on the previous occasion, the cynosure of all eyes is a female; possessing no less loveliness than "the woman of Samaria," of whom we have been speaking above. Even there, and while standing upon those boards, polluted as they were, by such contact and association as that which we have lately witnessed, we look upon her with profound respect. She is the daughter of one American gentleman, the wife of another. She is there, with the approval of both; and actuated by the noble resolution to retrieve the fortunes of a beloved protector: nor has the tongue of slander dared to utter aught to her detraction. And this lady, we would not venture to say it but upon her own authority, personates Mrs. Haller, for the evening. Strange professional fascination, which can induce her to personate such a character, to put forth her own exquisite powers for the production of such sympathy in behalf of a penitent as hides from the vast majority of minds the nature of the sin of which she has been guilty, the moral disapproval of which it should be productive. The play goes on. The audience are convulsed. There is so little suffering in actual life, and so few real Mrs. Hallers' overhead to claim their sympathy and be really benefited by it, that they are completely overcome with delicious emotion. Most, even the performers are completely absorbed. And if there be one in the audience, who in the tumult of his own emotion, can think of them as actors, he is surprised at the depth of real feeling which they exhibit. But not so with all. One of the performers has told us better. Mr. Stranger, who has a faculty of cracking dry jokes, without the quivering of a muscle, in the most professionally distressing scenes, has just exploded a squib at the lugubrious appearance of the audience. And Mrs. Haller, forgetful alike of her children, her sorrows, and her penitence, forces a handkerchief in her mouth, to prevent the audience from seeing that she is laughing at them! Such is the Drama. Its best is but a sham on one side, and the cold-blooded selfishness of mere sensibility and sentimentalism on the other. Its worst, and what seems ingrained into the very system, as we have said above, no man dare describe.

We have thus seen the thing.* We will now look at the

* If it be objected that this is not a fair exhibition of the usual run of dramatic exhibition, our reply is twofold: first, the objection is not founded in fact; secondly, if it were, the occasional representation of such plays would indicate the essential morals of the theatre. We do not confine the term immorality to breach of the seventh commandment.

argument in its favor. This we believe will do mischief. It may induce some, with far less preparation and capability of resistance than our authoress, to tread with unpractised feet a path peculiarly beset with temptation: too often the inclined and slippery plane of theatrical exhibition which ends in ruin. And it may tempt many others to frequent theatres, who have doubted the propriety of so doing. Had Mrs. Butler written a book in defence of the stage, it would have had comparatively little effect. It was an inheritance to which she was born. The majesty, the elevation, the grace and purity of a Siddons had fallen as a mantle upon her shoulders. She belonged to a *caste*. But we are startled when a lady, an American woman with all the influences of religious and moral instruction, comes out from the sweet sanctities of home, to exhibit her gifts in support of an Institution which has ever been deemed of a questionable character; which has ever been deemed by the religious world unfriendly to the best interests of virtue. "All must admit," says John Foster, "with ordinary moral perceptions, the depravity of the theatre in the collective character of its constituents, the plays, the players, and a large portion of the spectators." The argument as we understand it, is to show that this instinct of the religious world, which is stronger than a logical demonstration, is wrong. And that in spite of these evils, many of them frankly admitted, the Drama, if not positively good, is not essentially bad; and may, therefore, be purified and encouraged by all classes.

First, we are told that the theatre is capable of being made an engine to promote the cause of virtue. Has it ever been so? Does its general tendency encourage any such anticipation? We suppose the experience of ages has settled this question. It is well known that the most sublime and elevating truth loses its power when uttered by those who do not exemplify it in their lives. Admitting, for the sake of argu-

Murder, revenge, suicide, and the other host of evil deeds often extenuated and glorified on the stage, come under this same designation. Revenge and suicide especially, find in theatrical exhibitions their strongest incitements. It would be hard to find a tragedy in which these two vices are not enrolled. Mrs. Mowatt in her argument tells us that the play, "Bertram," a favorite with many great actors, and now constantly performed, was written by a clergyman. If the reader be curious to see how vile a play a clergyman can write, we can refer him to a criticism upon this, of Rev. Mr. Maturin's, in the twenty-third chapter of Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*. The taste and morals correspond. And they are, alike, infinitely and ludicrously atrocious and disgusting.

ment, that the Drama has been usually on the side of virtue, what has been the prevailing character of the *Dramatis Personae*? The unsettled mode of life, the late hours, the intimate and exceptionable relations that men and women bear to each other on the stage, and more than all, perhaps, the low estimate in which they have been held by society, has reacted upon them, making them more reckless than the necessary tendencies of their position would have done. The theatre, of course, has in the lapse of centuries had lustre shed upon it by genius and virtue. We are reminded, for instance, of Mr. Garrick. His untainted morals in a situation exposed to temptation, his amiable domestic behavior, his generosity and fidelity to his relations, his charity to the poor and distressed, will be remembered by the age in which he lived, and recorded to ages to come. The greatest Poet of any age, has chosen this form of composition to embody his conceptions of the good, the beautiful, and the true. Yet the surpassing genius of Shakspeare, the occasional appearance of such stars, few and far between, as a Garrick, a Siddons or a Mrs. Mowatt, cannot dispel the cloud of obloquy that has ever hung over the theatre in the eyes of the moral and religious. The theatre, from the time of Aristophanes to the present day, has reeked with the fumes of dissipation, debauchery and riot. Its hue has varied somewhat with the morality and refinement of the age. But it has been the creature of public sentiment, and not the creator of it; when vice and iniquity have unblushingly stalked abroad, it has been their mouth-piece; and the ready panderer to make bad worse. Witness the dramas of the seventeenth century, when the cause of morality and virtue were bleeding from the shameless profligacy of King and court. "This part of our literature," says Macaulay, "is a disgrace to our language and to our national character. It is clever indeed, and entertaining, but is, in the most emphatic sense of the word, 'earthly, sensual, devilish.'" Dryden defended or excused his offences and those of his contemporaries, by pleading the example of the *earlier* English dramatists." The crime charged is not coarseness of expression, for this varies with the taste of the age, but it is the serious crime of presenting what is immoral to the imagination of the young and susceptible, in connection with what is attractive. We have said that from the reign of Charles II. to the reign of George II., the English drama was in a high degree impure and immoral, and this too, was *the age* of the best British classics. There are a

few exceptions to this category. Milton and Addison have adopted this form of composition as a vehicle of pure and refined sentiment. But as in Addison's *Cato*, or Shakspeare's *Othello*, they are uttered by the suicide, the profligate, or the revengeful murderer, and a sympathy is created in their favor, which leads to an extenuation of their evil deeds. Corneille and Racine have even made use of Christian subjects in some of their best tragedies, though one of these regretted his work in after life. And it is well known that plays of this class have never been favorites with the theatre. The majority of theatre-goers have ever been the frivolous, profane and profligate, with tastes utterly uncongenial with the purer and sublimer effusions of the tragic muse. If we go back to the drama of Ancient Greece, we shall find that the comedies, at least, were full of gross obscenity, and that the wit of the actors was not unfrequently made use of to defame and ridicule the best citizens of Athens. In the Augustan age actors and actresses were a despised class. And the christian church has ever been hostile to the theatre, with the exception of a short period during the middle ages. Dean Milman, in his history of Christianity, when speaking of the hostility of the church to theatres, and other public spectacles, and their consequent decline, says: "In all European countries, the christian mystery has been the parent of tragedy. It reappeared as a purely religious representation, and was at one period, *perhaps*, the most effective teacher in times of general ignorance and scarcity of books, both among priest and people, of christian history as well as christian legend." "But at a later period, the old hereditary hostility to christianity has constantly revived." For the allaying of which hostility, we suppose, this writer has himself written one or two plays, which have about as much of the christian mysteries or christianity in them, as is to be found in the *Prometheus Vincetus*, or the *Œdipus Tyrannus*! We have italicized the word *perhaps*, in this quotation, for the purpose of calling attention to the inference hazarded by the author. With due deference to his authority, we receive his facts, and question the correctness of his inference. And this, not only on the general principles which control the movements of human nature, but in view of certain facts connected with these religious theatricals. Prior to all experience, we should be slow to conceive that the extreme familiarity with which the actors in such case would handle the most sacred subjects, and the critical state of mind natural to the spectator, of anything

known to be only a performance, could add much to the reverence and religion of the people, even if it increased their knowledge. And the facts of the case show that such anticipation is well founded. These plays were introduced by the Pilgrims when they returned from Palestine. And they are continued, in a modified form, by those who visit there at the present time. "The history and death of our Savior was one of the subjects chosen for representation. So great became the rage of the people for such performances, that the priests were obliged to hold service at an earlier hour, on Sunday, that the people might have time to attend both the church and the theatre. But the exhibitions were not confined to the Monks, nor to the representation of sacred subjects. And a change and separation in these matters gradually occurred. The dramatic exhibitions of sacred scenes by the priests, took place, as it now does, grossly in Mexico and South America, with great taste and refinement, in France and Italy—in the morning, and the dramatic exhibitions by the actors, of other subjects, as they now do, in those same countries, took place in the evening. And we need hardly say, to any intelligent reader, with what effect upon the religion and morals of a community. The drama has been tried and tested by a variety of experiments, and through a long series of years, with always the same general result. Even when it has been enlisted, not in the cause of mere pleasure, intellectual or sensual, but in that of religion, this same result has been gradually elaborated. Let any one bear in mind the Sunday morning religious theatricals, at High Mass in the Parisian Cathedrals, and those in the evening of an irreligious character, at the theatre, with the same audience present on both occasions, and then remember what are the capabilities of that population for everything mischievous, and he will behold the results of this trial in full development. Judging the tree by its fruits, he will know what to think of our authoress's and Mary Howitt's assertion: "That they consider the stage as capable of becoming one of the great means of human advancement and improvement."

Not less inconclusive is the argument derived from the personal experience of our authoress, the effect produced upon her mind, upon the first sight of the stage. At fourteen she tells us she was taken for the first time to the theatre. Up to this time she had believed, under the teachings of her pastor, that it was the favorite abode of sin and wickedness. She saw Fanny Kemble, and all her prejudices melted into

thin air. The extent and depth of these prejudices may be judged, when the reader remembers that she was devoted to private theatricals, was anxious to see Fanny Kemble "*just once*," and could not attend to her studies the day previous to this first visit to the theatre, in thinking of what she was about to enjoy! When to this is added the confident assumption that her pastor, a man of integrity and experience, merely "*supposed*" he knew what he asserted, we can hardly conceive a more favorable or thorough preparation for the laying aside of these prejudices. How would it have been, could she have been taken that first night, behind the scenes, and through the whole building? There would have been no necessity for the request "to have the goodness to point out the harm." And it would have been seen that Dr. E. spoke upon something more solid than what he merely "*supposed*." But leaving out the idea, and the effect of such exploration, and confining our view simply to the performance itself, it should be remembered that prejudices do not always thus instantaneously vanish at the sight of a theatrical performance; that this very sight sometimes creates them. "When taken by a parent," says a female friend, who has read this autobiography, "when taken by a parent, at about the same age, to the theatre to see the greatest actor of the day, every feeling of reverence was shocked, not so much by the profane expressions as by the prayers and addresses to the Deity. These which when read, seemed to give point and significance, now, when uttered by the impassioned actor, thrilled the religious sense with horror, and seemed to demand a genuine prayer for forgiveness in being found in such a place." And yet we have no doubt that had this lady been seasoned by a previous course of private theatricals, this natural shock of her religious nature would not at all have been experienced. The amount of the authoress's information and argument is simply this: that from childhood she has been fascinated by a certain form of amusement. Nobody, however, denies this its fascinating and absorbing character. It has the power to steep the conscience in forgetfulness of every duty, and hold spell-bound the intellect. All classes catch the infection. The artisan deserts his work, the merchant his trade, the servant follows his master. But the same may be said of gaming, and of many other ruinous vices. And the fascinating excitement may be just as artificial, unhealthy and ruinous.

But we are told that many good men and women, and pious clergy have contributed, by their writings, to the drama.—

doubtless they have. And, with sorrow be it said, they have done many other inconsistent things. And the same result has followed from this, in some instances well meant, but ill judged attempt to do good by means of theatrical exhibitions. Pious clergymen and laymen have written plays, that they might be substituted for those of questionable character, of which the authoress speaks, and in which she has taken part. But how did they succeed? Every theatre-goer knows. The plays of Hannah More, and Dr. Young, and Mrs. Hemans, and Coleridge, and many others of the same class, are *read*, perhaps. *Bertram*, and the *Stranger*, and *Jane Shore*, and the *Lady of Lyons*, with coarser after pieces to correspond, are *played*. Even though political feeling may sustain a play, from one of this first class of writers, as was the case with Addison's *Cato*, when it came out, or though it may be galvanized into life for a brief interval, by a great artistic performer, as was this by Vanderhoff, yet, at all other times, it is dead and worthless, for all the purposes of successful exhibition. Such plays "don't pay." And if they did, the matter would not be much mended. Even these writers seem to have felt that there is a sort of pabulum in genuine christianity, which the theatre-going population would not either take in or assimilate. As a general thing, their staple morality never rises above the common places of heathenism; and the finale almost always involves an apotheosis of some one of its vices, suicide, murder, or something equally bad. And if it be said that it would be absurd to represent *Cato*, dying like *Richard Baxter* or *Robert Leighton*, we reply, very true. But why represent the former at all, and ignore the latter? Except it be, as we assert, and as these writers perfectly understand, that the heathen death scene of a *Cato* would, if well done, be looked upon with sympathy and delight, by an immense and profitable audience, while that of a christian *Baxter* or *Leighton*, however well played, would have no one but the performers to witness it. To purify the theatre, the audience must be purified. But this audience, if even purified by some other process, to an appreciation of genuine, earnest christianity, will turn from theatrical artificialities, with profound indifference. And this, even if there were nothing in them of a positive character to give offence. "When I became a man," says the great Apostle, "I put away childish things."

Again, as to the allegation that St. Paul quoted from certain dramatic poets, and that neither he nor our Lord ever in

express terms, called attention to the theatre, as immoral. Which allegation, if it really proves anything, would show that the gladiatorial shows, and contests of strength in the various games, are of a like harmless and laudable character. Would any one infer from the fact of an illustrative exhortation based upon the figure of a race, that foot-races were sanctioned? Or that because gaming, and the bloody combats of the Amphitheatre are not mentioned by name, they are then not blamable? The fact is, the sacred writers do not concern themselves with any of the peculiar Institutions, as such, existing then in human society. Their work was to lay broad and deep the foundations of pure christian morality, for the individual; to teach a set of doctrines, which if adopted throughout the world, would destroy every form of vice. They laid the axe to the root of the tree; the corrupt fruit, in the form of any particular vicious institution, must needs perish with it. If it be remembered, moreover, how intimately theatrical representations were associated with gross vice, and some of the foulest pollutions of heathenism, it will be seen that to denounce one, was to denounce the other. "The more ascetic christians," says Milman, "condemned alike all the popular spectacles. From their avowed connection with Paganism, and with the worship of the Pagan Deities, according to the accredited notion that all these deities were permitted to delude mankind, the theatre was regarded as a kind of temple of the evil spirit. The profession was considered infamous, and the indecency of attire upon the public stage, justified the low estimate of the moral character of the actors." This quotation will show the value of the argument, in favor of this institution, drawn from primitive sentiment, or apostolic silence, as to its particular culpability or innocence. The argument from the plays of Gregory Nazianzen, which it seems were never acted, and not written with the intention of their being thus used, we have anticipated in our remarks on the sacred dramas of the middle ages. "Some have supposed," says a learned writer, "that the tragedies written on religious subjects, in the time of Julian, were represented upon the stage. There is no ground for this opinion. They were intended as school books, to supply the place of Sophocles and Menander."

Perhaps the most forcible, in appearance, but the most unsatisfactory, in reality, is that portion of Mrs. Mowatt's argument, which consists of quotations from the writings of

various great and good men, as to the possible tendencies and effects of theatrical amusements. It is manifest from these quotations, that these writers contemplate a state of things which has never existed; and which, with the ordinary tendencies of depraved human nature, can never be reasonably anticipated. Many of these sentiments were doubtless uttered in view of the works of the great Masters, stripped of demoralizing adjuncts, and are perfectly consistent with decided opposition to the theatre, as it now is, and ever has been. When we discuss a particular institution, we must first look at that institution, as existing, with its general tendencies, as manifested by past experience: not merely or mainly at some ideal, which lies in some remote region of possibility. And even that ideal, which may be bodied forth by the most sober intellect, must have regard to the agents by whom it will be realized: not demand the capacities and tendencies of creatures of pure reason and supreme conscience, as angels and archangels, but those of fallen men and women. And the all-sufficient reply to these assertions, as to what the drama, as acted, *may do*, is to ask what *has it done? what is it doing?* We know very well that certain States, in ancient and modern times, have recognized the theatre as a school of morals; and we know, too, what kind of morals they have been taught by it. Nor could anything better have been anticipated. How could the State expect to be purified, and instructed by a class, which public sentiment, justly or unjustly, regarded as disreputable? We suppose the reply to this will be, that it was the noble or elevating sentiment, not the man who was to utter it, which they had in view; a reply which shows about as profound ignorance of human nature, as can well be imagined.

The musical words and fluent sentences of the following extract, have doubtless had their effect upon more than one inexperienced reader: "Art is either right or wrong. The sanctioning voices of ages have pronounced it to be right.—One branch of art includes the Drama. Shall this branch be lopped off because the canker worm of evil has entered some of its fruit? Like sculpture, like painting, like music, like the poem, the novel, the drama is an instrument either of good or evil, as it is rendered the one or the other by the use or abuse. This is the veriest truism. The theatre, like the press, is one of the most powerful organs for the diffusion of salutary, or pernicious influences. Vicious books have been written, shall we, therefore, extirpate the press? Plays of

questionable morality have been enacted; but is that a cause for abolishing the stage, sacrificing, for the present abuse, the great and permanent use?" &c., &c. Now in all this there are two assumptions. First, that the acted drama does constitute a proper sphere of christian art; for it is to christians that the argument is addressed. The true christian actor exhibits the graces of the gospel in his daily conduct, and for their own sake, not putting them on on special occasions, and for the pleasure or amusement of others. There is yet to be a great adjustment between christianity and the heathenish and polluting art, by which society is now so much corrupted. The Sydenham correspondence, within the last few months, and the exhibition of the *Modele Artistes*, some few years ago, in this country, will help to explain our allusion. The other assumption here made, and it is the assumption of the whole book, is that there is *a great and permanent use of the theatre*. Whereas, in point of fact, it has even in itself proved an abuse. And this, too, in spite of the legislation which has protected it, and the good men who have written for it, and have anticipated so much from its influences. Upon the authoress's own showing, and from her many quotations, it is manifest that it has wanted neither sanction, protection, nor good wishes, to afford it a fair trial. But where have the great and permanent uses appeared? Where have not the abuses gone up to heaven, in their rankness and enormity, when any such trial has been made for any considerable length of time. The class to whom this argument is addressed, do not admit the premise upon which it is based. Who ever thought of arguing against the use of a necessary thing from its abuse? The consuming flames commit fearful ravages; shall the element from which they arise, therefore, be excluded from our habitations? In the sea lies many a precious and buried thing; shall we therefore despise it as a means of communication? Some few lunatics commit suicide; shall therefore the rest of mankind go handcuffed? In this world there is nothing unmixed with evil. The trail of the serpent has passed over every earthly thing. Yet for all this, there are some things which have necessary uses, among which the theatre is not numbered. And there are certain other things which, if not in our abstract ideal of them, yet in their concrete existence are always full of abuse, are, so to speak, themselves an abuse of time, energy and human labor; and among these is the acted drama.

And this brings us to the very gist of the argument, upon this subject. One of which our authoress seems to have no conception. Thus far, we have confined ourselves to the theatre, as it is, and as it has been, in reply to an argument, to the serious christian, to subject himself and his family, to its innumerable evils, that by his and their influence it may be purified and made a school of virtue and morality. Upon this argument alone, the probabilities are infinite that such an experiment, if made, would eat out the vital heart of evangelical christianity, in a quarter of a century. This would be abstaining "from all appearance of evil," and "having no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness," with a vengeance. The drama would doubtless flourish, as it now does in Berlin, in Paris, and in Vienna. But vital religion would either be extinguished, or driven out into the most unfrequented walks of human society. We do not, however, choose to stop with these facts, conclusive as they may be, in answer to this and similar appeals. When we see certain facts reproducing certain other facts, and this, too, in successive periods, and in different communities, we naturally infer that there is a causal connection. We do not get rid of this invariable tendency by calling it an abuse. The question will recur, why does this abuse, as you call it, so invariably appear, and so overwhelmingly predominate? Is there not something essentially vicious in the first set of facts by which these others are produced? We believe that this question, as applicable to the acted drama, is properly answered in the affirmative. Leaving altogether out of sight, for the present, the theatre as it is, there are certain things which will ever render it unfit to be an aid to the moralist; which will render it detrimental to the general health of human society. Some of these we shall briefly indicate.

One of the first of these is the very position which the actor occupies. He may regard himself as the teacher, but his audience regard him as the caterer for their pleasure; whatever may be the nature of that pleasure, whether gross or refined. If he does well, he is applauded; if not, he is hissed, and driven from the stage. The audience are in a critical state. They have the legal right to be so, and this right is exercised in a most merciless, and often brutal manner: the actor being regarded, in the large majority of cases, as one of a caste, not current except rarely, and by very special license, in general society. How can any one, who knows human nature, anticipate that when hearer and speaker

occupy these respective positions, the hearer will receive any real instruction from what is said? that he will be benefitted by such instruction? How would it be, how is it in fact, when speaker and hearer occupy, to each other, the same relative position, in a very different place, the house, not of amusement, but of public worship? The christian minister, we will say, and his congregation, come together just as actor and audience. It is a fine, wealthy, and intellectual body of hearers. The arrangements for comfort are exquisite. The speaker is well paid; for that congregation will not put up with anything ordinary or commonplace. He is a refined gentleman, in his intercourse with his charge; nor has he ever shocked an individual hearer by vulgar allusions to the subject of personal religion. His voice, manner, and elocution are unexceptionable. And there is a grace and brevity about his discourses that while away every sensation of weariness. "It is the best prayer that was ever made to a Boston audience." And one of the most gracefully delivered discourses of that same performer. The building overflows weekly. And the additions, in point of number and respectability, are of a most gratifying character. But who expects souls to be converted under such process? The doctrine may be orthodox, sound, complete, the eloquence of the highest order. It whiles away the half hour pleasantly, and it passes criticism. And that is the end of it. And why is this? Simply because he and his people have made the church a theatre, and the pulpit a stage. He is not recognized as the ambassador of the King of kings, he does not stand forward in the majesty of his commission. And the result corresponds. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. And if the very life-giving truths of inspiration, are thus stripped of their power, when presented under such circumstances; when the preacher is the actor, and the hearer a mere critic or intellectual epicure, seeking pleasure, what can be expected from the mere vapid moralities—we are assuming that there are no immoralities—of the theatre? The moral or religious teacher must, first of all, be respected. And the truth which strikes, must come, and be regarded as coming, from his own heart. Without these prerequisites he can amuse, and interest, and startle, and electrify. But it is the effect of the moment. He will never convert, elevate and purify. The question is asked: "does the mere translation of the parable—the prodigal son, for instance—into represented action, render it pernicious?" We answer yes; for the parable would then become perfectly worthless, for all the

purposes for which it was given. It would be converting high moral truth into mere amusement. Human nature is so constituted, that the mere theatrical reading of that parable, understood to be such, would be perfectly destructive, for the time being, to the hearer, of its moral vitality.

Now this would be the case, even if the plays were every thing that could be desired. Supposing these plays to be destitute of all positively immoral tendency, to be like some of Johnson's and Hannah More's, strictly moral as to their tone and teachings, to be not merely moral, but in the true sense of the word, christian, at the same time free from all of that morbid and unhealthy sentimentalism by which the modern drama is pervaded; suppose, additionally, that the actors were men of known purity of character, and the audience corresponded, even then but little could be anticipated from the theatre, as a school of morals. We cannot, if we would, think of certain individuals, as our equals, or look up to them with those feelings which open the mind for the reception of moral influences. That respectable individual, whose services in the bath-room contributed so much to our comfort, that other one whose well sharpened razors we so much enjoy, that other one upon whom we depend for a supply of Day and Martin upon our pedal coverings, that other one who amuses or interests us upon the stage, and that other one whose admirable discourse was so well delivered, each and all of them, as ministers of our pleasure, and as understood so to be, may claim our kindly and patronizing feelings. But they have voluntarily assumed a position which, while held, unfits them for another: that of associates, of guides or moral instructors. It would be quite as easy for a man to associate with his barber, or boot-black, as equals, as it would be to receive a moral lesson from the actor whom he pays to amuse him, or a religious one from the clergyman whose services are looked upon as rendered under the same conditions. Purify the theatre, therefore, purify the actors, and purify the audience, and yet this relative position of actor and audience will ever neutralize the moral influence of any practical truth which he may utter in their hearing. But this is not all. There would be, additionally, a positively mischievous effect produced, even under this most favorable supposition. Let any one habituate himself to hear high moral or religious truth in an improper state of mind, merely to be amused or interested by it, under any other circumstances than those which command his respect, and induce his action, and that

man will be positively injured. Truth cannot be dissociated from profound respect in its reception, and from practical effect in its application, without being productive of mischief; it either gives rise to action, or it destroys the moral capability to action! The stage dissociates the truth from each of these, its natural correlatives. And in so doing, strips it of all its power for good, and makes it an instrument of evil. It is, in this respect, as in those appeals which are sometimes made to our mere sensibilities. Every one has heard of the sentimental moralist who wept over a dead brute by the road side, while his aged and neglected mother was pining in an alms house. Many a novel reader and play goer have shed delicious tears over the imaginary sorrows of the afflicted and desolate, who if disturbed in the midst of their emotions, by an appeal from the real object, would turn away from it in disgust, if not in positive indignation. We are persuaded that the nearest approach to a perfect incarnation of selfishness, may be found in some of the young females of our country, whose natural sensibilities have been subjected to this process of induration. And exactly the same law operates to the production of exactly the same effect, when we pass out of the region of the sensibilities into those of conscience and moral determination.

We have thus—upon the supposition that the theatre could be made all that Mrs. Mowatt desires it, which it never can—seen its inefficiency for good, and its tendency for evil. Without stopping to expose the folly of curing the radical cancer of human nature, by these substituted moralities of heathenism for christian truth, we shall close by noticing one other evil developed by these amusements, and inseparably connected with their existence. They must be of a startling, exciting character. The accomplished tragic actor, we will say, holds the mirror up to nature. But it is nature amidst the tumultuous convulsion of the storm, the whirlwind, or the volcano. The same exaggeration must give charm to the broadness of the farce, or the piquant sauce of the genteel comedy. Let any one glance over a volume of the modern plays, most favorably received by the public, such for instance as *Virginius*, *Fazio*, *Evadne*, the *Hunchback*, *Bertram*—which last, as we have seen, is abominable on other grounds—or the *Lady of Lyons*, and he will see the correctness of the remark just made. But can one rightly live in such an overcharged and excited atmosphere, and not be debilitated? Even if the constituents to such excitement were always un-

objectionable, the effect would be mental debility and dissipation. But this is by no means the fact. The materials to the production of such excitement are not always pure and healthy. The human mind, in its morbid and unhealthy action, and with all the distortions of hatred, of jealousy and revenge, is constantly held up for inspection. The spectator passes out of the sphere of common life, with its commonplace, yet all important duties. Under the habitual intoxication of the stage, life's sober realities become tedious and disgusting. This effect frequently being as powerful in the case of the actor as with the spectator. The writer, with whose book we have been occupied, announces her intention to quit the stage, and since then her farewell has been formally uttered. We will not prophesy; for private theatricals, and the admiration of select circles of amateurs may satisfy the craving of an artificially excited and ever increasing appetite. But we doubt it; and should not at any moment be surprised to hear that she had again entered upon the arena of her former triumphs. Like the excitement of the ball-room, the novel, or any other artificial source of gratification, it renders its votary, to a certain extent, disqualified for every thing else. And when these excitements are sought, merely as pleasure and amusement, and only regarded in that aspect, they not only debilitate for good, but render susceptible to evil. To be "lovers of pleasure," as such is to be "not lovers of God." The selfishness and self-indulgence, fostered and strengthened under the first of these affections, is naturally expulsive of the other.

And now let the christian reader combine these evil tendencies of the theatre, as Mrs. Mowatt would have it, with those of the theatre, as it really is, and he will see the utter worthlessness of her argument in its defence; the hopelessness of all attempts to convert it into a school of pure christian morality. Heathen and christian moralists and legislators have made the attempt, again and again. As the quotations of this book show, they have confidently asserted that it could be done. Their attempts have failed. Their assertions have been falsified. The theatre is still as it ever has been, the home and haunt of those who are lovers of pleasure, rather than lovers of God. The frivolous, the vicious, the godless voluptuary, whether in the sphere of sense or of intellect, find within its walls their respective gratifications. And so it ever will be. Men will never be purified by merely hearing virtuous sentiments, or by seeing nothing more than

a known imitation of virtuous actions. While on the other hand, the evil tendencies of human nature, assimilate every thing evil, in such scenes, and are heightened by them to ten thousand fold intensity.

ARTICLE VI.

Horæ Germanicæ: A version of German Hymns. By Henry Mills. Second edition, revised and enlarged. New York and Auburn: Miller, Orton & Mulligan.—1856.

We take much shame to ourselves for not having much more promptly noticed this second edition of Dr. Mills' translations of German hymns. We owe Dr. Mills, and we owe the public an apology for our long silence in regard to it, which we herewith tender in the shape of a more careful notice than we could have given at any earlier day. To the first edition of Dr. Mills' work, we have frequently referred in the Review, and we have, therefore, very little to add here, except that we think the book greatly improved, and increased in value, by the forty new translations which have been added to it, making the whole number of hymns which the book now contains, one hundred and seventy-two, besides sixty-one doxologies. This is one of the most important contributions that has ever been made to this department of our literature, containing as it does, specimens of the hymns of nearly all our standard German writers of this class. We have only to regret that Dr. Mills has not confined himself more exclusively to our standard writers, whose productions must still, for a long time to come, form the staple of our church hymns, which we are more particularly anxious to see transferred into a suitable English form. Some of the writers whom he here presents, are almost unknown to our collections of hymns, as for instance, Weissenborn, Jörgens, and some others. But, on the other hand, he has here added quite a number of our very best hymns—hymns that can never grow old whilst there is a christian pulsation to swell the heart with prayer, or to enrapture it with praise. Among these are Gellert's "*Gott ist mein Lied*:" Luther's "*Nun freut euch lieben Christen G'mein*," "*Komm Heiliger Geist, o Herre Gott*," and vari-

ous others; Rothe's "*Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden*;" Heerberger's "*Valet will ich dir geben*;" Gustavus Adolphus' "*Verzage nicht, o Hauflein Klein*;" Paul Gerhardt's "*Befiel du deine Wege*;" Matthesius' "*Aus meines Herzensgrunde*;" Franke's "*Gottlob ein Schritt zur Ewigkeit*," and some others.

The style does not differ materially from that by which Dr. Mills' earlier efforts are distinguished. He very successfully reproduces the metre of the original—all of them can be sung to the original melodies, and thus present a source of heartfelt enjoyment to those who have hung with rapture upon the church tunes of our German fathers, but are less familiar with the language of the original than with English. But there is often a harshness in the construction of sentences, which by no means suits the simple genius of the English, and that easy flow of versification to which its limited metrical forms have accustomed us. His rhymes also are sometimes false and harsh, and far from satisfying the cultivated ear, although rather superior in this respect to most of our English writers of hymns anterior to Montgomery. We give as a favorable specimen of these new versions, the rendering of Heerberger's "*Valet will ich dir geben*," cordially commending the whole collection to the attention of our readers.

THE WORLD RENOUNCED.

1 Vain world, forbear thy pleading!

I bid the now—adieu!
Thy course to ruin leading,
No longer I pursue,
In heav'n is bliss forever,—
My wishes thither go;
There God will crown with favor
Who love him here below.

2 With counsel now supply me,

Dear Savior, lest I stray;
If sorrows here must try me,
On thee my courage stay!
From pangs protracted, spare me,
And soothe my throbbing heart!
By sight of bliss prepare me,
Then bid in peace depart!

3 If danger cloud my spirit,

Let thy dear cross but shine,

I will no longer fear it,
But ev'ry care resign :
Nor will I shrink to suffer,
If then my faith may see
The vietim thou didst offer,
In dying, Lord, for me.

4 My soul is feeble—hide it
From all that would annoy !
Through vales of darkness, guide it
To realms of light and joy !
His way is safe from error,
Who learns from thee the road ;
His soul need feel no terror,
Whose refuge is in God.

5 Show me my name recorded
Within thy book of life,
My lot by grace awarded
With victors in the strife !
Their joys in song are flowing—
And when I rise above,
My heart with transport glowing,
I, too, will sing thy love.

ARTICLE VII.

Lyra Germanica. Hymns for the Sundays and chief Festivals of the Christian Year. Translated from the German of Catharine Winkworth. New York : Thomas N. Stanford, 637 Broadway.—1856.

Here, too, we are slow in performing our duty. We ought to have been much more prompt in directing the attention of our readers to such a work as that before us. It is certainly one of the most genial and readable translations with which we are acquainted. With the exception of Pope's Homer, we know of no translation of a poetical composition, that so well preserves the spirit of the original, and presents it in such genuine English. Here are over a hundred of our most delightful German hymns, given in an English dress, that affords the same pleasure that we experience in the perusal of

their originals—Luther, Paul Eber, Rist, Paul Gerhardt, Johann Franck, Scheffler, Tersteegen, Schmolck, Neuntark, von Canitz, and many others, are here reproduced in a style that only lacks one thing to make the same impression upon the soul that is conveyed by the exquisite original.

That one thing is the metre, in regard to which we are compelled to differ entirely from the accomplished authoress. Her reason for not retaining the metres of the original, is the following: "In translating these hymns, the original form has been retained, with the exception, that single rhymes are almost invariably substituted for the double rhymes which the structure of the language renders so common in German poetry, but which become cloying to an English ear, when often repeated; and that English double common, or short metre, is used instead of what may be called the German common metre, the same that we call Gay's stanza, which is scarcely solemn enough for sacred purposes. In a few instances, slight alterations have been made in the metre, when, as is the case with some excellent hymns in our own language, it is hardly grave and dignified enough for the poetry."

Now we readily admit that the double rhyme is not so natural to the English language as it is to the German, but we have no evidence that it is offensive to the English ear. On the contrary, we believe that many of our most popular hymns are composed in double rhymes, as, for instance, Heber's "Missionary Hymn," "From Greenland's icy mountains," "Come, thou fount of ev'ry blessing," "Lord, dismiss us with thy blessing," and many others. But we should not notice this on the present occasion, were we able to understand our authoress when she says that, with this exception, she has retained the metre of the original! Her first piece, for instance, is a version of Richter's "*Hüter! wird die Nacht der Sünden,*" of which her first stanza is as follows:

"O watchman, will the night of sin
Be never past?
O watchman, doth the day begin
To dawn upon thy straining sight at last?
Will it dispel
Ere long the mists of sense wherein I dwell?"

This translation is very fine, giving the spirit and sense of the original with great fidelity. But the metre is entirely different, not only from the absence of the double rhyme, but by the substitution of the iambic for the trochaic metre. Some

lines also have more and some fewer syllables than the original, to which we certainly cannot trace the slightest resemblance in metre. In others there is a nearer approach to the metre of the original, and we are only surprised that it was not made to correspond throughout, especially in cases where we have the same English metres which are as popular as any which our hymn books contain. Such is the fact with regard to her hymn for the "Third Sunday in Advent," translated from Paul Gerhardt's "*Wie soll ich Dich empfangen*," which is in the metre of "*From Greenland's icy mountains*."

We greatly regret this failure to reproduce the metres of the original, as it almost entirely prevents the translations from being sung to their original glorious melodies. Nor can we understand the principle upon which Miss Winkworth has adopted her metres, as so many of them will require the composition of entirely new tunes, before they can be sung. This is the more to be regretted, as the great mass of these pieces are highly devotional, and would be a great addition to our collection of English hymns. Still, there is quite a number in our established metres, and we doubt not that these will soon take their place among our most popular English hymns. As it is, the book will take its place among the very best collections of our devotional poetry—indeed we are not sure that there is elsewhere in the English language anything at all equal to it. Keble's "Christian Year," which has so long stood almost alone, is certainly inferior to it in many respects, but above all, in its devotional character. We think we might cite their pieces for the "Second Sunday in Advent," severally, as fair specimens of the two collections. Keble commences,

"Not till the freezing blast is still,
Till freely leaps the sparkling rill,
And gales sweep soft from summer skies,
As o'er a sleeping infant's eyes
A mother's kiss—ere calls like these
No sunny gleam awakes the trees,
Nor dare the tender flowrets show
Their bosoms to th' uncertain glow."

The "*Lyra Germanica*" gives one of Rist's hymns, beginning,—

"Awake, thou careless world, awake!
The final day shall surely come;
What heaven hath fixed time cannot shake,
It cannot sweep away thy doom.

Know, what the Lord himself hath spoken,
Shall come at last and not delay,
Though heaven and earth shall pass away,
His steadfast word cannot be broken."

But we have not room for citations, nor for further comparison, and can only urge our readers who have not yet read the book, to procure it without delay, being assured that they will find it a companion at once pleasant and profitable. We venture to prophesy for it not a short-lived popularity, but a permanent place in the department of literature to which it belongs.

ARTICLE VIII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, its Nature and Proof: eight Discourses, preached before the University of Dublin. By William Lee, M. A. Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 530 Broadway.—1857.

WE do not know of any period in the history of the church, when the publication of a work like the one named above could have been more seasonable, more welcome to those who believe in the divine origin of the Bible, than in our day. The doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures has been, in all ages, assailed in various ways, and from different points of attack, by the enemies of religion. But, for some considerable time past, modern rationalism has, within the very pale of the church, propounded views more or less unsound, and irreconcilable with the sacred word itself, and the faith of the church, and men, writing professedly in the service of christianity, have been, and are advancing and advocating opinions utterly destructive, if they could be sustained, of the credibility and authority of Scripture. To say nothing of the grossly rationalistic views of Bretschneider and that entire school, we need only refer to the more recent productions of Morell and Davidson, of whom the former, in his "Philosophy of Religion," denies, as does the rather influential school to which he belongs, that the Old Testament has any claims to inspiration, or sustains any vital relation to the New, whilst the latter alleges, that the sacred writers not only made mistakes, but contradicted each other, and even themselves.

We thus briefly advert to recently promulgated heresies concerning this vitally important subject, heresies set forth and advocated with considerable ingenuity, to show how desirable it is, that they should be encountered with such ability and learning as are adequate to set the great doctrine impugned by them, in its proper light, to defend it with sound argument, and to substantiate it by the *ὁμολογεῖν* of the church from the beginning, and by the authority of the divine word itself. That this has been most effectually and satisfactorily done in the admirable work now before us, will, we doubt not, be fully admitted by all who have examined it, or may yet examine it. We believe, indeed, that it will be found more satisfactory than any work yet produced in Germany on this subject, simply because it is more comprehensive, and enters more fully and thoroughly into the discussion and defence of our doctrine, than any German treatise that we know of. The author is evidently thoroughly at home in German Theology, and acknowledges his deep indebtedness to Olshausen, Hävernicks, Sack, Beck, and especially to Rudelbach's treatise on Inspiration, published in his and Guericke's *Zeitschrift*. He does not seem to be acquainted with the writings of Stier, who has, in sundry places, very valuable and striking observations upon the divine inspiration of the Bible. Among recent German productions belonging to this category, the just named treatise by Rudelbach is the most important and valuable, as it addresses itself with great ability and erudition directly to the great theme discussed by our author; but even this is rather brief, comparatively incomplete, and does not, like Prof. Lee's work, cover the whole ground that ought to be embraced by a full exhibition, a searching examination, and a careful and elaborate defence of a doctrine so vitally important, so often, so insidiously and so malignantly assailed as this, that "*all* scripture is given by inspiration of God."

It was the vagueness which too often characterizes the language employed by writers who, in modern times, have treated of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture, that seemed to our author to render a fundamental examination into the nature of this divine influence daily more desirable. After adverting, in his Preface, to the so-called "Mechanical Theory," he proceeds: "The 'mechanical' theory having been tacitly abandoned—at least by all who are capable of appreciating the results of criticism—and no system altogether satisfactory having been proposed in its stead, there has gradually sprung up a want of definiteness and an absence of consistency in the language used when speaking of Inspiration, owing to which those who are most sincere in maintaining the divine character of the Bible have, not unfrequently, been betrayed into concessions fatal to its supreme authority."—p. 4. In endeavoring to supply a deeply felt desideratum, he endeavors carefully to do what even writers who insist upon the importance of the principle, have failed to do, i. e., to distinguish between Revelation and Inspiration. His treatise on this most im-

portant distinction is very elaborate, clear and satisfactory. Very modestly declining to lay claim to any amount of originality for his own labors, he says: "My object, throughout, has simply been to collect as many facts and results as my acquaintance with ancient or modern researches into the text or interpretation of scripture could supply, and thence to deduce what appeared to be the necessary inference." In pursuing his admirable discussion, he combats the errors and mischievous theories that grew up on the reeking hot-bed of German rationalism, and also the very pernicious views propounded by Coleridge and Morell. The work appears, as the title-page indicates, in the form of eight discourses preached before the University of Dublin. We subjoin the general headings of the several Lectures, hoping that many of our readers will themselves look up the more particular specifications, and merely adding here, that the first lecture begins with some general remarks on the distinction between Revelation and Inspiration. "The Logos reveals. The Holy Spirit inspires." Ist Lect. "The Question Stated." II. "The Immemorial Doctrine of the Church of God." III. "The Old Testament and the New. The Logos the Revealer." IV. "Revelation and Inspiration." V. "Revelation and Inspiration. (Subject continued.)" VI. "Scriptural Proof." VII. "The Commission to write—The Form of what was written." VIII. "Recapitulations. Objections considered." The several themes here stated are discussed under a variety of necessary and more specific subdivisions, under a solemn sense of the importance of the subject, with humble reverence for the authority of the written word, with elaborate carefulness, and great clearness and force of thought and language. The question is stated with great clearness and fulness, and cleared of all the misconceptions and ambiguities which have so long and so extensively beclouded men's minds with regard to it: fundamental principles or general truths are presented in comprehensive and terse propositions, which are amply unfolded, conclusively demonstrated, effectually defended and aptly illustrated: objections are met, answered and confuted with lucid and convincing argumentation; and the entire subject is presented, under its different aspects and relations, with a copiousness of matter and a felicity of manner, that leave little to be desired.

But, admirable as the body of the work itself is, it contains other matter which will greatly enhance its value in the estimation of the learned, and of theological students: the notes present an immense mass of literature connected with the subject of the lectures: in these notes a great many, more or less copious, citations are given from the Greek and Latin Fathers: modern writers, German and English, are largely quoted, and their views, where they are unsound and unscriptural, subjected to searching criticisms; and a great variety of matter, all bearing more or less directly and weightily upon the great theme under discussion, is introduced at the proper place; for, while these notes are proba-

bly a good deal more extensive than the text itself, they are not, as is so often done, huddled together in a cumbrous mass at the end of the volume, where it is very inconvenient to refer to them, but in every instance introduced at once in the lower margin of their respective pages.

Doré. By a Stroller in Europe. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers.—1857.

This is a volume of letters written during a year's residence in Europe. The author looks upon European life and institutions as an externally gilded affair; hence the title *Doré*. The tone of the letters is free and easy, lively and brusque: they are written in a bold and dashing style: men and things are handled without gloves, with a frequent application of a very harsh flesh-brush: subjects peculiarly adapted to attract and engage the attention of an American travelling in Europe, are treated in an off-hand, who-cares fashion, which stands upon ceremony with nothing and nobody; and altogether, the work is very different from all books of travels en règle. While we can by no means approve of the manner in which some things are treated, we cannot but say that these letters are exceedingly interesting; they have provoked much notice and gained much praise: there is little danger of any reader's nodding over the pages: they contain some curious information: lively and spiey throughout, they place many things in a new light, extract much amusement from the varnish and gilding and absurdities of European society, and to those whose proprieties have not been run through the potatoes-poultry-prunes and prisms starch, they cannot but afford, with some instruction, a great deal of entertainment.

Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars, Ninety-seventh Regiment. By the Author of "The Victory won." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 530 Broadway.—1857.

This delightful volume narrates the life of a young British Soldier, who fell, in the prime of his manhood, in the night of the 22d of March, before Sebastopol, while repelling with his troop a night attack of the enemy. Beginning with his boyhood, it follows him to the end of his career, relating the events of his short life in a pleasing style, or permitting him to be, to a considerable extent, his own biographer, by introducing a good many of his charming letters to his mother, his sisters, and to different friends. A bold and fearless boy, generous and warm-hearted but withal rather self-willed, full of frolic and fun, his early years afforded no promise of that vigorous and consistent piety which afterwards so greatly distinguished him among his fellow-officers and soldiers, winning for him the esteem, the confidence and the affection of all. His pious father having died when the boy was twelve years old, his religious instruction and training devolved upon his exemplary mother; and the narrative before us exhibits but another instance of the efficacy, under God's blessing,

of a pious mother's teachings, admonitions and instant prayers, over the spirits, and hearts, and lives of those whom God has committed to her care. At an early age this young man was brought to realize the power of saving truth and grace, and to the sacred profession of the christian; and from this time to the end, his walk and conversation were truly exemplary: his natural gifts exalted by piety, his amiable qualities sanctified by grace, he presented in all the relations of life, a most attractive and engaging character, truly adorning the doctrine of God his Savior in all things; and in his labors, by instruction, exhortation and prayer, for the spiritual good of his fellow-officers and the men under his command, and of all who came within the reach of his influence, he was most devoted and unremitting. His early death called forth the warmest testimonials of his pure and lovely character, from many who knew him intimately, and who furnished the materials for this most interesting biography. We regard this memoir as a most delightful illustration of the beauty and excellence of christian character, and of the charm and power of christian example, and most heartily commend the volume to parents who desire to set before their children, especially their sons, an example of early and consistent piety most worthy of imitation.

Lutheranism in America: an Essay on the present condition of the Lutheran Church in the United States. By W. J. Mann, D. D., Pastor of the German Ev. Luth. St. Michael's and Zion's Congregation, in Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.—1857.

Dr. Mann has no doubt done his best in this little volume, and, all things considered, his best may be considered quite respectable, but we are free to say, that we cannot accept as satisfactory, his account of the Lutheran Church in the United States, particularly that part which is embraced by the General Synod.

- *Commentary on the book of Joshua.* By Karl Frederick Keil, D. D., Ph. D. Professor of Exegetical Theology and the Oriental Languages in the University of Dorpat. Translated by James Martin, B. A., Edinburg. Edinburg: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street.—1857. Smith and English, Philadelphia.

Dr. Keil is not unknown to the readers of the Ev. Rev. His orthodoxy, learning and exegetical skill, have more than once found utterance in our pages. We very much admire whatever we have seen from his pen, and can cordially endorse his Joshua, translated in Scotland, as a work of sterling value. Pious, learned, sound, it deserves a high place, we may say, so far as our knowledge extends, the very highest place among commentaries on the important historical book which it embraces.

Dr. Seyffarth's reply to queries in a former number, intended for our present issue, came too late. It will appear in our next.

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